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the country to the front; and the more India can draw upon herself, the attention of Parliament, the larger space will her affairs be permitted to occupy in the English newspapers, and the more will Englishmen generally come to think of her and to know about her. In any case, there remains a most arduous work to be done in removing prejudices, in correcting optimistic opinions, and in spreading in Great Britain a reasonably full and accurate knowledge of the main facts of the political and material condition of India.

May effective assistance reasonably be expected from the presence of Indian representatives of English constituencies in Parliament? There can be no question but an immense impulse to an interest in Indian affairs in England has been communicated by the memorable election of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji by the London constituency of Central Finsbury. Mr. Naoroji has borne himself so well in his high office as to win golden opinions from all fair-minded men of whatever political colour. It has been rumoured that one or two other Indian gentlemen propose to make the attempt to enter the House of Commons as the chosen representatives of English constituencies. All friends of India will cordially wish them success, whatever may be the party whose fortunes they may propose to follow; for, so far as Indian affairs are concerned, they will at least give expression to their knowledge and views with freshness and with a certain amount of authority. At the same time, it must be recognized that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's position is to a considerable extent unique. He came to England with the prestige of a scholar and a man of affairs; he had long personal experience of English life in diverse ways; he has been distinguished by unfailing tact and calm judgment as well as by fulness of information; and the discovery of the prejudice of colour in his case was reserved for the divination of no less a genius than Lord Salisbury. The success of Mr. Dadabhai, of course, smooths the way most materially for an Indian colleague in English representation. It seems clear, however, that the opportunities for championship of India by this mode must be, at most, only very limited.

There are larger elements of hope in the recent movement for the closer association and concerted action of those British Members for British constituencies who cherish an interest in India. Towards the shaping of this movement, it must be remembered, Mr. Dadabhai has energetically contributed. The Indian Parliamentary Committee already shows an imposing list of names, many of them distinguished, and all of them influential; and there seems to be no good

reason why the number of members should not be greatly increased. The moderation, reasonableness, and tact of the Committee cannot fail to bring many other cautious and fair-minded men into the ranks, and to conciliate the independent support even of some that may continue to stand aloof from formal adherence. In the future also lies the further hope of fresh and younger members, the more so as the position of India is brought home more fully and vividly to the people of England. The development of this vicarious means of making the voice of India heard at Westminster appears to deserve the utmost attention and care. It ought, under assiduous and energetic management, to prove a very powerful aid to the efforts of Indians in India. The union of hearts and hands across the seas must be fruitful, of mutual encouragement and impulse, and eventually of joint achievement.

But there is another important suggestion in regard to the representation of India in the Imperial Parliament. This is that India should send representatives direct to the floor of the House of Commons. In his presidential address to the Congress at Lahore, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji expressed the idea in these words: "As all our Imperial questions and relations between India and the United Kingdom, all amendments of Parliamentary Acts already passed and existing, or all important Acts that may be and can be only passed hereafter in Parliament, and all our ultimate appeals can be settled in Parliament alone, it is of extreme importance that there should be some reasonable direct representation from India, in the House of Commons, and the representatives may be Indian or Europeans as long as they are the choice directly of Indian constituencies, just as you have delegates to this Congress of Indians or Europeans." The idea is suggestive, and ought to be kept steadily in view. There would probably be no serious obstacle to its realization in practice, if the principle were once conceded. The elections of representatives to the National Congress have demonstrated that much. Even if the imperfect and indirect representation on the Legislative Councils were reproduced in this relation, it might be welcomed as a tentative step in the right direction. The Legislative Councils and the National Congress might both nominate representatives to proceed to Westminster. The direct representation of the Colonies, however, could hardly be postponed to the direct or indirect representation of India; and so the Colonies might bar the way.

Yet another form of Indian representation at Westminster must receive at least a passing notice. In the *Nineteenth Century*

for May, 1894, the Earl of Meath proposed the question: "Shall Indian Princes sit in the House of Lords?" Lord Meath answered his question in the affirmative, recommending the project as a decided and practical step "towards the fulfilment of the popular idea of Imperial Unity, if not of Federation." "The Crown," Lord Meath thinks, "with the sanction of the House of Lords might, on the recommendation of the Governor-General, create a certain number of native life peers, say two for each Presidency; or the native Princes and aristocracy of India might, subject to the above sanction, be invited to submit to *Her Majesty* the names of some of their number for the honour of a life peerage; or they might be invited to elect as candidates for the distinction double the number of persons to be proposed to be raised to the dignity of the peerage, and *Her Majesty* might express her willingness to choose from amongst the candidates those whom it was her pleasure to honour, or, both plans might be adopted, and half the number of life peers proposed to be created might be recommended to the Crown by the Governor-General, and half by the native magnates." Lord Meath arrays a dozen possible objections and surmounts them all to his own satisfaction. But if the House of Lords are determinedly hostile to the principle of life peerages for Englishmen, it is not very likely that they would welcome natives of India as life peers. The principles of selection suggested by Lord Meath do not appear calculated to work smoothly in practice. It would not be very surprising if Her Majesty were to decline the somewhat invidious task of selection from the list submitted to her. Nor is it very easy to see how native princes could perform a double duty in India and in England. It is not necessary to go deeper into the question. The fundamental fact, after all, is simply this—that Indian life peers in the House of Lords would be in the wrong place for the exercise of any influence they might possess, and would certainly not be consoled by the "honour" of their new "dignity" for the deep permanent humiliation of the voting-lists. There is hardly a ray of help for India in this fantastic scheme.

When all is said and done, it is in India, and by Indians, that the great cause of Indian nationality and welfare must eventually find its vindication. In the present stage of the movement, the value of English sympathy and co-operation at Westminster and throughout England cannot be easily overrated. But, fundamentally, India must work out her own salvation. Already, in this rapid survey, especial stress has been laid upon the inestimable importance of the steady, unhasting, unresting, progress of sound Municipal

and local administration. The results are patent and undeniable; they speak for themselves. They will justify to the most critical eye the fullest extension of the representative principle. They will support, and eventually compel, the admission of that principle, unfettered by the overcautious restrictions of timidity or prejudice, into the Legislative Councils. At present, the principle can barely be regarded as having effected a footing in the ruling assemblies of the country. The "real living representative voice of the people"—to use an expression of Mr. Gladstone's—has not yet been heard within the walls of an Indian legislature. Still, the thin end of the wedge has been inserted by the Indian Councils Act and there must soon be effected a breach whereby that voice may enter. The earnest contention of the National Congress, for "the great living and quickening principle of election" (as Mr. Eardley Norton eloquently described it at the Bombay meeting in 1889) is undoubtedly on the high road to realization. And such realization is demanded no less for the true welfare of India than for the stability and success of British administration.

The right of interpellation with regard to the policy of the Government of India, and especially with regard to the execution of that policy, is no doubt an exceedingly important matter. But it necessarily falls far short of its proper effect so long as the interpellators do not occupy their seats by the authority of the free voice of their fellow citizens. Besides, as has been already mentioned, the Government itself is inevitably placed at a most serious disadvantage in not being able to comprehend with certainty and promptitude the trend of opinion and feelings in the country. The true position of matters was expressed with point and energy by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee in his presidential address at Allahabad in 1892, and the description is essentially valid to-day. "At present," said Mr. Bonnerjee, "the *modus operandi* is this. A secretary thinks that a particular measure ought to be passed, and it may be taken that he honestly believes that the measure would be for the benefit of the country. He invites two or three Indian gentlemen of eminence, with whom he is acquainted, to see him. He speaks to them in private, and gets their views, which, unfortunately, in the case of these Indian gentlemen, generally coincides with the views he himself holds. The measure is passed. There is a great cry of indignation in the country. The answer of the Government is: 'Oh, but we consulted the leaders of your society, and it is with their help this measure has been passed.' I hold the time has passed for this sort of statesmanship." Unquestionably it is. On the other

hand, Mr. Bonnerjee pointed out most justly, "by the reconstitution of Legislative Councils on lines that would allow representatives of the people to be elected to these Councils, the Government would be face to face with them. They would know, at first hand, what the real feelings and the real grievances of the people are. They would then be able to devise measures which would be in consonance with the feelings of the people, and which would get rid of their grievances." The authorities ought to be able to show some particularly strong reasons for being so reluctant to avail themselves of one of the most fundamental requisites of just, efficient, and tranquil government.

This is not the occasion for propounding any scheme of representative Government for India, or for reviewing any of the schemes that have been suggested. It may be well, however, to guard a recommendation of the general principle by recalling the fact that no responsible person desires the application of it beyond the limits of unquestionable safety and advantage. Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, C.S.I., who can speak with the authority of experience both in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and in the Council of Bengal, used wise words on this point at the close of an instructive paper on the amendment of the Indian Council Act, which he read before the East India Association in 1892. Having propounded and explained a scheme of reform on the lines of a qualified representation, Mr. Reynolds concluded thus: "Such is the brief outline of a reform which is loudly demanded by the popular voice, and which the Government might concede not only without the least danger, but with the greatest possible advantage to itself. No sane person wishes or expects to see India brought under a system of representative Government for which she is at present quite unfit, and will be unfit for many years to come. No one proposes to invest the Legislative Councils with the powers of the House of Commons; to see them refusing supplies, turning out ministers, or deciding questions of peace and war. But there is a wide difference between these wild ideas, which no one entertains, and the sober deep-seated feeling which millions in India entertain, that, though we hold India by the sword, we cannot hope to retain it, and do not deserve to retain it, by the sword alone; that the people may fairly claim to be treated with more confidence, and even to be entrusted with some share of power; that they have outgrown the laws and institutions of thirty years back, and that the time has come for amending those laws, and remodelling those institutions, in a generous and large-hearted spirit." There is no necessity to put the case in

stronger terms than these measured words. A reform of the Legislative Councils admitting a reasonably substantial proportion of thoroughly representative members, is certainly "calculated to improve administration, to quicken the sight and strengthen the hands of the Government in dealing with abuses, and to unite the rulers and the people in a bond of loyal and cordial sympathy."

The importance of the Press in giving voice to the thoughts and desires of the people on the great question of Indian nationality and welfare need only be mentioned. It would be unbecoming on our part to dwell upon the action of the press in England. But it is right to recognize in the amplest terms of satisfaction the wide tolerance permitted by the Government of India to the strongest public expression of fair and honourable criticisms.

THE DUTIES OF INDIAN CITIZENS.

RECENTLY I had the pleasure of being present as a guest at a most interesting meeting. It was the annual dinner of the London Indian Association, a body composed of the elite of the young Indians at present in England preparing for entry into the learned professions or the public service. Being myself an Indian citizen,—for in that term I include not only those who by birth, but those who by domicile, are entitled to enjoy the privileges, and in consequence called upon to perform the duties, incident to citizenship of the Indian Empire,—I ventured to utilize the opportunity to point out, so far as the limits of postprandial utterance permitted, what I believe to be deficiencies attending the performance of these duties, on the part of some at least of us. I found that my subject struck a responsive chord among my hearers; and when asked to contribute an article to the first number of this Review, I thought the time a fitting one, and its pages an appropriate place, for expanding somewhat the remarks I made on that occasion and appealing to a more numerous auditory.

The subject is one that comes home with special force to non-official Europeans and to educated natives of India; for while duties of greater importance are, I believe, imposed upon no one of us, fewer duties are, I fear, more generally disregarded or held in light esteem. No doubt we have plenty of talk; on all sides preaching or cursing—as may be deemed most seasonable—without end; there is no lack of effervescence when Congress time comes round, when exchange compensation is to be claimed, when an age of consent bill is under discussion, when excise duties on cotton are to be protested against. But these are very different affairs from the daily round of working citizenship, pursued without hope of profit or even for the most part of applause, whose best reward is often but a surly thanks. Many men we have indeed among us who strive arduously and honestly to attain this ideal of citizenship, and have raised correspondingly the whole tone and temper of their town or taluq; but the very parochialness of their labours

prevents their influence spreading and secures that their example shall be non-contagious. Good citizenship is a visitation, at present sporadic, to be welcomed as epidemic; an ill to which we would gladly see all flesh heir.

The subject is necessarily a wide one; it might, indeed, be said that in one sense the duty of the citizen is co-extensive with the whole duty of man. I shall not endeavour to treat of it in such a comprehensive aspect, nor on the other hand shall I make any attempt to strictly define it by metes and bounds. Shrinking from any such severely systematic treatment, I shall rather pick out a few of what seem to be the more important duties of a citizen of India at the present time, and handle them in a more or less discursive manner. These duties may conveniently be grouped under the following heads:—

I. To know and understand the history, the institutions, and the government of the country.

II. To take greater interest and to more continuously participate in the conduct of municipal and local affairs.

III. To promote education.

IV. To support and improve the indigenous press.

I. The duty I have placed first is one of which the importance cannot be over-estimated, and that importance increases *pari passu* with the spread of education and the development of our political institutions. A knowledge of history performs a double service; it enables us to discern and shun real dangers, it prevents us being frightened and driven back by mere bogies. At no moment is its service more necessary than when new education,—carrying therewith new ideas, new hopes, and new fears,—is beginning to spread and ferment among the masses. England itself is becoming instantly alive to this momentous fact. It is difficult to realize that only in our own generation has such knowledge ceased to be the appanage of the privileged few. For but sixty years have the masses—as distinct from the classes—possessed a share in the government of their country; their education, in any appropriate sense of the word, is less than thirty years old. With this increase of power, with this permeation of education throughout the masses that have thus acquired the power, have come the recognition of the value of the lessons of history and a demand for the teaching of them. *Mens agitat molem*; and as the mind be well or ill-instructed, so will the agitation of the mass be well or ill-ordered. A landmark in this

direction was the recent opening of a course of twenty-five lectures to teachers—the first I believe in London—on "The Government of Great Britain and the rights and duties of English Citizens," under the auspices of the London Society for the extension of University teaching. In the course of a most pregnant introductory address the Hon. James Bryce, M.P., bore strong testimony. He said that "The subject was one which had been neglected in a most extraordinary way almost down to the present time, but he was glad to note that there was now a general feeling that it should find a place in all schools where the age of the pupils admitted of its being taught. He firmly believed that elementary teachers would have much to do in moulding the citizens of the future, and he hoped that those teachers who were going to address themselves to giving instruction in this subject would be encouraged by the thought of the great mission which was committed to them and the great fruit which their efforts might bear. They would not merely have to instruct their pupils, but to interest them in the subject. Democracy rested upon the intelligence, interest, and public spirit of the masses of the people, but important as it was that the people should be intelligent it was not less important that they should take an interest in their duties, for of all the evils which democratic government had to encounter, ignorance and party spirit were not so much to be feared as apathy."

The ignorance as to the mere elementary facts of history is appalling and too often over-looked because highly comic. There are not many so bad perhaps as the old colonel, who, coming home recently after thirty years' service in India, found not only his fine old crusted arguments but the convictions of a life turned topsy-turvey by the discovery that the Mahrattas are not and never were Mussalmans. I found a friend of my own the other day, an Oxford man, who had taken history in the schools, to be under the impression that Brahmans and Hindus were identical, and that all non-Brahmans were non-Hindus. One can hardly fathom the depth of ignorance and confusion of ideas whereby the "Bengali Baboo" has become the most redoubtable bogie-man of the sciolist of the English press. Think again of the extraordinary jumble of misstatement and misconception underlying most of the daily talk and writing about the warlike races and nationalities of India. Fluid ignorance seems generally to have coagulated into some such concrete form as this; all the Muhammadans belong to warlike aces, and all the warlike races are Muhammadans. So far is this

carried that some Muhammadans seem actually to imagine that all their co-religionists in India form a nation, in the sense that they are of one race, one blood, one origin, mutually inclusive and exclusive. Many Hindus on the other hand go equally far astray in appearing to believe that the Muhammadans are solely descendants of invading foreigners, aliens now and in the past. These are indeed gross instances; but if such monstrous distortions are possible, how vast must be the ignorance when we come to matters of greater detail and nicety. Thanks to his school books, elementary though they be, the educated Indian is preserved from the more fatuous errors of this description; but when he comes to deal with the origins and history of the institutions of his country, he is—or perhaps I should more correctly say, until recently was—not a whit better-instructed than his English neighbour. It is, or ought to be, needless to press home the value of such knowledge; but I am tempted to quote again from Mr. Bryce. In the address already referred to he said,—"that there was a very remarkable feature about our institutions which he thought could not be too strongly impressed upon the minds of all patriotic Englishmen, for it gave our country a position that was unique in the history of the world—*viz.*, that English institutions were the product of a great variety of diverse interests. English institutions were the product of three diverse sources—the primitive Teutonic institutions which our forefathers brought from the mouth of the Elbe and the shores of the Baltic; the Scandinavian elements which came in the great invasions of the Norsemen; and the influences which were derived after the Norman conquest from the Continent of Europe, which were partly the results of the institutions which the Roman Empire bequeathed to the nations over which it held sway, and partly of the institutions which the Franks brought from Germany into Gaul. These sources from whence our institutions had been drawn must be appreciated and understood if we would have a due idea of the spirit of the British Constitution. In the course of the last century our institutions which had been welded together in the Middle Ages, had begun to spread themselves into divers streams, though our first settlements on the American continent dated back to the first decades of the seventeenth century. Since the political severance of the United States that country had been working out for itself those developments of ancient English institutions which we had been working out in the mother country, while still later each of our colonies had started upon its own path,

and in Australia, Canada, and the Cape we saw developments of British institutions. In each case the development was to a large extent different, yet in every case they found that the institutions that were at work to day were institutions to understand which it was necessary to go back to centuries before Magna Charta."

I suspect if Mr. Bryce had but allowed *India* to occupy a corner of his thoughts, he would not have employed the word *unique*. I should venture to say that Indian Institutions of to-day are the product of even a greater variety of diverse interests. We have the primitive institutions of the aboriginal races (aboriginal, that is, as existing in the origins of history) now mainly represented by the Dravidians; then come the elements introduced by the Aryan immigrants from the north; next the influence of the Muhammadan conquerors; finally the importation of new blood from the west, culminating in the imperial system of British administration. The time is ripe for the penning of a history of the weaving of this intricate texture: the man will doubtless soon appear; for when was the man wanting when the time had come?

Knowledge of the facts of political history and of the development of institutions and constitutions will not leave the citizen fully equipped for his task. The practical working of Government machinery at the present day must be studied as complementary to the other branches. The highest theoretical knowledge coupled with the extreme of practical ingenuity will not preserve the engineer from disaster, if he be ignorant of the strength of his materials and the circumstances under which his apparatus is expected to work. A bare allusion to this important consideration must suffice; adding that here is an inviting and by no means dishonourable field, for the wisest and most experienced of our citizens. It is one, too, in which public servants, dexterous in handling the machine, could assist to the great profit of both rulers and ruled—as, only too few of them, alas! condescend to do.

It is further to be borne in memory that knowledge such as I have described, useful even necessary though it be, is not the sole or perhaps even the highest object of the study of history. The crowning advantage is the production in the student of the historic spirit, of the historic frame of mind. The habit of orderly arrangement and deliberate weighing of facts and circumstances, the power of discerning the presence or absence or confusion of motives, the tracing

of cause and effect, the tact of reading character, and estimating the forces acting between man and his environment, the training of the sense of perspective, all tend to create a habit of thought which, when applied by any considerable section of the community to actual facts and contemporaneous events, is the surest safeguard of a country's peace and prosperity. The greatest catastrophes—apart from foreign invasions—in the histories of nations, occur when the mind of the nation as a whole is off its balance, and the course of the aberration can generally be traced by the historian to its antecedent causes. Sometimes these causes are recent, more often remote; but a perfect acquaintance with their symptoms and course in the past is of incalculable assistance in diagnosing the ailments of the body politic to-day.

It is then cheering and encouraging to find that the pursuit of historical studies is taking firm grip of the younger generation of students. Since the introduction of history and especially of the vivifying writings of Sir H. S. Maine as subjects for the Degree Examinations of the Indian Universities, they have proved instantly and powerfully attractive. Thus, in the University of Madras the Bachelors of Arts who have graduated in History since the reorganisation already number 409, thus distancing all other subjects except Mental and Moral Science, where the number is 601. The latter subject had a great start, as it nearly coincided with the old curiculum, while the History Branch was quite new; and this handicap accounts for the difference, which the younger science is quickly lessening. At the Degree Examination of 1894, indeed, the numbers registered were nearly equal, being for Mental Science 254, for History 239. Having been privileged both to teach and to examine in History in connection with the Madras University, I may be permitted to express —for what it is worth—my assured conviction that the study is pursued by most, not merely as a necessary and distasteful prelude to a degree and entry into professional life, but with real ardour and intelligent interest, as of a traveller entering into an unknown pleasant and fruitful region. And these studies have not seldom been prosecuted long after the necessity for doing so has ceased; while many of the younger generation are engaged in independent work—which need not here be particularised—not only in Madras but throughout India. It may be added that there is every indication that these studies are raising the tone of legal knowledge and leading to the formation of a school of lawyers in whose pleadings and judgments historical evolution will be secured the seat of honour.

It is not of course possible or desirable for all our citizens to specialize in history; but it is the duty, in the first place, of the specialist to place the results of his studies freely and honestly at the disposal of his fellow citizens, the public; it is the duty, secondly, of the educated members of the public to popularize and spread these teachings among their less-favoured fellows; and above all it is the duty of the wealthy members of the community to help with money in some one or other of the numerous ways wherein money is essential to progress. Such are the provision of libraries; the encouragement of research by endowment of scholarships, or direct subsidies to scholars; the recovery, utilization, and if need be printing of ancient manuscripts; and the publication of historical works and of the proceedings of historical societies. Each of my readers will be able to recognise where lies his duty and how he may best accomplish it. Let me pass from this subject by calling to mind one solid achievement of historic research of our generation; it has dispelled for ever the delusion that the idea of representation is foreign to the mind and nature of India. If any fact is more firmly established than another it is this; that representation and its mother co-operation were the greatest political instruments in India in days when as yet the sun of Rome was beneath the horizon and Britain plunged in the darkest night of savagery; and though their influence has often since been overshadowed, it has never been extinguished. If historical research had done no more than this in one generation, India could truly say it had done its duty.

II. The second obligation to which I desire to draw attention is that of taking greater interest, and more continuously participating, in the conduct of Municipal and Local affairs. The extension of the representative system so far as it has gone—and it has gone quite far enough to re-establish the principle and prevent any going back for ever from the position attained—is the greatest of the boons we owe to the policy inaugurated by Lord Ripon. We are accustomed to point with pride to the good work which is being performed daily by public-spirited citizens all over India in administering their own affairs. I should be the last to disparage that work, unequal though it be and marked by many instances of ineptitude or apathy. But what is done now is but a tithe of what must surely come in the future, if the people show themselves in an ever-increasing degree capable for the task and worthy to be entrusted with it. The growing burden of Govern-

ment can only be borne by ampler measures of delegation. The cost of educated officers in positions of responsibility is already high enough—many of us think crushingly high. Every one would revolt in principle from the Mughal and Roman plan of sending officials into a district to administer it and, doing so, to screw their own pay out of it the best way they can. It was said that the accumulations of a Roman Provincial Governor were devoted, during the first year to paying off the loans raised for bribes to secure his post, during the second year for himself, and during the third to defraying the costs of his inevitable trial for corruption and bribing the judges who should acquit him. But though we shudder at the principle, the practice is but little less cruel to the people of filling positions of power and responsibility with hordes of needy and underpaid minor officials. The power entrusted to subordinates—and the corresponding opportunities for oppression—in many departments, such as revenue, police, excise, forests, is excessive and is increasing. It is increasing simply because the point has been reached at which it is impossible to make the corresponding necessary expansion in the higher grades, to augment *pro ratâ* the number of superior officers drawing a pay sufficiently high to secure honesty and independence. It is forbidden to go further in this direction simply because the expense cannot be borne by the people. The tension of taxation has approximated so closely to the breaking point that any further strain must produce a rupture. It seems to me that the only possible solution of the difficulty is by the gradual and continuous transfer of the task of local supervision over many branches of administration to bodies —such as Municipalities and Taluk and District Boards—which do the work for nothing. But such transfer can only be legitimate as these bodies prove themselves more and more capable of performing the duties now entrusted to them with ability, energy, and honesty. The extension of representative Government which will be brought about by such an amplification of functions and augmentation of power will be more far-reaching and of more solid benefit to the country than perhaps any increase of the elected element in the Legislative Councils. There are many who judge, and judge rightly, that the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 and the Local Government Act of 1888, followed by its inevitable supplement, the Act of 1894, have done more to mould the history and direct the progress of the people of England than even the Parliamentary Reform Bills of 1832 and 1885. It is a pregnant reflection "that Government is not altogether a matter of choice"; and it is specially true when applied to the

governors. Unless a people is sunk in the deepest apathy and ignorance—and such interludes do occur in the history of all nations—a Government cannot disregard and is helpless to resist the momentum of the great mass of the people of which it forms the apex. If the tail cannot wag the dog, no more can the head, if the dog is not willing. And that Government is wise which suffers "revolution through reform" ere it is too late to avoid the compulsion of granting "reform through revolution".

Although much good work is being done throughout the country by intelligent and self-sacrificing members of the community, I am afraid that there is yet room for a very wide infusion of public spirit, that there are yet many who are sadly in need of the invigorating ailment contained in a dose of civic ozone. There are too many—and these it is shameful to say often enough among the educated classes—who look with disdain upon what they deem the humble duties of administering the affairs of their own bourg and safe guarding the interests of their neighbours and of themselves; while not a few, having accepted the position for alien motives, utterly neglect the duties they are morally bound to perform and to perform faithfully. This is particularly the case with non-official Europeans and those Indians who have received or completed their education in England. Noble and notable exceptions we have, and the respect accorded to their experience and the estimation in which they are personally held should prove a powerful incentive—if higher and less selfish motives are of no avail—to others to follow in their footsteps.

There is one particular branch in which we in India have as yet much to learn; I refer to the conduct of elections. I hope we shall never graduate in the *haute ecole* of gerrymandering and wire pulling, which have had such disastrous effects in the United States and from which in England neither party is unfortunately altogether free; but it is a different thing to anticipate greater judgment in the selection of candidates, profounder acquaintance with the questions at issue, less waste of strength in wild-goose chases, a keener watching of the service performed and the pledges kept or broken, a more rigid dismissal of those who have proved unworthy servants. And, above all let us recognise, as it is now coming to be recognised in Great Britain, that it is men who have done good service at home, who have borne the burden and heat of the day, that deserve promotion to higher and more honorable seats when the time comes,—and not those who, having stood haughtily aloof from all local effort and work, come forward to carry the more coveted

positions by the sole help of their money-bags, broad acres, or ancient name.

III. I pass now to the duties of the citizen in promoting the education of the ninety per cent. of his fellow countrymen who are still above high-water mark and have not been reached by the regenerating waters of the sacred stream.

It may be said that surely education needs no impulsive force behind it in this country. And certainly the progress of education in the last sixty years furnishes perhaps the most remarkable instance the world has ever known of the effect upon the body politic of inoculation with this best of anti-toxins. India is proving every day that education is the surest prophylactic against the ills political flesh is heir to. But it is at the same time true that this innate energy, this superabundance of robust life, lures many into the delusion that no help, no guidance, no restraining and correcting hand is required. I do not intend to diverge into discussion of the subjects and methods of education, important though such discussion be. I confine myself solely to a few of the various modes in which citizens may encourage and direct education as a part of the general polity of the country.

And here, referring back to the last head, I would remark that education is the department in which the system of delegation referred to is likely to be first extended. We have this to some extent already in the application of Local and Municipal funds to primary education, but I believe it must soon expand. The demands of education in India will at a very early date outgrow the possibility of satisfaction by private effort, however liberally aided by a maternal Government. A national system will be demanded; and as Government has enunciated and confirmed the policy of withdrawal from the direct maintenance and control—except under special circumstances—of colleges and schools, there is no alternative left but the inauguration of the school-board system for primary and secondary schools, with colleges and other higher or special institutions supported and managed by District Councils. The advantages to education, especially to colleges and technical or professional institutes, will be immense, but cannot be enlarged on now: suffice it to say that here will be a field for the energies of our ablest and best. Plenty opportunities exist for training in the work and gaining that experience which will prove invaluable in the future.

Apart from this public task, there are two more private and universal duties, too frequently disregarded altogether.

The first of the duties is that of every parent to take an intelligent and lively interest in the education of his own children. My

experience of over ten years teaching in India has been sufficient to convince me that this precept is more honoured in the breach than the observance. Either parents are utterly apathetic, or, when they interfere, they do so only for the purpose of endeavouring to support the child in rebellion against the master. The father is too often the helpless slave of the son—doubtless frequently through the intermeddling of a fond but foolish mother,—and strives, without any regard for the boy's future good, to induce the teacher to act against his conscience and render himself ridiculous by breaking his rules and regulations for the gratification of a childish whim. This evil tends to remedy itself with the increase in the number of educated parents; but even educated parents, and especially educated grand-fathers and fathers-in-law, are far from being free from the cruel weakness. It may be said that teachers have themselves to blame for yielding to such influences, but teachers are only human after all. In our great colleges and professional institutions, resistance is easy and effective, but it is otherwise in schools in small towns and throughout the mofussil. When competition is strong and numbers falling or fees precarious; when caste or personal influence is brought to bear; when the teacher's very salt depends upon keeping on good terms with the Manager or Municipal Commissioner who is urging the relaxation of the rules—who will blame the poor pedagogue if he fall? Therefore it is that I call upon all parents who have themselves enjoyed, and so presumably can appreciate, the benefits of education, to render assistance to the teacher when his action is just and necessary; and rather to endure the evil of broils at home than endanger the peace and efficiency of the school.

The second imperative duty in this connection is to endeavour by every means and on all occasions to raise the status of the teacher. Unfortunately, the position and pay of the teacher has not kept pace with the progress of education in general. Rather have they retrograded. It is a disaster that it should be so. The public respect and private veneration extended of old days to the *guru* has not been continued to his modern successor. Even within comparatively few years a great change has taken place, due perhaps to not very recondite causes, but none the less to be deplored and if possible remedied. Three causes at least are apparent on the surface.

First there is the severe competition of Government service and the learned professions, which drain the sources of supply of

the highest and most fervent intellects. The schoolmaster's profession has been more and more tending to become the refuge of the destitute, the last resort of those who find themselves unable to pass the portals of law or medicine or special test. Even the young men of ability who by pressure of circumstances, mainly lack of pence, accept positions in schools and colleges, too often do so with the single purpose of saving enough to make a start elsewhere, intending when that object is accomplished to abandon their work with anything but a heavy heart. The glamour of journalism, the fees of the lawyer, the pension of the official, prove too much for the dreary task-work of the map and black-board.

The second cause is the very slight prospect of obtaining employment or promotion in the Government educational service. This is now so limited in numbers and so restricted by the requirements of specialism, that only the very select few can hope to enter it, while the prizes to be gained when in are few and far from tempting. Under a national system of education such as I have foreshadowed, things must better themselves. At present, the would-be teacher is thrown back upon private employment. There engagements are uncertain, promotion irregular at all times and often absolutely blocked, while pensions are of the lowest, granted, when they are given at all, as matters of favour and charity and not as a right acquired by virtue of long service.

The third cause is the growing competition of Europeans for positions and salaries which would not so long ago have been deemed utterly beneath their notice. The pressure of the unemployed in Great Britain is so great that many graduates of English, Scotch, and Irish Universities gladly now accept appointments in India at very reduced rates; the permanency of the position compensating for the lowness of the salary. No second grade college however small is now complete without its one or two European graduates, and the bigger High Schools will soon follow suit. I do not disregard or minimize the value of this infusion of foreign schoolmasters, or the healthful influence which such immigrants at least ought to have on the communities in which they are placed; but from our present point of view it is evident that—though relatively few in number—they seize the plums of the service; the legitimate aspirations of the successful native teacher are stifled; and consequently the whole status of the rank and file of the profession is sensibly depreciated.

From these and other causes it has resulted that the outlook of the teacher is a sorry one, his position equivocal, his remuneration

inadequate. It follows that in a country where permanent office is esteemed above all things, the teacher is deemed by his fellow citizens a very inferior being to the lordly denizen of the cutcherry or the registrar's office; and unfortunately his pupils too often catch the prevailing vein—and then the teacher's lot is essentially not a happy one. Time will undoubtedly prove the best remedy for this untoward state of things; but somewhat may be done even at present. And first, we should each of us endeavour to show the teacher the honor due to his profession and to assist him in retaining the respect of his youthful subjects. A recognition of the fact that the pay of teachers is cruelly low and that in addition they are generally abominably over-worked, will often lead to increases in the former and diminutions in the latter; simply because the question had not before been fairly thought out in its true light. Here mischief is often done from want of thought more than from want of heart. And further we should assist and encourage all endeavours to start and carry on pension and provident funds among the teachers. They, it must be confessed, have been extremely apathetic in such matters themselves. They seem to have lapsed into the conviction that they are indeed a feeble folk; and that their function is to humbly endure the ills they cannot cure. I see no reason why there should not be in each Presidency a strong and efficient Teachers' Union, safeguarding the interests of the profession and administering its various funds. There are practical difficulties, I know, in the way; as a teacher I have experienced them. But they are not insurmountable, and I believe that were the teachers themselves to show any desire to form such an Union and take any steps in that direction, the pecuniary help and moral support from outside and from the public—which would be at first essential—would not be found wanting.

Each man must discover for himself in which direction his help can be most effectively given; but of this I am sure that everyone of us has not only one but numberless opportunities of encouraging education and honouring its teachers; and if we let these opportunities slip, we shall neglect one of the most sacred duties of citizenship.

As an instance of the numberless unsuspected directions in which neglected duties of this kind may be found, I cite one that comes to hand as I write. On the first page of the current number of "*Truth*," I find Mr. Labouchere writes as follows:—

"Just before Christmas I received a very moving appeal from Sir Roper Lethbridge and Miss Manning, Hon. Sec. of the National Indian Association, for a gift of a few toys from the *Truth* collection

for exportation to the girls' schools in India. The TRUTH Toy Fund being expressly for the benefit of the children in the London Workhouses and Hospitals, it was, of course, impossible for me to comply with this request; but I feel pretty sure that among my readers there will be many only too happy to assist the National Indian Association in the direction indicated. The number of girls in the Government elementary schools in India is increasing steadily; but, unfortunately, there are no funds available for the prize-givings, which usually play such an important and useful part in school life. The National Indian Association sends out from time to time boxes of toys and small presents for distribution in the schools, and these distributions are worthy of every encouragement, for they serve not only to stimulate the interest of the children in their school life, but also to implant in the rising generation a kindly feeling towards their English benefactors. Unfortunately, for the present the Indian Association's stock is exhausted, and those who may be willing to assist in replenishing it cannot do better than to communicate at once with Miss Manning, at 35, Blomfield Road, W."

My strongest feeling on reading this appeal was one of shame. It is doubtless over-coloured, for I know of many girls' schools in India which are as well provided with prizes as the schools for their brothers; but that, even so, any solicitation at all of the kind should be possible, is humiliating. It is not a pleasant thing to realize that a large section of the British public must be under the impression that we in India see no disgrace in cadging on the poor and sick children of London for school prizes for our own little girls. I should hope that never again would there be even the shadow of a foundation for such shame-faced begging.

IV. The last duty on which I shall touch, and that but briefly, is the duty of supporting and improving the press of the country, whether that press be Anglo-Indian, Indian, or Vernacular. As to the first I fancy we are too prone to class them all together, as if all were tarred with the same brush. The fact that some stand out as warning beacons of unfairness, unveracity, and toadyism, is a reason the more for supporting and encouraging those journals which endeavour in India to act up to the best traditions of British journalism. Where-ever we find an honest desire to investigate facts, anxiety to arrive at the feelings, wishes, and opinions of others, a fairness in the treatment of adverse arguments, and a resolve to form an independent opinion,—there we should bestow support and encouragement. With such treatment, truth and justice will never suffer. It is absurd to applaud a writer simply because he agrees with us, when his sup-

port may be due solely to the desire to agree and his attempts to establish his position the merest balderdash; it is equally absurd to suppose that every writer who disagrees with our conclusion is prompted thereto by mere spite and is wholly perverse. By recognising genuine seekers after truth, we encourage them to reinvestigate the matter in a sympathetic spirit; and by supplying them with fresh material, may lead them to form a different and more favorable estimate.

With reference to Indian papers,—by which I mean journals conducted by natives of India in the English language,—I fear it must be confessed that much is lacking. One great defect is that so few of them are *newspapers* in the real sense of the word; their contents are more like those of a weekly philosophic review than of a daily purveyor of news. When news is given, there is too often a sad lack of business capacity evinced in the presentment of it. It is stale, incorrect, imperfect, irregular. Hence it comes that, by many, such a publication can be taken only as supplemental to, and never in place of, the Anglo-Indian paper. The inevitable result is that most fail to take it at all: their patriotism or curiosity will not extend so far as subscribing for both. But if only every educated man would, notwithstanding all this, subscribe for his local journal —and not rest content with a glance at its pages in his club or reading room—the increased funds placed at the disposal of the proprietors would help them in remedying the defects. Unfortunately native capitalists have not yet awakened to the fact that a fortune can be made out of a well-conducted journal.

Another and very serious evil is the laxity of supervision on the part of many editors over the matter admitted into their columns. Some of them seem to accept any communication from a local correspondent or any letter from an irresponsible outsider without the slightest investigation into the correctness of the statements made, or the faintest care for the reputation or character of persons who may be attacked. In this way they often—without any conscious desire on their own part—permit themselves to be made the instrument of party spirit or personal malice. I admit that such *fainéant* editors show a corresponding readiness to apologise when their mistakes are pointed out; but the cases are rare where apology, however abject, is any real remedy for the evil done by the original libel. It is the duty of every honest man to reprobate this carelessness wherever and whenever it occurs, and to remind the editor that such a course prevents the reposal of confidence in his statements even when such are free from blame.

I am fully aware of the difficulties in which the Indian journalist is enmeshed,—want of money, want of experience, want of a discriminating public. To the first I have referred, the last cannot be created all at once or even very rapidly. Want of experience is more easily remedied, as soon as we dispel the foolish notion that any school boy who can write a sentence of English is fit to jump into a newspaper office. I am surprised that among all the active and enterprising young men who go to England, none think of training themselves for the journalistic profession. Two or three years spent in the office of some substantial journal,—and for this purpose a provincial journal would be the most useful—would enable a sharp young man, with a turn for business and ordinary journalistic writing, to completely transform an Indian newspaper and, I venture to predict, make it a financial success. It is business capacity, good reporting, attractive presentment of news, and accuracy in detail that are wanted—not mere philosophical essays in the shape of leaders. . . .

Writing of the latter class is doubtless of value in its own sphere, but only a very small corner of that sphere belongs to the daily journal. We have room besides these for weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies in which more substantial fare may be purveyed. I may be pardoned by the Editor for suggesting that this Review is a very praiseworthy experiment, which, if conducted as we have abundant reason to anticipate it will be conducted, deserves the support of every good citizen. If it is so supported, it will certainly prove to be the precursor of many other magazines and reviews. Periodical literature is but in its infancy in India; let us all cordially join in nourishing it into a lusty manhood.

I trust I shall not be deemed to underrate the importance of those more public and Imperial labours which must always have irresistible attractions for patriotic and public-spirited men. But though less brilliant, the duties to which I have called attention are not less important; and it is just because they are homely and unattractive that we require to be constantly reminded of them and spurred on in the pursuit of them. Working in the trenches is doubtless dull and unheroic work, but may have more permanent and practical results than leading a charge of cavalry. By a strict and honest observance of these every day routine duties, the character of a whole nation is formed and strengthened, and a foundation laid on which a grander edifice may be erected to stand unshaken.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND NATIVES.

THE question of the feasibility of the promotion of a more intimate social relation between Europeans and Natives is not new, nor will the task be found easy, unless one has a knowledge of the vast difference in the habits, thoughts and avocations of the two races. That there is a wide gulf between the two races, which even a century of British rule has not succeeded in bridging there is no need to prove. But unfortunately those who have either written or spoken on this delicate subject have done more harm than good by their *exparte* statements. A few years back an article appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, from the pen of Mr. Wilfred Blunt, professing to trace the history of the "ever-widening gulf of personal dislike," which separates the educated Indian from the "individual Englishmen who rule them"; and I know for certain that if that article had any effect at all, it was to make the gulf wider than it was before Mr. Wilfred Blunt took upon himself the self-imposed task of bridging it. I shall quote a single passage from the article referred to: "I shall no doubt incur anger by saying it, but it is a fact that the English woman in India, during the last thirty years, has been the cause of half the bitter feelings there between race and race. It was her presence at Cawnpore that pointed the sword of revenge after the Mutiny, and it is her constantly increasing influence now that widens the gulf of ill-feeling and makes amalgamation daily more and more impossible. I have over and over again noticed this. The English Collector, the English Doctor, or the English Judge may have the best will in the world to meet their Indian neighbours and official subordinates on equal terms. There wives will hear nothing of the sort, and the result is a meaningless interchange of cold civilities." Such statements as these do more harm than good and have been indulged in frequently. I do not pretend to throw any new light on the subject, but my position as an Indian, and as one who has had the privilege of a long stay in England, enables me to view the problem from a point of view

different from that usually taken by my countrymen; and hence this attempt to place before the readers of this journal my views on the subject.

In the first place let me say that a complete fusion of the two races, under present conditions, is an utter impossibility; and when I speak of free social intercourse, I do not mean a state of things that would lead to such a complete fusion. The intermarriage of the races is a subject, which, perhaps, does not come within the scope of this article, but I may be permitted to say that, despite the few instances that have taken place, the time even for the discussion of such a theme has not yet arrived. That such marriages have taken place, and some of them may have turned out happily, may possibly be true; but the very idea of such a thing has, we may say happily, not yet become familiar to the European mind, and it must be long before the many, and, as at present seems, insuperable objections to such marriages becoming common can be overcome. It is strange, but still it is a known fact that, so long as human nature remains what it is, eastern and western nations cannot amalgamate without a loss to both.

Before attempting to answer the question of the possibility of the promotion of a more intimate social relation between Europeans and Natives, it is necessary to take a glance at the present state of Indian Society, to understand clearly of what elements, homogeneous or heterogeneous, it is composed, and also discover whether there is any likelihood of these elements being welded into one homogeneous whole. The word "Indian," in its widest acceptation, embraces all people who live in India, including Brahmins, Sudras, Pariahs, even Muhammadans, not to speak of the various sections and sub-sections into which these are divided. Professor Seeley has pointed out in his *Expansion of England* that all the elements of a common nationality are absent in India, *viz.*, (1) community of race or rather the belief in a community of race; (2) the sense of a common interest and the habit of forming a single political whole; and (3) a common religion. Whatever may be the changes coming over the country now,—and some powerful influences are being brought to bear upon the races inhabiting India—it must be admitted that the caste system is still in the ascendant and prevents the amalgamation of the Indian peoples so widely diverging in language, in social customs, and in religion. The educated classes, it is true, claim to be free from the trammels of caste, but the glaring incongruity between thoughts and deeds, between public pro-

fession and private practice, is felt by none more keenly than by the educated Hindu himself. Much is said against caste, but caste still reigns supreme in some form or other, even in the most enlightened classes. There is still an absence of perfect sympathy among the peoples of India. Their habits and idiosyncracies, their prejudices and customs, prevent their complete fusion, and to this day they are separated by impassable barriers. Seeing that the points of disparity, between the different classes that constitute the Indian population, are so great as to make their cordially mingling with one another impossible, how then can we expect the Indian population, made up as it is of these motley, races, to mix cordially with Europeans, a people entirely differing from them in creed, colour, and costume? Charity, it is said, should begin at home; and so there should be free social intercourse first between classes of people which have greater affinities with one another. The European may well say:—"You wonder at there being an icy barrier between Europeans and Natives: what free intercourse is there between peoples who constitute the Indian population?" I do not mean to insinuate for a moment that there is no sympathy and social intercourse between the Indian races; what I mean is that before we begin to find fault with Europeans for their aloofness we should show that there is more of cordiality and union between the different Indian races, who, though locally intermingled, are still morally separated. There is still distrust between class and class; there is still that narrow exclusiveness and petty minded jealousy keeping the different castes and classes apart from one another. All efforts of our educated countrymen should, therefore, be directed towards creating a universal feeling of nationality. India consists merely of a vast assemblage of races divided into countless unsympathising castes and classes. A bond of union is needed. I do ofcourse admit that English education and western civilization have amalgamated to some extent the varying forces among the Indian population; but greater exertions must be put forth by the various castes and classes that exist in India to bring about a deeper sympathy and a more complete union. It is very easy to point out the mote in our neighbour's eye and overlook the beam in our own. Let not one caste despise another. Let there be an end of all religious intolerance and bigotry. Let there be a freer intercourse between Muhammadan and Hindu, Hindu and Christian, Christian and Muhammadan. Let all learn to think alike and also to act alike, "yoked in one fellowship of joys and pains," realizing that we are all fellow-citizens of a common mother country; and then

we shall have greater reason to complain of the icy barrier that now separates Europeans from Natives.

In trying to trace the cause of that absence of free intercourse between the rulers and the ruled, we should not fail to take into account one essential characteristic of the English nation. The English are the most reserved of all races. It is the nature of an Englishman to keep himself aloof from a foreigner, whether European or Asiatic, one with a dark or a white skin. A channel only twenty miles broad separates France from England, and yet there is a gulf between the peoples of these two countries nearly as wide as the one that separates the English from the dusky inhabitants of India. Referring to the insular character of the English, Emerson says:—"In short every one of these islanders is an island himself, safe, tranquil, incommunicable. In a company of strangers you would think him deaf; his eyes never wander from his table and newspaper. He is never betrayed into any curiosity or unbecoming emotion. They have all been trained in one severe school of manners, and never put off the harness. He does not give his hand. He does not let you meet his eye. It is almost an affront to look a man in the face, without being introduced. In mixed or in select companies they do not introduce persons; so that a presentaion is a circumstance as valid as a contract. Introductions are sacraments. He withholds his name. At the hotel he is hardly willing to whisper it to the clerk at the book office. If he gave you his private address and card, it is with an avowal of friendship; and his bearing on being introduced is cold, even though he is seeking your acquaintance, and is studying how he shall serve you."

This account of the English character contains much of truth. In the course of a conversatiou I once had with a German Missionary, who had lived in India for upwards of twenty years, he said:—"What strikes us Germans in India most is the utter exclusiveness of the English. They try their best to have as little to do with the Natives as possible. They even shun us, though we are so near of kin to them. We Germans behave differently in our colonies." Well, this state of things can be accounted for by the fact of the natural reservedness of the English character.

There is an innate sense of superiorty in the Englishman which makes him look upon himself as belonging to a race the first in all the world. To his eyes even his immediate neighbours, the French and the Germans, are his inferiors, and he becomes more alive to this superiority when he leaves his island home to mix with

foreigners. But at home he is himself natural and genuine. Hence, to know what the English really are we must go to their very firesides. It is only there that we find out their real character. It is there, more than anywhere else, you feel their kindness and consideration, their unaffectedness and liberality of feeling. It is worth going to England at any cost and inconvenience to find out what the English really are. Even now, as I look back, I cannot help bringing before my mind those happy days which I had the inestimable privilege of spending with English friends, who were none the less cordial because of my being a foreigner. These friendships I enjoy even now, though many seas lie between India and England. In that strange land many a door was open to me; and the kind treatment and the warm welcome I received in those English homes made my stay in England appear almost a pleasant dream to me. This has been the experience of others of my countrymen who have visited England. Let us not therefore judge hastily of the English in India, by looking at only the official side of their character. To a great extent they move in an artficial atmosphere in this country. Was it not Rudyard Kipling who said that the Ten Commandments ceased to be binding on an Englishman on this side of Aden? Whether he meant that this statement of his should be taken seriously or not, we do not need a Kipling to tell us that the conditions of life in India of an Englishman are entirely different from those in England.

I have referred to the innate sense of superiority of the Englishman and his natural reservedness. These features of his character have their ugly side as well. Too much of self-consciousness often degenerates into swagger; and there is no human infirmity so melancholy as British swagger. We see it manifesting itself in so many ways. To give one single example. There appeared three years ago a remarkable work by Dr. Pearson, entitled *National life and Character*. This work, which has been highly eulogized by the British Press, tries to work out one single idea, namely, that the dark races are in reality lower than the white races *in the sense of being unfit for progress and civilization*. Now there does not need much logic to point out that such a sweeping generalization, with regard, not to the *present* condition but to the *future* of the dark races, is the outcome of imperial insolence and a narrow conception of human progress; yet the numerous British critics of Dr. Pearson's work, including the London *Times*, accepted his assumption as a matter of course and never thought of question-

ing the very A. B. C. of his mode of reasoning, which is the outcome of national prejudice. The British as a nation have yet to learn that there is nothing in race which, under a systematic education and training, continued over long generations, could prevent the dark races from ultimately inheriting a higher civilization.

Then let us pray that come it may—
As come it will for a' that—
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth
May bear the gree and a' that,
For a' that and a' that,
It is coming yet for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that.

I am also afraid that the conditions of life in India of an Englishman are such that they tend to foster and nourish this questionable side of his character, namely race conceit. An Englishman arrives in India and finds to his utter astonishment that he is made more of than ever he was before; and if he is one who holds any position of official influence and draws a high salary, there will never be wanting a circle of natives who treat him almost as a demi-god. Not only are the lower classes given to cringing and fawning; but even the educated classes have the same weakness. There is a great deal of false hero-worship in India,—worship of mere pelf and power, and this trait in the native character, combined with the innate sense of superiority in the Englishman, is a serious hindrance in the way of bringing the two races together on any footing of equality.

But even admitting these—the peculiar constitution of Hindu Society and the natural reservedness of the English—as barriers to a complete social fusion, I do not see why there should not be a more cordial relationship existing between European and Natives than there is at present. After all, it is not much that the natives require of their English neighbours. They only desire a more friendly intercourse, a more kindly sympathy. What then can be the obstacles to these? Let us see.

Mr. C. T. Buckland, in his *Sketches of Social Life in India*, has an interesting chapter on Native life. He says that the chief cause of the want of social intercourse between Europeans and Natives is the little knowledge which the former have of the inner social life of the natives. An Englishman sees a Native in his office, where they meet together for the purpose of going through some dry work. They exchange a "good morning" or a "good

evening," and they never see anything of each other till they meet the next day to look over some official document or talk about business matters. I know the little knowledge which the English have of the inner social life of the natives is often brought forward as an obstacle to free social intercourse. But I fear that this excuse is a very lame one altogether. It is confounding cause and effect to say that the want of mutual knowledge is an obstacle to free social intercourse. If there is freer intercourse between the two races, the Europeans will certainly have a better knowledge of the inner social life of the Natives. Even Sir Monier Williams, notwithstanding his wide Indian experience, has fallen into the very same mistake. In an address he delivered at a meeting of the National Indian Association, he says—and he repeats it over and over again—that the want of sympathy on the part of the English towards their Indian fellow subjects is simply and solely due to the insufficient knowledge which the former have of India and the people. If Sir Monier Williams, in making such a statement, referred only to the English at home, there would have been no objection taken to it, but if he wishes to make out that the English in India are uncharitable and unsympathetic because they are ignorant, I can only say that the statement is incorrect. The English in India cannot conscientiously plead the want of mutual knowledge as an excuse for their unsympathetic conduct. The ignorance and there is plenty of it among Englishmen in India is the effect and not the cause of the unsympathatic nature of the majority of Englishmen who sojourn in our midst. We often come across very amusing instances of ignorance relating to India and Indians among Englishmen at home; such ignorance is pardonable. I saw nothing incongruous in an Englishman at home asking me whether the Zenanas were not a tribe of Afghans. I was not in the least surprised to see once a number of placards in a large town in England, announcing a Missionary meeting, in which it was said that the Bishop of Travancore, New Zealand, would take part. It did not in the least shock me when the daughter of a Member of Parliament once asked me, with much *naiveté*, whether in India houses were built of bricks. But when I am told that there are civilians who will not be able to pass an examination in the Geography of India outside their own presidency; when I remember coming across Englishmen in India using opprobrious terms such as "devilish" to designate the religious tenets of India; when I read sweeping statements about the character of the native

population, as for example, the following: "a nation of liars, perjurers, forgers, devoid of gratitude, trust, good nature, and every other virtue," "people addicted to adulation, dissimulation, dishonesty, falsehood, and perjury;" when one sees all this, one cannot but be astonished at such ignorance and come to the conclusion that such ignorance is only the outcome of national pride. Let there be good will and sympathy between the people of England and the people of India, then there will be no more talk about mutual ignorance. Want of sympathy is not rooted in the want of knowledge, it is the want of knowledge that is rooted in the want of sympathy.

Sir Monier Williams, in his deeply interesting work on "Modern India and the Indians," says: "The impenetrable barrier with which the Hindus surround their homes, and their refusal to sit at meals with Europeans, are fatal to mutual friendliness and sociability." The same causes are also assigned by Mr. C. T. Buckland, as coming in the way of a complete social fusion between the rulers and the ruled. "Two of the main elements," writes Mr Buckland, "of social intercourse, according to English ideas, consist (1) in dining, together, (2) in the interchange of ladies society." As regards the first, it is true dinners play an important part in lubricating business, softening asperities, and bringing about a good understanding between people; but at the same time it must be admitted that caste prejudices cannot be regarded as in any way constituting an insurmountable difficulty to free social intercourse. Caste prejudices have not prevented a few noble Englishmen and Englishwomen from forming the most agreeable relations with Indians belonging to the highest castes. It is indeed most unreasonable to say that because a man will not eat with me I will have nothing to do with him. If the English expect their Hindu fellow-subjects to give up caste, promising, on that condition, to move more freely with them, it is but just that the Hindus should expect their European neighbours to make some concession at least in return. Sir Monier Williams goes so far as to dissuade his countrymen in India from eating beef, on the authority of St. Paul, who says, "if meat make my brother to offend I will eat no flesh while the world standeth." An English gentleman who did not regard caste prejudices as forming any chief obstacle to a free intercourse between the two races said: "A man who will neither eat with you nor drink with you, it is said, nor admit you to his own wife's society, cannot be really intimate in your house. But I confess I cannot see the force of this

argument. In my own case I did not find any difficulty in forming the most agreeable relations with Brahmins, Muhammadans, Parsees, and Native Christians. I found no difference of any insurmountable kind between their ideas and my own, not more, indeed, than would be the case had they been Spaniards or Italians. The fact of their not breaking bread with me I am sure constitutes no kind of obstacle to our kindly relations." I have already admitted that caste prejudices do stand in the way of a greater social fusion between the two classes; but I do not regard the breaking of bread as an indispensable condition of social intercourse. Every one will admit that the social relations between educated Hindus and educated Muhammadans are of an intimate nature, and yet they do not dine with each other.

And then what about the exclusiveness of the Natives of India and their social and religious prejudices? it will be asked. An English lady, for instance, who wishes to know more about the inner life of the Hindus, does she not find a difficulty in being admitted into a Hindu home? It is my humble opinion that a foreigner will find very little difficulty in getting an insight into the inner life of the Hindu, if only he really seeks the acquaintance and friendship of the latter. Religious and social prejudices will never stand in the way of their becoming more intimately acquainted. A Native gentleman thinks it a great honour if only he receives a visit from his European friends. The native heart is naturally kind, but the kindness becomes warmer when the object of it is a member of the dominant class. The respect and attachment which Natives have to one of the ruling race, who does or means to do them good, is almost unbounded; any expression of real sympathy is always repaid by a hundredfold degree of respect and regard.

The degraded condition of Hindu women must, however, be admitted to be a fertile source of discontent. It is perfectly true that one of the main elements of social intercourse, according to English ideas, consists in the interchange of ladies' society. But here again, in trying to lift our women to a higher level, we naturally expect greater sympathy and support from our foreign neighbours, and more especially from English ladies resident in India. We dare not of course say that no attempts have been made by English ladies to help their Indian sisters. All honour to those few philanthropic European ladies who, both in India and in England, most disinterestedly help the cause of female progress in our country. We thank them most sincerely

for their invaluable help, but, at the same time, I believe I am right in saying that the number of English ladies in India who really wish to be of some direct use to their benighted Hindu sisters is very insignificant. How many English ladies, other than those who belong to the small and noble band of Zenana workers, to whom India owes so much, try to learn enough of the vernaculars to speak a few words in them! Perhaps this is expecting too much from them; but there are simpler and easier ways of helping the cause of female progress. English ladies can do much by their sympathy. The very fact, for instance, of an English lady visiting a school will draw scores of young girls to it; and, if the interest taken is lasting, much permanent good will come of it. We are not justified in asking much, knowing as we do the immense gulf that separates the majority of our females from those English ladies who sojourn in our midst. We only want a little more sympathy; we only wish them to take a little more interest in things that concern the welfare of India's women. Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress, by studying the Hindustani language, has shown, in an unmistakeable manner, her great sympathy with her Indian subjects, and this act of hers has been a source of great encouragement to them. In our own Presidency, her Excellency Lady Wenlock has done a great deal to promote the cause of the women of India, and the noble example set by this exalted lady will not be without its effect on her countrywomen. The good work done by ladies, such as Mrs. Grigg, Miss Gell, Mrs. Arundel, Mrs. Benson, Mrs. Brander, and others, is also bearing fruit in various directions. At the same time, we Indians, too, have our own duties. There is not the slightest use in commending with the lips a certain reform as beneficial to society; every possible step should be taken to carry it out practically. There are hundreds of our countrymen, who fully recognize the importance of female education, and know full well the conspicuous part it plays in the civilization of the country. They are ready to give, when an opportunity occurs, elaborate lectures on female education, and propose still more elaborate plans for carrying out a scheme of education throughout India; but when it comes to teaching their own wives, daughters, or sisters, to read or

write, their zeal or eloquence seems to vanish. So much then for their applying in practice what they highly applaud in theory. Let this one thing, therefore, be borne in mind: the spread of education among native females cannot but be fraught with good results, and will tend more to assimilate the character and mode of thought of the Hindu with that which is the outcome of Western Civilization than perhaps any other that can be devised. I know that there is a belief current among a class of natives that the general education of women will lead to the loosening of social ties, the displacement of customary ways, and the disturbance of the domestic equilibrium. Some even go further, and assert that the little education that Hindu girls have received has stripped them of the graces for which they were remarkable. But those who are interested in the educational progress of the country do make allowance for such opinions; and their complaints do not refer to the section of the native community which is hampered by such fears. All that they protest against is the apathy and indifference of the intelligent and educated natives, who are fully alive to the advantages of female education, but who, in spite of their enlightenment, have done practically nothing to further a cause which, they know full well, is fraught with the deepest issues to their country. It is true India is in a period of transition, and there must be some dislocation before the lessons of emancipation are fully learnt, and stability is reached. But the educated Indian knows this, and is fully aware that, in spite of temporary embarrassment, a time will come when a more perfect womanhood will be produced, and when the daughters of India will compare favourably in intelligence, in character, and in all the graces of life with her more favourably circumstanced sister in the West. His lack of practical interest is, therefore, all the more to be regretted.

It is often said that the moral gulf between Englishmen and Indians is so wide as to make the promotion of good will and sympathy between the two races an utter impossibility. Well, to this there can be given an easy reply. Granting that the English are morally superior to the Indians, then one of the signs of this moral superiority would necessarily be their mixing freely with their superi-

ors with the object of raising them to a higher level. I can never believe in the moral superiority of a person who thinks that one of the conditions of his exalted position is that he should keep himself aloof from his inferiors. And then again is the moral gulf so wide after all. If the English possess such sterling qualities as sincerity, straightforwardness, a passionate regard for truth, courage, and manliness, must it not be admitted that there is also much that is good, true, and lovely in the Indian character, as for example, patient perseverance, calm endurance under suffering, a love of simplicity, filial obedience, reverence for superiors, tenderness towards animal life, faithfulness in service, and toleration of religious diversities? Will, then, the English, by mixing more freely with their Hindu brethren, be solely the losers? To cultivate friendly relations all that is needed is a little blindness to each other's faults and a generous recognition of each other's virtues.

Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, in his work on "New India," makes out that the sympathies of the two nations are less kindly than they were in the days of a past generation; and this, he says, is chiefly due to the changed circumstances in which the ruling race has found itself. Europeans in India are mere birds of passage. Increased facility of communication has made them look upon their sojourn in India as more an exile. There is nothing to bind them to this land; and, as also a very large number of Europeans are resident in India, they are able to find companions among their own kinsfolk, and shrink from all avoidable communication from others. A few among them may associate with the natives from a sense of duty, but for their social and moral needs their own countrymen are sufficient, and not one Englishman in a thousand, when the hour comes for leaving India for good, is sensible of a wrench, of a void being created in his life, by the separation from any native whom he has known.

Natives should be more bold and straightforward in their intercourse with Europeans. If there is anything which a European looks upon as an indication of inferiority it is that cringing and fawning tendency, which is so conspicuous in the lower classes

of the natives of India. Human nature is always tickled by flattery and nourished by servile obsequiousness. Natives, at the same time, should take care that straightforwardness does not degenerate into arrogance or impudence. They should also try and learn the manners and etiquette of English society. It is with the English more than with any other nation that "manners maketh the man." There is, of course, much that is artificial in English Society with which an oriental finds himself unable to reconcile. Weightier matters of the law are often overlooked, while much stress is laid on the mint and cummin and anise of fashion and convention; but with the English, inexorable etiquette is imperative in its demands, and will be satisfied with no less than full and absolute obedience to the letter of its laws. The complete ignorance of the conventional rules and forms of English life places the native in a very awkward predicament. When, for the first time, he finds himself in company with English ladies and gentlemen, he feels as if he were anything but in his right place; he is deprived of all power whether of speech or action; he is literally paralized. He sits disconsolate in a corner, afraid to speak or move as if "wisdom gets its gems by gaping." The whole thing often takes the form of a tragic comedy where the hero is truly a tragic picture. His perplexed airs, his rustic manners, and embarrassed gait, when joined with more serious violations of etiquette, succeed only too well in making him an object of pity if not of contempt.

"Oft it chances in particular men
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
* * * * * * these men
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
Being nature's livery, or fortune's star,
Their virtues else, be they as pure as grace,
As infinite as man may undergo,
Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault."

There is one question connected with this subject which I am tempted to discuss, and that is the political effects of the estrange-

ment of the two communities; but the subject being a difficult one, I leave it to more competent men. A few words, however, with reference to it, I may be excused for saying here. It is absolutely essential for a foreign Government, in order to be successful in the administration of India, that it should understand the feelings, habits and institutions of the people over whom it holds sway. Legislation, taxation and the proper Government of a people require intimate knowledge of the people to be governed. A good Government ought to aim at the maximum of happiness and minimum of discontent in its subjects. This may be the philosophical ideal, but still every possible approximation must be made towards its realization. If much is not done in this direction the people will bear the yoke sullenly and with discontent. To bind natives by ties of gratitude is much better than overawing them by physical force. In writing thus, however, I am fully sensible of the existence in our midst of those sterling Englishmen and Englishwomen, who leave no stone unturned to keep up the happiest possible relationship between the natives and themselves. These are the salt of the English community. It is their presence that makes us love and respect our foreign rulers, and it is their influence that counteracts the evil effects of the presence of some ruffianly Europeans in our midst. There is one thing for which we Madrasees ought to be very thankful. I think I am right in saying that the relation between the Natives and Europeans in our Presidency is far more cordial than in any other part of India. At all events there is more sympathy between the two races here than in Bengal. We natives of the benighted Presidency had our equilibrium undisturbed even during the discussions of the Ilbert Bill. Even in the heat of that controversy Englishmen and Natives in this Presidency treated each other with the utmost consideration, courtesy and kindness.

In conclusion, let me say a few words about the practical methods that may be adopted with the object of promoting a more intimate social relation between Europeans and Natives. The establishment of Cosmopolitan Clubs is one step that is supposed to have been gained in the bringing about a better understanding,

but I fear very much the experiment that has been tried in Madras has not been a success from this point of view. Social gatherings are coming to be the order of the day. They, no doubt, do great good, as they facilitate the interchange of ideas and conduce to greater familiarity; but it all depends upon the way in which they are conducted. It often happens that at these gatherings the Europeans congregate together leaving the natives to enjoy intercourse among themselves. An Englishman seems to be keenly sensitive to the opinions of his fellowmen; and so long as fraternising with natives has not become the fashion in society he would not go out of his way to mix freely with his native fellow citizens. The fact is, many sacrifices have to be made on both sides before a greater reunion is established between the two races. Natives ought to be admitted socially to the conversational circles of Europeans. They ought not to be regarded as an inferior race, altogether unfitted for polite society. They have, of course, their peculiarities as much as other people; but it is by the constant collision of friendly intercommunication that the angles of difference are broken off and polished down. Although it is said that familiarity breeds contempt, yet there are not wanting instances in which, when it has been once established, people have come to esteem one another, whatever may be their national antipathies. The educated Natives, on the other hand, must try to make themselves acceptable to Europeans by adopting a graceful and gentlemanly bearing, and a polished and courteous mode of address. They ought always to be loyal to Englishmen, for what they have done and intend doing for India. Europeans, too, should take a keener interest in all that appertains to their Indian fellow subjects. Their short stay in India ought to be devoted, as much as possible, to the cultivation of friendly interests and social amenities. The late Lord Hobart, addressing an Indian audience on this very subject, once said, "the mere accident of race or faith, can never affect either the motive or the obligation of mutual friendliness and respect, and that whether born in England or India, and whatever may be the creeds and dogmas which have kept them so lamentably asunder, their mutual interest for the present and their hope for the future is, in reality the

same". These are pregnant words of wisdom, and if both Natives and Europeans would give up minor prejudices which must sooner or later melt away, before the sympathy of thought and feeling, thought strong enough to defy time and civilization, incalculable good would result. And let Englishmen in India remember this, that England's work in India does not consist merely in giving good laws, preserving peace, administering justice, preventing foreign aggression, checking famines, educating the people, and developing the trade and the material resources of the country; all these without the existence of a cordial and sympathetic feeling between Indians and Englishmen are useless. Let, therefore, the people of England and India join heart and hand in united efforts for the cultivation of each other's good will; let those in authority assume an attitude of kindness and genuine sympathy towards the natives; let individual Englishmen, laying aside all prejudices, stretch out their right hand of fellowship to those Indian brethren; let English ladies break through their selfish exclusiveness and endeavour to do something more for their benighted Hindu sisters; and let natives, educated natives, more especially, be more loyal, be more grateful for all that England has done for India; let them not obstinately and foolishly misrepresent every act of the British Government,—let all this be done, and then there will be no more talk about the "ever widening gulf of personal dislikes" that separates the rulers from the ruled.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

It was one of the declared objects of the change of policy associated with the name of Lord Ripon in India to furnish opportunities for the development of local Self-Government and to strengthen Municipal institutions.

But the Civil Service of India never had any sympathy with it and naturally therefore in very few districts does the experiment receive a fair trial.

It is interesting, however, to observe the English rulers while attempting to train the Hindus in Municipal local Self-Government by the creation of Municipalities, District and Taluq Boards, and Village Unions destroying by legislation the last vestiges of village Government that have survived the shock of the previous Governments and resisted the influence of nearly one century of English rule.

It is believed by some that the village community paid to the Sovereign in those days a revenue not so heavy as that which is now levied, and levied it on a basis preferable to the present system. It is further alleged that the village Government was far more efficacious for purposes of sanitation, police, &c., than the Government of the present day. If these allegations are true, the sooner our Government recognize these facts, the better. If they are not true, we shall be the better able to appreciate the magnitude of the task and the nature of the efforts that are being made to train the Hindus in local Self-Government.

In an oft-quoted passage in the fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, the Committee say, "under this simple form of Municipal Government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been seldom altered, and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured and even desolated by war, famine and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The

inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what Sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged; the Potail is still the head inhabitant and still acts as the petty Judge and Magistrate and Collector and renter of the village".

That at one time, these communities owned all the arable lands in the village in common there is no doubt. In many villages, periodical partition of arable lands still takes place though the Law Courts are very reluctant to recognize the practice. In other villages, men are still living who have cultivated lands under the old system. But it is also certain that the practice is dying out. Those who get the better class of lands, and those who carry out any improvement in the lands, are naturally anxious to secure them to themselves and in course of time they generally succeed. The Ryotwar system which made each individual ryot responsible for the payment of land tax on his land was a great blow to this communal system. Naturally, every ryot tries to get his land assessed as low as possible. Instead of having to deal with his own village headman who knew everything about his land and who could with the help of the village elders settle at once his own share of what the village had to pay to the ruling power, he has now to deal with a stranger generally ignorant of the conditions of village life. Other disputes between the members of the same village were then settled without difficulty. Even in the case of a difference with a neighbouring village, the village headman resorted to the king's officer and the disputes between the two villagers were settled immediately. No application was rejected on the ground that it was not stamped. No professional assistance was necessary to draw up petitions; nor was any reference necessary to any officials. The villagers were not dragged to the various stations of the Revenue officials; no interpreters were required, and above all the decision did not then rest with one not controlled by public opinion. The result was a speedy settlement of all agrarian disputes. But now once a man obtains possession, the other villagers are not able to dispossess him easily. The various Revenue settlements indicate the process of disintegration. According to one system the assessment was imposed on the village and the villagers as a body had to pay the assessment. They distributed among themselves the total Government demand on the village, the officials having nothing to do with it. The individual was responsible for his share of the demand to

the village community but this individual responsibility was neither sanctioned nor recognized by the Revenue officials. The next step was the recognition of individual responsibility by the Government. Here while the village continued jointly liable, the distribution of the entire revenue among the villagers was made with the approval and consent of the Collector. In order to secure a fair distribution of this public burden, the system of challenging was introduced. Any individual who considered that his holding was over—and that of his neighbour under-assessed, had the right to demand that the latter be made over to him at an enhanced rate and it was so made over to him in exchange for his own unless the latter consented to pay the enhanced rate. The joint responsibility of the village did not cease—but the individual responsibility was also recognized by the Revenue officials. In many cases the distribution of public demand was periodical. Individual responsibility was re-adjusted but this was done by the villagers themselves. Gradually, however, this re-distribution ceased and the demand once fixed on each individual was not liable to change.

Once this process was reached and each individual became liable for an ascertained demand, not liable to change at the instance of the village community, it followed that there was an end to the responsibility of the village community for the default of any one of them in payment of Revenue. Individual responsibility to Government was substituted for joint responsibility, and naturally the community lost the ownership which became vested in the individual members thereof.

The village also owned the gramanattam or house site; any villager could get land to build his house on payment of a trifling fee, if any, to the village.

Besides arable lands the village had waste lands. Portions thereof when necessary would be attached to the gramanattam or when there was pressure of population broken up for cultivation.

The village waste naturally continued to remain common property even after the interest in the arable lands had ceased.

But when the Government adopted the Ryotwar system of land assessment the fate of the village waste lands was sealed. When the settlement was entered into with each individual ryot, ignoring the communal system, the permission of the State became necessary for the occupation of any part of the waste lands. In

the course of the earlier settlements a portion of land was always secured for communal purposes. Though thus the Government first asserted their claim over this land on behalf of the village community, to whom the lands originally belonged, yet portions were given on pattas or leases to applicants who undertook to bring them under cultivation. Though such lands were originally only granted to the residents of the particular village, their claims were soon lost sight of or ignored, and strangers were freely invited or encouraged to take up such lands for cultivation.

The action of the Forest Department deprived the villagers of the use of land not so granted away. That Department was authorized to reserve any large block of waste, and the villagers were practically deprived of what was left them by the Settlement Department. Rules of course are always framed in a liberal spirit, but native public opinion is not yet sufficiently powerful to ensure their fair working. European supervision is never satisfactory over these low paid subordinates.

It is remarkable that this tendency of the Ryotwar system was pointed out by Lord Elphinstone at the commencement of the century.

The village community did not yield without a struggle. The village as a whole or each member of it individually was unwilling to renounce the claims or to pay any assessment for lands not under cultivation, while the Government, to protect the revenue as they called it, insisted on the power they claimed of giving their lands to strangers, or using it in any other way that commended itself to them.

The village community had practically to give way. The Government maintain and in effect enforce the position that they have the right to appropriate immemorial waste lands for any purpose without any reference to the village community and deny the village claim to preferential occupation, rent, or compensation.

The same result followed in Zemindaries.

The Zemindars were generally the representatives of the old ruling cheiftains or of their Viceroys or Governors. They clearly had no greater claim than the ruler had to the land or its produce. Though they were thus entitled only to a share of the produce, by virtue of the Sanads obtained under the permanent settlement, they claimed the proprietorship of all the lands included in their

Zemindary. In the case of waste lands, their claims were soon recognized. In the case of village sites, there has been greater difficulty but they generally succeeded in enforcing their claim.

Even in the case of arable lands they have practically succeeded in inducing the Courts to hold that the Zemindar is the owner of all the lands in the Zemindary, and however long a man and his ancestors may have been in possession of the land, he is liable to be turned out unless he succeeds in proving that the Zemindar has in some way recognized his claim to permanent possession. The result of course followed that the community lost their control over their individual member who came to regard himself as a tenant holding directly under the Zemindar.

In the Government Ryotwary villages, where there is no middleman between the Government and the village, the encroachment upon the rights of the villagers to the lands they occupied, proceeded more slowly though systematically. It took the form of revenue settlements and at every periodical settlement the officials found that the Government were entitled to get a larger share of the produce. It is a doctrine of political economy adopted by English officials in India that there is a certain style of living and standard of comfort for the Hindus, and if they adopt "a standard of living that their forefathers never enjoyed and themselves have no right to lay claim to," then by increasing the assessment they should be forced to adopt the inferior standard of comfort.

This broad fact must then be recognized that the village communities were *free* communities owning their properties and they have now lost their freedom completely under zemindari overlordship or under Government.

By losing their freedom, the community have lost their control over their individual members. Their power to preserve social order has also ceased. I do not maintain that the old communities with their doctrine of equality ought to be allowed to stand in the way of progress which is said to depend upon individual freedom; but this great change that the village communities are now in serfdom and have consequently no power to preserve social order or to control its individual members is a circumstance which is not generally recognized.

Curiously enough, when their own revenue is not affected Government officials are quite alive to this fact. They urge, and

with a good deal of truth, that the Government never intended to vest the Zemindars with the great powers they now claim over the people under them and that the law courts by practically recognizing the ownership of the Zemindars have placed the occupants of the lands at their mercy.

The Zemindars retort by asserting that their own villages will compare favorably with Government villages.

Impartial inquirers will probably feel no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that both sets of village communities have lost greatly, that as communities they have been almost broken up, at least with reference to village lands, and that it does not appear as yet that the change has been to their benefit.

This economic revolution has been accompanied by a revolution in the village polity not less important. Volumes have been written upon this aspect of the village communal system.

The village lands had their boundaries carefully marked. The lands themselves were divided into fields which were kept perfectly distinct for the purposes of general re-distribution of lands or distribution of water for purpose of cultivation. There were various village officers, their number varying with the needs of each locality, but twelve appears to have been a recognised number. The Head of the village represented the village in their dealings with the Government.

Some of the other officials were—

2. The Accountant.
3. The village Watchman.
4. The Messenger, or Peon.
5. The Irrigation water distributor.
6. The village Carpenter.
7. The village Blacksmith.
8. The village Barber.
9. The village Washerman.
10. The village Potter.
11. The village Astrologer.
12. The village Purohit or Priest.

The first six were Judicial, Revenue, and Police officials. It is unnecessary for us to refer to the various officers and their functions. We shall for purposes of illustration refer to only one of them, *i.e.*, the village Watchman. "His duties are to keep watch at night, to find out all arrivals and departures, observe all strangers, and report all suspicious persons to the Patil. The watchman is likewise bound to know the character of each man in the village and in the event of a theft committed within the village bounds, it is his business to detect the thief. He is enabled to do this by his early habits of inquisitiveness and observation as well as by the nature of his allowance, which being partly a small share of the grain and similar property belonging to each house, he is always kept on the watch to ascertain his fees, and always in motion to collect them. When a theft or robbery happens, the watchman commences his inquiries and researches: it is very common for him to track a thief by his footsteps and if he does this to another village, so as to satisfy the watchman there, his responsibility ends and it is the duty of the watchman of the new village to take up the pursuit. The last village to which the thief has been clearly traced becomes answerable for the property stolen, which would otherwise fall on the village where the robbery was committed. The watchman is obliged to make all this amount so far as his means go and the remainder is levied on the whole village."

This description of the functions of one village servant will show their absolute dependence on the village community. The Government by the community was so complete that they had the power of contracting debts for which lands were given to the creditor rent or revenue free.

All these servants were like the village watchman paid by what are called Inam lands *i.e.*, lands which do not pay revenue; and by payment of fees by the villagers on various occasions.

It will be noticed that not only those who were engaged in Police, Revenue, and Judicial functions were then paid by lands, assignments of revenue and fees, but others also like the Barber and the Washerman who were then recognized as forming as important a part of the body politic as any of the former. Further the village temple was entitled to its dues. No one can have a proper idea of village life who does not realise the influence of the village temple which kept alive the strong devotional feeling of the people. It was a place of resort for all people; particularly morning and even-

ing and it was to the village deity that the village as a body appeal in case of any public calamity.

It was not these services alone that were provided for at *public* village expense, but national amusements were also provided free of cost to the individual.

It was after the payment of these charges that the produce was divided between the ruling power and the villagers. It was not only the officials like the village Head and the village Policeman in the performance of whose duties it may be said the ruling power also was interested, not only those like the Blacksmith, the Carpenter, who had to repair the implements of husbandry, but also the Barber, the Washerman, &c., with whom of course the ruling power had no concern. All these were equally regarded as village servants and remunerated by the village. It is also remarkable that provision was made for public amusements and charities before government claimed their share. At the village choultry travellers, particularly Brahmins and Sanyasis, were always welcome, and festivals were conducted at common expense.

The shares no doubt varied in various parts of the presidency. But the important fact, that the government demanded and received only a share of the produce that remained for distribution after all these expenses were provided for, has to be borne in mind.

In the earlier settlements under English rule, these were recognized; we find for instance that the expenses of cultivation are even now allowed to the ryot by government before division of produce.

In some districts the allowances to the Barber and Washerman were recognized. Some districts which remained longer under Hindu rule claimed—and their claim was allowed—emoluments for their *dancing girls* and dancing master. In some villages the *doctor* and the *shepherd* were paid out of the common funds. In one district there was a common *tailor* paid by the village community. These earlier settlements were made at the commencement of the century when the English government scrupulously adhered as far as possible to the usages they found prevailing in the country.

The feeding of the poor was a well-known item and the settlement officers accordingly allowed in those districts where the ryots claimed a reduction of it from the gross produce before the government claimed their share.

But now all this is changed.

The members of the community have to pay the land assessment to Government without any reduction for fees to these village servants. For the payments of those servants who perform Revenue and Police duties and who have been converted into Government servants pure and simple, as we shall show later, an additional tax has been imposed. The reductions made for payments to other village servants are not allowed in arriving at the fund for division between the state and the landholder. The allowances made for national amusements were of course ignored. Not only are reductions not allowed before division between Government and the members of the village, not only is a fresh tax imposed for the maintenance of some servants though they have ceased to be village servants, but the Government have resumed the lands allotted to these village servants of old for maintenance and services. How far they are morally entitled to resume them so long as they perform their duties may be doubted.

The distinction will be at once noticed between the sets of village officers whose names have been given already. In the proper performance of their duties by a few of them the state or the public generally were interested, whereas they had nothing whatever to do with the others. The result was that the Legislature first recognized and defined the status of those officials in whom the state was interested. In 1802 soon after the assumption of the civil administration of the Carnatic by the East India Company, it was enacted that an office of record shall be established under an accountant in every permanently settled village yielding a certain income, who was made practically independent of the state as well as of the Zemindar. He could not be punished for any breach of duty or neglect except by a court of justice. The hereditary nature of these offices was recognized and such was the importance attached to that office, that the Civil Courts were empowered to enforce the appointment of Curnams, or Accountants where necessary, by fine of the responsible individuals. Their duties also were defined 'in conformity to the ancient usages of the country,' including the obligation to keep registers showing the extent of lands in each village, specifying the boundaries, and land marks and showing their appropriation, viz., arable, cultivated and uncultivated, pasture, house-sites, gardens, rivers, tanks, springs or wells, waste in hills, jungles or rocks. Accounts are also to be kept showing the gross produce of all lands with particulars as to its division, between the

Government, the proprietor and the cultivator, and the amount of fees to be paid to village servants. They were also to keep a register of strangers passing through the village.

In 1816 the Legislature defined the rights and duties of the Heads of village as founded chiefly upon the ancient usages of the country. They were then formally recognized as heads of the Police responsible for the general security of their respective villages with power to apprehend offenders and to inflict punishments in certain minor cases.

In the same year, village watchers were enjoined by legislation to perform their customary duties and so far did the Government proceed in recognizing the ancient usages of the country that where, for some reason or other, there was no village watcher, the office was revived, and declared hereditary and the allowances made payable to them by Government were declared hereditary in their families. It is remarkable, however, that they were relieved by legislation from any liability to compensate the owners for loss by theft.

The tendency of early legislation was thus to preserve Municipal institutions—but even then the District officials generally regarded them with disfavor. It was stated in 1864 by Mr. (afterwards Sir W.) Robinson, speaking of Tanjore one of the most advanced Districts in the Presidency, in reply to those who contended that Municipal institutions have not been a success, that the fault lay not exclusively with the people. He said, "the country has, from the commencement of rule, been overlaid by enormous official establishments; everything has been done by employers and the measures employed from time to time have had a bureaucratic tendency, when the village laws first gave to these communities some status and to their headman some power, the measure was opposed by the then Collector and his officials, an opposition which was only overcome, if my memory serves me rightly, by actual or threatened suspension when the measure was introduced; therefore it was in a measure least likely to ensure success." "In fact the administration of the country has been unfavorable to the growth

of special self-help amongst village communities. The remedy does not, however, lie in now cutting off this improvable branch of administration and casting it away as fruitless: but in comforting and encouraging the potails and people and strengthening their hands in the managment of their own institutions." This, however, was not the course followed. In 1831 the Government of Madras attempted to bring all persons holding hereditary village offices who had to perform revenue or police duties under the control of Revenue officials who were empowered to punish them for incapacity or neglect of duty. But no power of appointment was given, succession continued hereditary, and village autonomy was not interfered with as the income from each village continued to be applied only for the payment of its own officials.

It is interesting to mark the course of legislation destroying all vestiges of village municipal Government. It will be noticed that the following are some of the distinctive marks of village Government :—

(1). Payment of village officials by the village out of property belonging to the village.

(2). The preservation of village as a territorial unit.

(3). Independence of the village officials of any external control.

Lands held free or on favorable terms, and fees collected from the villagers were the sources from which the servants were generally remunerated. These lands held by the servants were never in themselves sufficiently remunerative, but they served as a strong inducement for the servants to continue in the village and not to go in search of employment elsewhere. The payment of fees enabled the village public opinion to effectually control their servants, who would, if incompetent, lose their fees. They were thus really servants of the village, their paymaster. The villagers, who were really interested in the proper performance of these duties by the village servants, had it thus in their power to compel them to discharge their duties properly. About 1860, however, the policy of

the Madras Government underwent an important change. It was thought that the collection of these fees by the servants was a troublesome and difficult matter and that payments were irregular and uncertain. It was further stated to be objectionable in principle that officers having public duties often of an invidious character to perform, should be dependent upon the villagers against whom the Government may have to act. It was accordingly resolved to abolish these fees and to collect instead a tax for the payment of these fees. Lands granted revenue free were resumed. But the matter attracted the attention of the Viceroy and he declared himself averse to the policy of authoritatively exercising any general interference with Municipal institutions. In order partly to meet this objection, it was enacted that the funds were to be utilised only for the payment of the village servants employed in the village in which the cess was levied. The power of payment was, however, taken out of the hands of the village community and the Government became the paymaster. Even this slight concession has now been withdrawn. Recent legislation has directed the formation of a fund, composed of the proceeds of the lands resumed and the tax imposed in lieu of fees without any restriction as regards its utilization. The officials of one village may be paid out of the funds of another village. They have thus nothing to hope for, or to lose by the favor of the community of which they are in theory the servants. Their payments did not depend upon services rendered as of old. They ceased in fact to be village servants.

Similarly, as a community they soon ceased to exist, in the eye of the law. It was one of the sacred duties of the village officers to preserve the boundaries unaltered, as such preservation was essential to village autonomy. If the state, or the Zemindar, has the power to group or amalgamate two or more villages or their portions, so as to form any new village, or to divide any one village into two or more, many village offices will have to be abolished in the one case and many new offices will have to be created in the other. A village community as such may be destroyed thus at any moment. The legislation of 1893, 1894, and 1895 has enabled our Government to effect this revolution.

This centralization looks well enough on paper and as Sir W. Robinson stated years ago, "method, regularity and exact performance of duty seem to be secured. But it belongs to the true bureaucratic system of centralisation which cramps the energies and good will of the people. Local independence and self Government are the foundations of real order in a country." And he proceeded to show how these were destroyed by the new system.

Independence of external control they have lost. These village servants on whom in ancient days, lay the duty of ascertaining the share of the state or the Zemindar have been made subject to the control of the Revenue official or the Zemindar who is also vested with power of dismissal.

They have thus in every way ceased to be village servants. They are now servants of the state or the Zemindar. To the official world the result is no doubt satisfactory. But it may be doubted whether the village has in any way prospered. We will refer at present only to the village Watchman. Our readers are aware that there is a general police force in the country. But the Government declare, they "are not generally beloved throughout the province and unless they are given correct information and ready assistance by the various bodies of village officers when brought thoroughly under control their efforts to suppress or discover crime must often be unsuccessful or even hopeless."

If the unpopularity of the general police has rendered their efforts for the suppression of crime nugatory, a measure which makes the village officials unpopular by enabling them to act independently of the village is not likely to prove of much use and what was anticipated by those outside the official circle has followed. "Crimes of violence are, I believe, looking to the committals of this year, from this Division, on the increase. *The increase may be looked forward to.* The vendetta which caused one crime will lead to a reprisal. I pass over house-breakings which are undetectable under the existing state of things without the aid of the old unacknowledged system." So reports one European Head Assistant Collector.

We have already stated the effect of the Village System in agrarian disputes. The change in the administration of criminal justice is equally striking.

The owner of the property had only to complain to the villagers of the theft of his property. The village Head and the Watchman then became responsible for their recovery and in many cases the value of the articles had to be made good to him in case of failure to detect the offender. In these days complaints are not often made on account of the harassing procedure that always follows. From the moment a complaint of theft is lodged by the owner, he is at the mercy of the police; his time is not his own. He has to dance attendance at the Police station. If his own information turns out incorrect in Police estimation, besides losing his property he stands a fair chance of being prosecuted for false complaint or defamation. The check on the subordinate Police is of course quite nominal. The European officials have no idea of the character or peculiarities of the villager and the result often is that a quiet retiring villager prefers to lose his property rather than prefer a complaint with the certainty of having to sacrifice a good deal of time and labor and the probability of finding himself unsuccessful in prosecuting the guilty man to conviction and the chance of himself being accused of some offence or other.

While those officials who had to perform the police and Revenue duties were thus converted into Government servants pure and simple, the claims of the others were entirely ignored. It was impossible for the civil courts to compel a barber or a washerman to perform the duties his ancertors of old performed to the villagers. It would be incompatible with the spirit of English law, with its notion of individual freedom, to entertain such a claim; naturally their remuneration consisting of fees from the villagers ceased, and though the villagers had, of course, to pay for the same services which were indispensable to them though not rendered by those who claimed to be village servants, the Government refused to make any allowances for such expenses; they declined to make any reduction from the produce of the lands on

that account, before division between the Government and ryot. Nor do the Government now recognize any claim for reduction on account of any national amusements or charities. The result in all these cases is of course an increase of Government share.

But state interference has proceeded much further. In by far the greater number of villages, the village communities themselves had in ancient days granted lands free of tax to the various village officials like the Blacksmith, the Carpenter, the Barber, the Washerman, the Astrologer, the Priest, the Dancing girl, &c., with the result that the villagers had to pay for their services when rendered, not at the market rates but only at the old customary rates. They could not leave the village on account of their lands which would be resumed in that event by the community. These lands in fact served as a sort of retainer. Till the present time the state had strictly abstained from any interference with this class of village servants. Whenever there was any difficulty the ordinary Civil Courts solved the difficulty. But now these also are placed under the Revenue officials. So jealous is the executive Government of the interference of the Civil Courts that their powers are expressly taken away and the very difficult questions with reference to succession which have taxed the learning and ability of the best Judges in India are now left to the untrained intelligence of the Revenue officials.

Our conclusions are :—

(1) that Indian villages were practically little republics before the days of English interference and now where they exist, they have been reduced to serfdom under the Zemindars or are retained merely as Revenue divisions under the state by the Government;

(2) that the village communities were allowed, to provide themselves for all the necessary expenses already referred to, before sharing the profits with Government; while now the charges of cultivation are alone allowed to be deducted before such division;

(3) that national amusements were provided for at public expense and the Government only claimed a share of the residue of the produce of the lands. The Government now decline to make any allowance for the same; and

(4) that agrarian disputes were naturally rare and easily settled. Crime was more easily detected and repressed.

MALABAR SETTLEMENT.

IT is unnecessary to insist upon the importance of agriculture, as on its prosperity depends the prosperity of all other arts and industries. In his Convocation address to the graduates, Lord Wenlock told us how the preponderating importance of the agricultural industry has always forced itself upon his mind. He regretted to find that throughout the length and breadth of the land the duty of carrying on this industry is almost entirely confined to members of the peasant class. He was surprised to see that no man of culture and education thinks it worth his while to devote his time, leisure or wealth to the personal pursuit of agriculture. Aware that in other countries agriculture is considered a noble object, he could see no reason why men of high educational attainments should not turn their attention to this subject, and by scientific and careful application succeed in obtaining a fair remuneration for their capital and labour; and he suggested experiments in raising and marketing different kinds of crops, in trials of all sorts of agricultural implements, and in the improvement of different breeds of cattle. It is a sad confession to make, that though Lord Wenlock has been in this country for so many years, surrounded by members of the Civil Service who are supposed to know everything useful about the Presidency, he has now to leave India without being able to account for this important fact—"the almost absolute divorce from the cultivation of the soil—the principal industry of the country—of men of position and high educational attainments."

After the failure of Lord Wenlock and the Civil Service to give an explanation, it might be deemed impertinent on our part to suggest any, but we have no hesitation in affirming that in the Ryotwary districts this 'divorce' is due to the disturbance in the value of property caused by the operations of the Revenue or Settlement officials.

No person who has received any education is likely to devote his time or leisure to increasing the produce of the land when the law does not secure him the fruits of his industry.

None will invest any wealth in the improvement of his land when the Revenue officials will within a few years certainly take half of the increased yield due to his enterprise, energy and capital without any regard to the amount spent in effecting the same, possibly after various failures; and there is no law to prevent them from appropriating the entire yield.

Nothing is more remarkable in the Revenue history of the Presidency than the jealousy entertained by the Revenue Courts towards the Civil Courts of Justice. Every possible device is resorted to, and various laws have been passed to prevent the Civil Courts from enquiring into the justice of any land revenue claim by Government. So long as the Courts of law fail to secure to any person the fruits of his energy, enterprise or capital, so long will this 'divorce' continue. The 'justice, equity and good sense' of the Revenue official, which cannot stand a public enquiry, will not secure the union hoped for.

We propose to justify our contention by a reference to the Settlement operations in Malabar, on the west coast of this Presidency.

The principles on which the Settlement in that District is to be based, have apparently not been settled yet. There is a vague impression that the District is rich compared to the other Districts, and it ought to pay more to Government. The absence of any knowledge not only on the part of the Settlement officers, but also of the higher Revenue officials, of the ancient history of a District when its settlement is undertaken, is remarkable. Those few who possess a knowledge of such history are not generally well-informed of the principles that guide the Government in enhancing the existing assessment. The result is an uncertainty which causes confusion and trouble.

Many officials entertain the view that the Government is the proprietor of all the lands in the Ryotwary Districts, and that the Government is therefore entitled to the produce recoverable after payment of wages and profits. This claim, which is of course inconsistent with any hereditary claim on the part of the occupier, is not

indeed based upon Ancient Hindu texts, but upon the usage which is said to have prevailed mainly during the period of Mahomedan influence.

If this principle is accepted as the basis of the impending Malabar Settlement, there is nothing further to be said. But fortunately, this principle has been authoritatively repudiated, not only by the various Revenue officials of Madras, but also by the Secretary of State for India.

Such a theory finds no support in Ancient Hindu usage, where private ownership is distinctly recognised. It may be that occasional examples might be found of Governments, particularly Mahomedan, claiming almost the entire surplus produce; but they were exceptional and contrary to popular ideas of sovereign's claim. Southern India was never in fact for a long time under settled Mahomedan rule, and Malabar, as its history shows, never submitted to Mahomedan Government, and the Mahomedan supremacy, which lasted for not more than 30 years, was not effectual to give currency to such a claim.

The Court of Directors repudiated the State proprietorship in 1856, when they declared that the "right of the Government is not a rent which consists of all the surplus produce, after paying the cost of cultivation, and the profits of agricultural stocks, but a land revenue only, which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed, as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he, in fact, let the land to others or retain it in his own hands."

In 1864 this principle was re-affirmed by Sir C. Wood.

In 1882, the Madras Government finally declared after full inquiry, "that subject to the payment of a stated proportion of the produce to meet the necessities of the Administration, the proprietary right of the ryot in the soil of his holding is absolute and complete."

This doctrine is now generally accepted. It is, however, asserted that Hindu law supports the view of partnership in the produce, and usage is said to be in its favour; and, after some discussion as to what the share ought to be, the Government have decided that they would be justified in claiming one-half of the net produce as their share.

As to Hindu law, Manu declares—"A king was created as the protector of all those classes and orders who from the first to the last discharged their several duties" and in return for their protection, the king was entitled to demand from the merchant, and the husbandman the legal tax which, in times of prosperity, was to be one-twelfth part, and in times of distress, one-eighth or a sixth, or even a fourth part of their crops, a twentieth of their gains on money and other moveables (C. 10, Sc. 118, 119, 120; C. 7, Sc. 130, and the difference in the king's share is in the last sloka attributed to the difference in the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it. Of all hoards and precious minerals in the Earth, the king is entitled to half by reason of his general protection and because he is the lord paramount of the soil.

It is clear therefore that generally the claim of the king to a share of the produce was recognized by the Sastras and custom has ordinarily accepted the claim. It is no doubt true that nowhere has the ruler's claim to such a high share as half the net produce been asserted, but it is possible that careful inquiry might bring out instances where it has been enforced.

While it is true that the claim on behalf of the sovereign for a share finds support among the Sastras and the usage of the various Districts of the Presidency, it is asserted on behalf of Malabar, that the same texts which recognize the sovereign's share generally, affirm an exception which denies to him any share of the produce in Malabar, and that usage and tradition have upheld that view.

We will first of all consider the actual usage and tradition. Though we shall have to refer to the same later, for the present, the following dates may be borne in mind.

In 1766 the country till then under Hindu rule was overrun by the Mahomedans for the first time and continued under them till 1792, when the East India Company acquired the country.

The Mahomedan dominion which was never submitted to, continued only for about 26 years, and it was the scheme of land taxation imposed by the Mahomedan rulers that is continued to this day by the British Government. In revising or enchancing the assessment the Government cannot therefore appeal to any

Mahomedan precedent. Let us see what the state of things was under native rule.

Soon after the acquisition of the country by the East India Company, certain Commissioners were appointed to settle the District, and they reported thus in 1793 :—

"The Rajas' rights in general did not extend to the exaction of any regular settled or fixed revenue from their subjects, the original constitution of the Government only entitling them to call on their vassals, the Brahmins and Nairs, for military service; but although this general exemption from any land tax is said to have thus universally prevailed in the early times of the Rajas' Governments, it is however allowed that they were occasionally subject to some contribution for the extraordinary exigencies of defence against the invasions of foreign enemies, such as the Canarese and the Portuguese," as is only natural.

Dr. Buchanan, who was asked by the then Viceroy in 1801 to report on the general state of the country, was informed by an English colonist "of great abilities and knowledge of the country and its inhabitants," that the Government of the country being perfectly *feudal*, a system of revenue was unknown amongst its inhabitants, and that under Hyder the Rajas were invested with despotic authority over the other inhabitants instead of the very limited prerogatives that they had enjoyed by the feudal system under which they could neither exact revenue from the lands of their vassals, nor exercise any direct authority in their districts. He also informed Dr. Buchanan that the ancient constitution of the Government, though defective in many respects, was favourable to agriculture "from the lands being unburdened with revenue;" and finally the Doctor says "This much is certain, that in no country in the world is the nature of the species of property better understood than in Malabar, nor its rights more tenaciously maintained. It is probable that the possession of jenmam* land was originally unalienable, and confined to one or two castes. At present, however, any person possessed of money may become a purchaser of jenmam. It is still more probable that this possession was exempt from any direct burden except military service. There seems to have been no regular tax anterior to the Mahomedan

*Corresponding to freehold.

invasion. The Rajas were supported by the produce of their own lands, and by certain fugitive forfeits or immunities, which were more singular than advantageous. In cases of public necessity they might have recourse to the voluntary or constrained assistance of their subjects; but their power was very limited, and it was seldom they could command more from a jealous and discordant aristocracy than a short personal service."

His conclusion is that under the Government of the Rajas there was no land tax. Referring to a part of Canara, which really formed a part of Malabar under native rule, Dr. Buchanan says that it was only in 1729-30 that the Raja of that part established a land tax there in lieu of certain other claims.

The earliest English authority on Malabar land tenures said, in 1801, with reference to revenue on land, that "it is but recently that it was subject to any land tax. The Rajas, it is true, before there was a regular assessment, in proportion to their strength, levied contributions on the landed proprietors; but the Janmakaran (owner) never considered himself under an obligation to support the Rajas or defray the expenses of the State from the produce of his janm."

Writing a few years later Mr. Thackeray, who is often quoted as an authority in matters referring to Malabar, says:—

"There is no proof that any regular land tax existed in Malabar previous to that event; tradition and general opinion seem to deny it. The proprietors of land were certainly bound to render military service, and were likely to contribute twenty per cent. in case of invasions. The pagodas and the Rajas had lands of their own. The Rajas had other sources of revenue—from fines, royalties, imposts, personal taxes, and plunder, which were sufficient to support them. There was no army besides the Militia, nor any expensive establishments to support; so that there does not seem to have been any necessity for a general land tax; nor had the Rajas power perhaps to collect one. It is only great States that want, or in India can, collect the land revenue easily."

In the fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons it is said:—

"It was represented by the natives that, previously to that period, the lands were not subject to any assessment; and

although no positive evidence has been adduced to disprove this fact, it seemed to be negatived by tradition and general belief. It is concluded, that the proprietors of them must, at all events, have been liable to occasional contributions in time of war and invasion, bound, as they appear to have been, to military service; and if they paid a regular assessment, it must have been a very low one; for a Militia was the only army which the Rajas maintained; and they do not appear to have kept up any other establishment of an expensive kind. They had lands of their own, which must have yielded them a considerable revenue, in addition to what they derived from fines, royalties, imposts, and personal taxes."

Sir Thomas Munro, after making local enquiries, reported that the sources of revenue were:—

"1. Extensive domains.
2. Customs and licenses.
3. Escheats of Hindu estates without heirs.
4. Fines where no heir, for leave to adopt, as usually one-third of the property.
5. Fines from the estates of all Mappallas deceased, usually from one-twentieth to one-fifth of the value.
6. Fines from younger brothers on succeeding the elder in the sister's house.
7. Fines for offences, and heavy fees on law-suits.
8. All cattle having particular marks."

And Mr. Ellis writing in 1811, says that the land is held "free of all participation or control, and formerly free of all rent."

After a careful inquiry, the Board of Revenue reported in 1818 that:—

"It is a most remarkable circumstance, that until the conquest of Malabar by the Musalman princes of Mysore, this right seems to have been held by the Jenmkars, *free from any condition of a payment, in money or produce, to the Government; for, uptil that period, a land revenue appears to have been altogether unknown to the people.* Previous to that event, the province was divided into a number of petty independent principalities, and the revenue of the province consisted of a jenm of his own hereditary lands; of a certain portion of all the property of which his

Moplah subjects died possessed, levied under the denomination of Poorashandram, before the next heir could take possession; of imposts on trade and Mint duties; fines for criminal offences; protection money from fugitive subjects of other Rajas; escheated and confiscated estates; offerings by his subjects at the great annual festivals and at the investiture of each senior Raja; professional taxes on weavers, distillers, &c., and the royalties of gold ore, elephants, ivory, teak trees, bamboos, vessels wrecked on the coast, and a few others; but the Jenmkars, or persons vested with the jenm right, paid nothing to the Government. The Namboory and Nair Jenmkars may indeed be said to have rendered their dues to the public, by the performance of service to the State, the various rites of the Hindu church devolving on the former, and the defence of the country on the latter tribe; and the general tax levied on all the property of the Moplahs, at their death, may be considered as having fallen on their lands, as well as on their other property; but the Namboories and Nairs did not contribute, either in kind or money, to the support of the State, and the tax paid by the Moplahs was a general tax on the capital of a wealthy tribe of foreign settlers, not a tax upon the land.

"Nothing therefore could be more complete than the property of the soil thus vested in the Jenmkars. After defraying the expenses of cultivation, the produce of the land, or its value, was their own, free from tax. The Jenmkar held the land on the tenure of the sword, and as he was entitled to subsistence money when called into active service, the condition of the tenure still left it a very valuable property. Hence, in Malabar, there were none of those hereditary village registrars who under the denomination of Curnums, Conicopillies, or Shambogues, were elsewhere universally found necessary by the Government to keep detailed accounts of the occupation and cultivation of the soil. The non-existence of a land revenue in that province rendered the employment of such persons unnecessary; and the Jenmkars, free from all interference of this kind, were the independent owners of the land. They held, by right of birth, not of the prince, but in common with him, and therefore may be considered as having possessed a property in the soil more absolute than even that of the landlord in Europe."

Mr. Logan, who was appointed Commissioner, reported in 1881 that it has been a matter of accepted belief with the British authorities that prior to the advent of Mysore Mahomedans, there was no public land revenue in Malabar. In the Malabar Manual, published under Government authority, it is stated "It is certain that with two trifling exceptions, which are fully explained in the next section, none of the Malayalee chieftains were levying a regular land revenue when the Mahomedan invasion took place in 1766 A.D."

It appears therefore that native and Anglo-Indian opinion have been unanimous in favour of the view that there was no land tax in Malabar; that the lands were enjoyed rent or revenue free; that the doctrine that the king is entitled to a share of the produce has never been applied—why it will be explained presently—to the West coast. There are in fact two circumstances that go to prove conclusively that the king never claimed any share.

The division of produce was a well-ascertained fact. In the other Districts of the Presidency we find always a share set apart for the sovereign, when, after the expenses of cultivation, the produce is divided between the ryot or village and the ruler; but in Malabar we find, from the books and also from tradition, that in the division of the produce the king had no share. Almost all the authorities we have already referred to in the course of this article refer to the division of produce among the various persons interested in the land. It would be profitless to refer to them all. We will only refer to the first and the last of them.

In voucher 39 of the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inspect this among other Districts in 1792, (the country itself having been ceded only in 1791), it is stated :—

"The extent of a field was judged by the quantity of nelly (paddy) seed required to sow it. Lands produced from 5 to 10 fold and, according to the known quality of the land, the quantity of the produce was estimated. Of this produce, one-third was allowed to the farmer for his maintenance, profit, &c.; one-third for the expense of the Teers, Chermars, and other cultivators attached to the soil; one-third went as rent to the Jenmkar or landlord," It will be seen that nothing is set apart for the ruler.

The latest inquirer, Mr. Logan, the Commissioner appointed in 1881 to inquire into the Malabar Land Tenures, &c., states in his Malabar Manual "that the original Malayalee system of land tenure was a system of customary sharing of the produce, each customary sharer being permitted the free transfer of his interest in the land."

Referring to the Report of the Commissioner of 1793, already referred to, Mr. Logan considers that he "seems to have been correctly informed as to the ancient system of the customary sharing of the produce which was described to him as already stated."

Another reason for concluding that the Government had no share, is the fact noticed by Sir T. Munro and the Board of Revenue, that there were no Curnums—Village Accountants—in the villages, which circumstance points to the absence of a land tax.

What then is the explanation of this apparently extraordinary exception? It is found that elsewhere in India the Hindu texts recognize the right of the ruler to a share, and we find the claim enforced. How happens it that in Malabar alone such right was never exercised? The explanation has to be sought in the exemption of the Brahmin from taxation, and in the nature of the land tenure in Malabar.

Manu says:—"A king, even though with want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, nor suffer such a Brahmin, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hunger."

"A learned Brahmin finding treasure trove may keep the whole, for he is lord of all."

The maxim of the law is stated to be "The king is lord of all except sacerdotal wealth."

The explanation offered by the Malayalam lawyer is "That Malabar was Brahmin property."

The traditionary account, as appears from the two treatises, is to the effect that this land was miraculously reclaimed from the sea by Parasurama, one of the heroes of Hindu Mythology who settled Brahmin colonists therein. The Brahmins were divided into 64 gramams or villages, and obtained the gift of arms. Sudras were introduced, and they were constituted the bodyguard of the Brahmin village.

The Brahmins established a form of republican government

for their own community.* Four of the most important of these were appointed to represent the sixty-four, and their members elected a 'protector' (Rakshapuran) as their executive officer, and each gramom or village elected an individual as a counsellor to the protector. This was found unsatisfactory, and they resolved 'a king is wanted.' A viceroy of a king who ruled in another part of the Presidency was invited to take up the appointment for a term of years under the title of Perumal, assisted by counsellors as before. This continued for some time. At a later period the office of Perumal is alleged to have been abolished, and that of the 'protector' revived with all the privileges of the old Perumals. This was again found inconvenient, and the appointment of 'Perumal' once more reverted to. The last of such 'Perumals' became independent of his lawful sovereign in the East, and continued to rule the country even after his term of office had expired. He is said to have abdicated, according to some writers, to proceed to Mecca, having become a convert to Mahomedanism. He parcelled out his dominions among his feudatories and other dependants, amongst whom are the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin, and the Zamorin of Calicut, and others with whom the Europeans came into contact.

Even when they appointed Perumals they were jealous of the powers conferred on him.

Thus runs the *Keralolpathi* :—"When the Brahmins first appointed a king they made an agreement on oath with him to this effect—'Do that which is beyond our power to do and protect. When complaints happen to arise, we will settle them by ourselves. You are not to question us on that point. For formality's sake you may ask why we deal with affairs ourselves after making you a king.' At this day even when complaints arise the king says :—'Why do you deal with them ? Why don't you make your complaint to me ?' This is owing to the former oath."

Lands were also given to him, and on one of his successors similarly appointed, certain privileges were conferred, including the right to receive land and sea customs, fines for evasion of ancient usages, &c.

The country thus originally belonged to the Brahmin. It continued to remain the property of the Brahmin even after the com-

* The work is generally supposed to have been written in the 17th Century, A.D.

mencement of the rule of Perumals, who were provided with other sources of income. No doubt other castes acquired such rights occasionally from the Brahmins, and they also naturally claimed the same privileges as the Brahmins.

And the Brahmin's property was exempt from taxation or payment of any revenue to the king.

This tradition, as the basis of the claim of the landowners to complete property in the land, was examined by Sir C. Turner, the late Chief Justice of Madras, and he says :—

"I do not think we have as yet sufficient evidence to justify us in refusing credit altogether to the Brahmanical accounts of the establishment of the peculiar form of government which the dawn of history reveals in Malabar. It is probable that the original Perumals were the viceroy of a sovereign who had sent an army into Malabar and subjugated the population he found there, and that when the central authority grew weak, the Nambutiris established a theocratical oligarchy and elected chief executive officers, to whom they entrusted from time to time more or less of the powers of ancient Perumals. By the latter, if not the earlier Perumals, the office was held only for a term of 12 years. It also appears clear that on the disappearance of the last Perumal, whether, as is probable, this was caused by a revolution brought about by his conversion to Mahomedanism or by voluntary abdication ; that the executive power was seized by a number of Rajas, and the form of government then established continued with only temporary disturbance occasioned by the invasions of neighbouring powers down to the time of British rule."

It was the descendants of these Rajas whom the Europeans found governing the country when they came.

The Chief Justice then says : "The fable that the land was created for the Brahmin was no doubt invented to give colour to the claim which the Brahmin asserted, and which to a considerable extent he certainly enjoyed." * * * *"The absence of land revenue, which appeared to the early inquirers and to the Court of Directors so extraordinary, is explained on the hypothesis that the Brahmin whom the Hindu law declared free from tax, was the owner of the soil."* * * "It is probable that some of the land was held throughout by the Nairs, but these and the Moplas who were

in possession as Janmies when the District was ceded by Tippu, claimed the same completeness of ownership as was claimed by the Brahmins. This nevertheless does not impugn the conclusion that Janmies' right was understood to be complete ownership."

The only doubt about this position, that I have seen expressed, is by the Court of Directors in 1821.

In 1822 a report was submitted by a Special Commissioner, which Sir T. Munro characterized "as on the whole the fullest and most comprehensive report ever received of any province under this Government." With reference to the doubt expressed by the Court of Directors, the late Chief Justice of Madras, who had to examine the matter fully, records: "It cannot be doubted that Sir Thomas Munro would not have accorded to Mr. Græme's report the praise he did if he thought that that officer had left in doubt the great question on which the Court of Directors professed themselves to be not altogether convinced.

"In the letter of the 18th May 1825, adverting to the measures adopted in consequence of Mr. Græme's inquiry, the Court notices that there appears to be in Malabar an intermediate class between the cultivators and the Government who came nearer to the situation of proprietors of land in the land than any intermediate class in any other part of India. Obviously they refer to the Janmkars, and they suggest that their knowledge was imperfect of the subordinate agricultural classes.

"It does not appear that any further action was taken by the Madras Government on the receipt of this letter. It was probably considered that the inquiries which had been conducted had been sufficiently minute to ascertain the relative rights of the several classes connected with the soil, *but seeing that the position occupied by the Janmkars stood in the way of the realization of so large a share of the produce as was taken as Government revenue, where the Government could deal directly with the cultivator*, we may be sure that the position of the Janmies would have been at once questioned, had the Madras Government seen any reason to doubt it."

Native and Anglo-Indian authority are therefore agreed that under the Hindu Rajas there was no land revenue, that land was held free of payment of rent or revenue, and that the king's claim

to a share of the produce recognised by the Hindu law books was not accepted in Malabar.

The question had to be considered in 1883 by the Board of Revenue and the Government of Madras, when the claim of the Government to revise the Settlement in Malabar was questioned. The Board of Revenue admitted that "under the ancient native Rajas no regular settled or fixed revenue was levied from their subjects, the original constitution of their government only entitling them to call on their vassals, the Brahmin and Nair landlords, for military service." They then refer to the admitted fact that contributions were levied for the extraordinary exigencies of defence against the invasions of foreign enemies. They cite with approval the statement of Major Walker's Report of 1801 that there was no regular tax anterior to the Mahomedan invasion. But they say "It was not, however, to the native Rajas, but to their Mahomedan conquerors, that the British Government succeeded in 1792."

To justify their action they can therefore only appeal to the period of Mahomedan dominion from 1766 to 1792; the hated dominion of the foreigner never acquiesced in by the people. Even this plea is not sustainable.

(To be continued.)

FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

THOUGH female education is a theme of constant exhortation with those interested in the progress of the country, yet one feels that the absence of definite information on the subject, and the meagre references to statistics, upon which alone any reliable conclusions can be based, are serious drawbacks. Vague generalizations, based on insufficient data, or on no data at all, followed by appeals to the people, however earnest, cannot affect public opinion appreciably. In answer to such indefinite appeals we are constantly told that the education of girls is being attended to everywhere, that girls' schools are being established in increasing numbers, that the attendance in girls' schools goes on advancing, that the graduates of our universities regard the education of their wives and daughters as a mark of civilization and enlightenment, and that for these and other reasons no fresh effort is needed on the part of the people for the promotion of female education. A cheery optimism has been the result of the native public having been treated constantly to a string of platitudes and generalizations on the importance of female education. We feel certain that if the public had had placed before them, from time to time, a few statistics shewing the extraordinarily slow progress which the women of India have made with regard to education, a genuine interest leading to some practical measures might have been evoked in the educated section of the native community. Unfortunately it seems to be considered that statistics are out of place except in Government Orders and Public Instruction Reports. The aversion to statistics, though to a certain extent universal, seems to be peculiarly characteristic of the Indian mind, which invariably takes things at second hand. With the aid of a few statistics, we shall, in the present article, attempt to shew that the advance of female education has not kept pace with the progress of the country so remarkable in other directions.

* *Progress of Education in India* (1887-88 to 1891-22), Second Quinquennial Review. By A. M. Nash, Esquire, M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.

In 1886-87, the year for which statistics are given in Sir Alfred Croft's first Quinquennial Review, the total number of female pupils under instruction, in the whole of India, was 266,287, out of a total female population of 102,097,394; in 1891-92 the number of female pupils stood at 399,043 out of a total female population of 114,160,081. That there is a great difference between the educational condition of males and that of females will be seen from the fact that whereas in 1886-87 and in 1891-92 the percentages of male scholars to male population of school-going age were 19·3 and 19·84 respectively, the percentages of female scholars to female population of school-going age were only 1·7 and 1·97 respectively. Of course there are variations in different provinces. Coorg takes the lead with 6·8 per cent. of girls of school-going age under instruction; then comes Lower Burmah with a percentage of 4·9, followed by Bombay, Madras and Bengal, with the percentages of 3·7, 3·6 and 1·8 respectively. Primary schools for girls advanced, during the five years ending 1891-92, from 4,514 to 5,228, and that of pupils from 132,717 to 157,183. Secondary schools for girls, during this period, increased from 357 to 432, and pupils from 24,904 to 34,306.

The exceedingly small proportion of girls pursuing their studies beyond the upper primary stage is one of the most discouraging features of female education in India. In 1891-92, out of a total of 294,318 girls in Secondary and Primary schools for natives, only 415 were in high or the upper secondary stage, and 3,452 in the middle or the lower secondary stage. Hence it appears that out of every thousand girls at school only 13 have advanced beyond the primary stage, and only one of these has reached the high stage. Rather more than a third of the pupils are still in the classes in which printed books are not used. The amount of knowledge which a pupil acquires, when in the upper primary stage, is, as is well known, extremely meagre, and no pupil who stops at this stage can be in any way looked upon as having received a liberal elementary education. But the proportion of girls who reach even this stage is ridiculously low. Out of a total of 294,318 girls in Secondary and Primary schools, only 16,345 or 5 per cent. had reached the upper primary stage, the remaining 274,106 or 94 per cent. were in the lower primary stage, in which the girls do not receive any thing more than a mere smattering knowledge of the

three R's. An unduly large proportion of girls, therefore, leave school just at the time when they begin to be taught the rudiments of knowledge, and in the absence of an organized system of home education the training given in the schools is of very little significance.

During the past few years some little encouragement has been given to the collegiate education of women. The returns for 1891-92 show that there were 45 girls on the rolls of arts colleges, 24 in Bengal, 13 in Bombay, 5 in Madras, 2 in Lower Burmah, and 1 in the Central Provinces. Full details are not available regarding the success of female students at the University examinations, but apparently only one girl has taken the M.A. Degree of Calcutta, and 13 have passed the B.A. examination,—7 from Bengal, 3 from Bombay, 2 from Madras, and 1 from the North-Western Provinces.

The scheme set on first by Lady Dufferin to provide the women of India with female medical aid has given some impetus to female medical education throughout the country. The medical colleges in the three presidency towns are now open to females, and the number of qualified female medical practitioners is increasing. The medical education of women, in the higher branches of the profession, however, has not made as much progress as might have been expected, considering the large number of scholarships that have been created from the Countess of Dufferin's Fund and other sources, since the establishment of the National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India. The returns show an increase from 21 to 29, between 1887 and 1892, in the number of female students qualifying for degrees in medical colleges. During the five years, 3 girls obtained the degree of M.B.,—2 in Bengal and 1 in Madras; 8 girls passed the L.M.S. examination,—3 in Bombay, 2 in Madras, 2 in the Punjab and 1 in Bengal.

It may be interesting to state here to what extent female education as a whole has affected the main divisions of the populations of India. In English secondary schools, out of 18,724 (16,072)* pupils in 1891-92, 10,922 (9,105) were Europeans, 5,015 (3,950) Native Christians, 1,532 (1,895) Hindus, and only 20 (18) Muhammadans, the remaining 1,235 (938) were grouped together under the head of "Others" and included about 600 Parsis, 300 Burmese,

* The corresponding figures for 1886-87 are given within brackets.

and 170 Brahmos. In vernacular secondary schools the total number of pupils was 15,582 (8,832); of these, 10,407 (5,885) were Hindus, 3,984 (2,576) Native Christians, 962 (153) Muhammadans. In Primary Schools there were 157,183 (132,717) pupils, of whom 112,383 (93,482) were Hindus, 25,388 (17,630) Muhammadans, 9,645 (8,563) Native Christians, 1,514 (1,779) Europeans, and 8,253 (9,805) "Others." The Parsi community heads the list with regard to the education of girls, next come Europeans and Eurasians followed by Native Christians. It is noteworthy that the Brahmin community, which stands foremost in India, so far as the education of the males is concerned, is extremely backward as regards female education. The one-sided advance of this community seems to have called forth little effort on the part of its male members to secure the benefits of education for the women.

Sir Alfred Croft has referred to the present State system of education, as regards control, inspection, and text books, as one of the hindrances to the progress of female education, inasmuch as this system was framed originally with a view to the requirement of boys. But it is encouraging to note that steps have already been taken to remedy this defect. In the Madras Presidency, under the present system of inspection, all the girls' schools are under the supervision of a well-organized female inspecting agency. There are two inspectresses of girls' schools assisted by sub-assistants, (one is a native lady) who are selected on account of their special qualifications for the work. The lead taken by Madras will, it is hoped, be followed by the other Provinces. Not much has been done towards providing girls with suitable school books and general literature. In this respect our young graduates can afford great assistance. It is to be hoped that the educated native community will not fail to realize their responsibility in this and other matters concerning the education of India's daughters.

One of the recommendations of the Education Commission dealing with female education, was that masters in girls' schools should gradually be replaced by mistresses, and for that purpose additional training schools for women should be provided, and liberal aid afforded to institutions under private management. The mere extension of female education is of little use, unless the education imparted is intrinsically sound. This can only be the case when there is an

efficient and carefully trained teaching agency. There can also be no doubt of the fact that well-qualified female teachers are in every way more suited to schools for girls than male teachers, and yet the majority of teachers in girls' schools are men, and, what is more unsatisfactory, only a very small proportion of the male teachers have undergone normal training. The number of training schools for mistresses in the whole of India is only 37 with about 800 pupils. The majority of these schools are in the Madras Presidency, and are chiefly maintained by Missions.

So long as the present system of infant marriage continues, we can hardly look for rapid progress, and so long as this system necessitates the withdrawal of girls from school, at an age, when their education has scarcely begun, it cannot be expected that the schools even now in existence, will be very effective in raising the women of India to a higher level. It is encouraging to note that the home education of girls is taken up by secular agencies such as the National Indian Association; but the missionary agencies still hold the field and continue to do excellent work. It is very necessary that the education given in schools should be supplemented by a liberal training in the homes or zenanas; but the danger of giving too liberal aid to zenana agencies is ably pointed out by Dr. Duncan, the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. He says:—"Home education classes are good as far as they go, and if parents can afford and are willing to pay for the luxury of educating their girls at home, it is right that they should have an opportunity of doing so. But it is merely to play with a momentous question for the leaders of native society to assume that, in patronizing these classes, they are doing a great deal to remove one of the greatest blots on their social system. It must be apparent to all of them that no practical extension of the home education system can have more than an infinitesimal effect in removing the mass of illiteracy and ignorance which is stifling the very life of society. I am far from thinking, that it would be expedient entirely to withdraw departmental aid from these educational agencies. But the conviction has for some time been growing in my mind that unless the utmost caution is taken, increased facilities for opening these classes and liberal grants in aid of them may have an effect the very opposite of that intended—may retard the general spread of female education while advancing it slightly within a very limited sphere. Only those

girls who have reached the age when rigid custom ordains that they shall not any longer attend school, should be admitted to the home classes. A little judicious pressure brought to bear upon parents, who are at all desirous to see their daughters educated, would here and there have the effect of inducing them to break through the barriers of custom and keep their girls at school some years longer. If parents found that the educational authorities are just as ready to arrange for their girls being educated at a home by a semi-private governess as they are to provide for having them taught in a school, they will doubtless choose the former. The education of one's children involves a sacrifice—a sacrifice of money; it may be of customary opinions, of cherished prejudices, of time-honored sentiments. If parents are really desirous to educate their daughters, they will be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices. If they are indifferent in the matter, I am not very sanguine as to the amount of good that will be done by home education classes."

"The importance of developing and extending female education in India cannot be over-estimated, but it is discouraging to note the small encouragement given to this branch of education by the intelligent and educated section of the native community. The education which our young graduates have received should certainly have taught them that the task of elevating the women of India is more theirs than that of Government or of foreign missionary and other agencies, and yet even an honest co-operation with external agencies at work in this country is, in most instances, wanting, so far as female education is concerned. Many a school started through the efforts of philanthropic Europeans, or through the zealous endeavours of earnest native reformers, who, though few, form the salt of the native community, has collapsed through lack of encouragement and support on the part of the public. The mere establishment of schools therefore will not suffice. As Sir Alfred Lyall said, "Before any considerable progress is obtained the natives must themselves lend their co-operation and full assent to the administrative measures of Government, and a public opinion less indifferent to the education of women must be formed."

THE INDIAN LANDHOLDERS.

A WORD FOR THEM.

"MEND or end the lords" has, for some years, been the prevailing cry in British politics. It is the inevitable outcome of the attitude of antagonism, maintained by the so-called aristocratic chamber—as a factor of British Legislature—towards the question of Home Rule for Ireland—the first measure of the kind peaceably experimented within the limits of the British Empire in the Eastern hemisphere. No such burning question excites us here in India, nor are the landholding classes of this country an integral part, which enters into the composition of the machinery, constituted for the administration of her affairs. Attempts were indeed made, not with the purest of intentions, to stir them up and cajole the big ones among them into placing themselves in opposition to the spirit of active political life which has been abroad, more or less within the past decade. But, happily for the abiding interests of this country, the issue of such attempts was either an abortion, a still-birth, or a spasmodic life of brief duration. This I say neither in a spirit of hostility to those classes, nor in disparagement of them. On the contrary I regard it as a hopeful sign that, with the isolated exception of two or three of their ilk here and there, they escaped being led astray, though too tempting doctrines were sedulously and insidiously dinned in their ears. That, in the majority of cases, the escape was fortuitous and not the result of a deliberate choice must indeed be confessed. But it does not in the least matter what the cause was. We need rejoice none the less on that account. It is, on the contrary, creditable to those classes that they have proved impervious to mischievous and misleading intelligence, notwithstanding the proverbial proneness of "lords" to gravitate towards the symbols of the sovereign power. As the pieces are at present arranged on the Indian political chess-board, the "lords" are utterly without any honorable place. The privileges they may be said to enjoy as their own, at present, may be summed up thus:—right of private entré at levees and other ceremonial occasions, the right to the use of Government equipage when making an ingress into and an egress from the chief city, the right to have a few troopers trotting about them as they drive through the city, the right to interchange visits with Governors, their Councillors and other magnates, the right to a wealth of honorific suffixes bringing

no tangible profit with them, a few guns and, at best, the honour of paying large and often disproportionate donations in respect of undertakings officially favoured.

These may not be despicable distinctions. They have a value of their own of a sort, and they have their uses in a sense. If there are cravings of human nature which are apt to be thereby innocently gratified, they need not be railed at; on the contrary, one will do well not to lose sight of the fact that they see no other functions before them, or are taught to see any. The actual however should not be confounded with the possible, and it by no means follows that they have not quite as much aptitude and potentiality for good as any other body. They lack indeed the natural incentives to mental culture and personal activity, by the possession of a source of income, which, despite inevitable fluctuations of the monsoon and the weather, would keep them in abundance and luxury. By being thus above want on the one hand, and by being petted or lionised on the other, by official magnates and the danglers-after-them as it serves their purpose or suits their whim, the tendency is no doubt generated in them to become convenient tools in the hands of complacent but designing men and turn practical, though unconscious, traitors to the land of their birth. It is no wonder that, like all else, they are victims to existing circumstances. If others did their duty to arrest the development of such a degeneracy and indicated other matters of greater importance which are calculated to afford a more genuine pleasure and a livelier enjoyment, the conditions would most assuredly be different. This task I would see fulfilled. As a preliminary to that task, one should render it clear how, at present, the land-holding classes can have neither scope nor chance to help in the function of promoting the well-being of the community to which they belong, in a spirit of self-reliance and independence; for the very foundations of their continuous existence, *as such*, are threatened so as to make them the sport of professional speculators on the one hand, and, on the other, the victims of a judicial obliquity which is incapable of grasping and applying sound and consistent principles, such as would give them an assured sense of security.

Without purposing to launch into a discussion particularly abstruse or technical, and with the object of opening their eyes to the vulnerable point in their position, I shall briefly glance

at the views entertained as regards the character of permanency as appertaining to their estates. Three principles can be gathered as governing the question, *viz.*, (1) family custom; (2) the nature of the estate, *i.e.*, its having possessed the character of a principality at inception; and (3) its tenure, *i.e.*, its having been a territorial area, to which an office or a military or revenue farmer's service was attached. The most common principle, or rather the principle, applied to most cases, is the first of these. Now, if this is critically examined it will be found to be perfectly untenable. It is a notorious fact that the habits and predilections of our forefathers for several generations were in favour of *family unity* as conducive to *joint* benefit, without thereby implying impartibility which is capable of being legally insisted on. As regards cash and other forms of moveable property and as regards ryotwary holdings,—be they ever so extensive in area—those habits and predilections are not supposed to give rise to any inference of impartibility being drawn, and it has been authoritatively declared that no such inferences would follow. What then is the differentiating feature which places estates paying *a fixed peishcush*, in a different category notwithstanding that the family custom evoked as to these was the outcome of the self-same habits and predilections? The liability to pay a fixed peishcush has evidently not been accepted as such differentiating feature; for, if it had been, not one of the Zemindaries which have been declared partible should have been broken up. If it be said that an intention to keep the estate intact is derivable where non-division has gone on for many generations, why does not that conclusion follow as regards other forms of property? There is, besides, an evident fallacy in casting together men of different generations into one body and crediting that body with ideas of *binding their successors*, in regard of one particular form of property alone. But whatever be the inference or intention, it does not so bind however; because, even after a series of successions by primogeniture, it is held to be perfectly open to any one generation by a voluntary act to break up the estate, saying an eternal goodbye to impartibility. Shadowy indeed must be the security where a right has to be founded in the first place on a number of successive accidents, but liable, nevertheless and at any time, to be set aside by a solitary will,—the will of the holder of the estate in any one generation. If he is weak enough to concur, impartibility is at an end.

Thus, so far as family custom as the origin of impartibility is concerned, it is but a feeble reed for the land-holding classes to lean upon.

As to the second ground, *viz.*, the estate having been once a petty principality, it is not reason to say that, because *sovereign power* must devolve undivided, and because as a consequence the territorial area also which was subject to that sovereign power, therefore, even when such a sovereign power which is the personal privilege of the holder has ceased, the territorial area which only followed the course of that power as inseparable from it, would nevertheless descend as if such descendibility was inherent in it. It is no doubt true that when the sovereign power was taken away, the estate was not also taken away, and that it remained with the holder for the time being as his own property, which is very different in its inherent nature from a tract over which powers of a ruler are exercised. To my mind, the whole argument of transferring to the estate the character of permanency which it did not possess before, is utterly inconsequential. What is thus untenable about petty principalities is *a fortiori* untenable as to Zemindaries which are vaguely termed ancient ones.

The third and last ground on which impartibility is sought to be founded is the nature of the tenure. This is more glibly asserted than is made intelligible; for, not a little confusion has been the result of some attempts that have been too successfully made to make the *present* tenure depend upon the tenure of a remote past, when certain adjuncts, such as office or military service, were essentially necessary to render the *estates* tenable by one person at a time. I grant that when my great-great-grandfather was burdened with certain official or military duties, he needed, for the fulfilment of those duties, the bulk or the monopoly of the income to be retained in his hands. The function and the income (and therefore the source of that income) must be and were necessarily bound up together; but if it is not forgotten that the holder for the time being had *no title of his own* to the territorial source of his income, *apart from the service he had to perform*, it follows that such holder too had not the indefeasible right of an owner, in the proper sense of the term. Whenever the time arrived—no matter how early or how late—for the broad acres to inure to the benefit of a Hindu father, unencumbered with such burden, it must become private property and must perforce be subject to the ordinary rules of the Hindu Law in the hands of his heirs.

Illogical and inconsequential as have been the conclusions which have been examined above, the climax of injustice to the landholding classes was reached, when—regardless of the family antecedents and family claim, and regardless of the fact that, it was the members of the family who resisted the wide-spreading spirit of partition, from motives of family dignity and joint benefit from accumulated opulence—the right of maintaining the estates as *joint* property has been ruthlessly assailed and airily denied by some who ought to know better. If no higher considerations prevail, this outrageous attack on the very vitals of the landholding family-rights should, of itself, be sufficient to rouse the present and prospective sufferers from this enormity, to a sense of their insecurity, and drive them to seek for legislation. But, so imperfect is the consciousness of the expanding danger, and so infinitesimal has been the spark of patriotism that burns in our breasts, that the new fangled doctrine has unhappily received a tremendous fillip under the guidance of its mercenary apostles, and no fewer than four or five estates have already been heartlessly brought upon the anvil, and only narrowly escaped from the havoc of the sledge-hammer lifted up by the present and petty ambition of attaining pleasure and profit, unmindful of the grievous injury and irreparable damage done to a body which has been described by a no very friendly critic as "a wealthy and privileged class, the advantage of which it is not easy to over-estimate." While holding, on the one hand, that, in introducing the Zemindari tenure, Lord Cornwallis "committed himself to a policy which, in regard to the three interested parties—the Zemindar, the Ryot, and the Ruling Power—assured the welfare of the first, somewhat postponed the claims of the second, and sacrificed the increment of the third," the same critic observes, in a spirit of impartiality, that the body in question would have everything to lose and nothing to gain by revolution, and would be found, as have been found, to be a powerful auxilliary on occasions of famine and similar visitations—remarks which he amplifies and illustrates in passages which it will be well to extract here.

(*a*) "This was clearly seen and acknowledged at the time of the sepoy mutiny. There were few large military cantonments in the Lower Provinces in that eventful year. The elements of a great sepoy revolt, with its inevitable accompaniments of arson, plunder, and anarchy, were not abundant as they were in the Upper Pro-

vinces. Even when isolated detachments of sepoys mutinied as they did at Dacca, Chittagong, and in Birbhúm, they met with no countenance from the Zemindars. The sepoys were disciplined and trained to fight. They had arms of precision in the midst of an unwarlike population, the bravest of whom could do little more than use a matchlock to kill a wild beast, and a spear to transfix an adversary in a village fight. But after the first outbreak at the station, where they were resolutely met by a mere handful of Englishmen, the sepoys took to the villages and the jungles, and then they literally melted away before the impassive demeanour, the want of sympathy, and the silent loyalty of the Zemindars. In other Provinces the system of village communities afforded no bulwark against the tide of anarchy. The system was in many respects admirable and suited to the community."

(*b*) "In times of famine and scarcity the co-operation of wealthy Zemindars has been invoked by the Government, and in many instances ungrudgingly afforded. Here and there, no doubt, there were cases where Zemindars were niggardly and selfish. But several experts hold still to the opinion that scarcity is met, relief works are set on foot, and supplies are transported with greater facility, where there are large Zemindaris, than in Provinces where the Settlement has been made with the heads of village communities, or with each ryot direct as in Madras. The Tirhút famine of 1878-74 is certainly an instance in point."

(*c*) "When the Zemindar was minded to expend money on his Zemindari, his expenditure generally took the following shape. He might drain a huge swamp by cutting a channel for the overflow of its water into the nearest river. He excavated by paid labour an enormous reservoir which secured a supply of pure water for half-a-dozen villages. He constructed ghâts or landing-places of stone or brick on the banks of rivers or tanks. He dedicated temples and built school-houses."

From these passages, which are fairly complimentary, it is with regret that I turn to other passages which I have culled from the same writer. They show indeed how the anticipations, if not the expectations, cherished from the body of Indian landholders, who have been, not inaccurately, designated "a new race of Landholders" created by foreign rulers and whom (to adapt and dovetail certain words of the same writer), if not in the exact position of an

English landlord, Lord Cornwallis raised from an uncertain to a well-defined place and to one of emolument, privilege and power. My purpose in calling attention to them is neither to raise a blush on the cheek of the negligent landholder, nor to afford gratification to his foe. My objects are far different. Firstly, I subjoin them, wishing to emphasise what the duties and responsibilities are which are associated with the particular tenure governing the Indian landholder's possessions. In the next place, I desire to indicate how those duties postulate for their due and adequate performance, the accumulation of wealth and facilities and opportunities in the families, so that the members of which, by their joint influence and joint action, repress prodigal propensities of individuals among them. The passages I refer to are as follows:—

(*a*) "In the first and most important of his Regulations he expresses a hope that the Zemindars would exert themselves to cultivate their lands, and would improve their respective estates, and he assures them that they would enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own industry without any fear that the demands of Government would be augmented in consequence of any such increase of cultivation and enhanced value of landed property. From the use of the above phrases we can only conceive the ideal or typical Zemindar whom Cornwallis had in his mind, to be identical with what in England we should call an improving landlord: one who expends capital in planting trees where corn will not grow with profit, in making hedges, clearing out ditches, draining wet lands, and erecting model cottages of the most approved type. Now it has been already shown that the Zemindar in almost every district did spend considerable sums in digging tanks, building temples and ghats, and cutting canals. But he never spent a farthing on drains, cottages, breaking up jungle and waste land, or in introducing the higher and more lucrative kinds of cultivation on any holding within his estate. The whole of this burden fell on the ryot."

(*b*) "But whatever might be the fate of the ryot, and whether his Zemindar was careless or precise in the assessment and exaction of rent, it is indisputable that all over Bengal the Zemindar looked on placidly while the tenant-proprietor and the ryot burnt the jungle grass, broke up the clay soil, sowed the rice, and introduced gradually the more valuable products."

(*c*) "It is not necessary in accepting these facts, to censure the

Zemindars as a class for not at once filling the exact position of improving landlords which Cornwallis had anticipated. The custom of the country from the earliest times was for the ryot to toil under the Zemindar's protection. But the Zemindar had often private lands, or lands in his own occupation, termed in the phraseology of the day *Nij-jot* and *Khás-Khámar*; and he was not in the habit, in respect of such plots, of showing the tenantry how the yield of the land could be increased by manure, or how on the various levels the date tree, the *jute*, the tobacco plant or the sugar-cane, could be sown and grown with profit."

From the foregoing discussion and extracts, if one thing is clear more than another, it is this:—that it was during the administration of Lord Cornwallis as the Governor-General of India that the landholding classes were organized into a distinctive and well-defined body and they received, what I may call, a regular constitution. Ostensibly, he adopted the Zamindari system to secure and safeguard the Government revenue against fluctuations of the seasons. Politically, the measure was the means of detaching the territorially-influential families from their Moslem superiors and gaining them over to the British side by offering to them fixity of tenure and permanence of their possessions. But at the same time, one cannot be blind to the fact that—as the historian Mill says—the Governor-General's aristocratic instincts must have encouraged the idea of establishing a landed and old aristocracy in India on the European model—an idea that must have been greatly favoured by his theory that "a Permanent Settlement was to give confidence to the Zamindars, *increase to agriculture and stability to Government.*" Viewed with the help of these side-lights, every estate which has been permanently settled, was intended to be held *intact*, subject to such rights as the Hindu Law would impose in *other* respects—a condition of things, quite impossible, if at each succession the estate was either liable to be broken up and its income, without being concentrated in one hand for purposes of its improvement, would go piece-meal and be frittered away into the hands of many, *or* if the holder for the time being possessed the power of crippling or conveying it away either wholly or in part, from an insane ambition to be talked of as a munificent lord or under the evil influence of a scheming partner in life, or a fascinating she-partner in wrong. But it is too late in the day to ask for the recognition of this to be the true

nature of every tract, held under the system which has been called "the Permanent Settlement." The High Court of Madras, through its brilliant mouth-piece Mr. Justice Holloway, indeed asserted the truth once in dealing with the Nuswid Partition Case. But it was asserted too much in the laconic language of an aphorism, and it made no impression on his *official* superiors. Since his time, as also once or twice before him, we have been so drifting away from that truth, that nothing short of legislation affords the least chance for the Indian landholders to safeguard their possession from wreck and ruin.

In invoking the aid of the Legislature, big ones must put aside their pride and false dignity and fraternise with the "small fry" on the common and single basis of Permanent Settlement. The big ones are indeed very few, and the ways of some of them are, no doubt, such as to enlist very little public sympathy. The fortunes of the landholding classes *as a whole*—much less the interest of the *public*—would, besides, not be seriously affected, either for good or for ill, by any fate that may befall any or many of them, and it is the well-being of the *bulk* of the landholders, including those known as Proprietors by way of contradistinction to pretentious Zamindars, which in reality needs protection against disruption and disintegration. Whether it be on behalf of pretentious Zamindars or their humble brethren, known under the generic name of proprietors or the specific appellation of Jaghirdars, Shrotriamdars, Inamdars, &c., the demands should not be for the mere perpetuation of the existing mode of enjoying the estate, and much less its income. It does nobody good that one member of a family should roll in wealth and squander it in pandering to his own prurient proclivities. It is an inevitable misfortune that society must endure the spendthrift, when he is himself the acquirer of the treasures, be he lordly or plebeian; for individual rights are too sacred to be meddled with. But where it is capable of being legally controlled by falling in, as heritage the accident of being the firstborn or first-surviving just when succession opened up, should not, to the prejudice of the other members of the family, invest one member of it with the privilege of being prodigal, or profligate, or both. Plainly it is not the law our ancients left us; nor is it Statute Law. It is, as has been shown, purely judicial vagaries and, in my humble opinion, they have no basis in sound

reason or logical correctness. As against the pulverization of permanently settled estates either by perpetual divisions, or by gratuitous and wanton acts of an idiosyncratic holder, diminishing the *corpus* or deflecting the family exchequer, an alternative is indeed needed; but a brood of thriftless and self-indulging beings cannot supply that alternative. The solution seems to lie in the direction of division of the profits, with a statutory prohibition of the division of of the *corpus* and with the assignment of a fixed percentage for management and for the sustentation of the aristocratic dignity. In brief, my opinion on the matter under consideration is this that under proper safeguards and limitations, legislation should step in to declare, as regards every one of the estates permanently settled, their non-partibility among heirs, and their non-alienability by the holder, together with the right of the family to share the net profits in accordance with the principles of Hindu Law, subject, firstly, to a percentage for the upkeep of the dignity of the ostensible manager, and, secondly, to the erection of a reserve fund, receiving contributions every year, for purposes of irrigational works and for tiding over bad seasons and other casualties. Under such a system, there would exist a landed aristocracy, no member of which will revel amid an immensity of unearned riches; with brothers and co-parceners who, with only some pittance to keep up their inherited grandeur have to be looking on with long faces, and deriving pleasure and gratification from the contemplation of the barren honour of belonging to a family of considerable ancestry.

Under such a system, a greater impulse than exists at present, will also be given to the culture of the members of such families, and the juniors among them may come to regard the honour of serving their Government sufficiently attractive and may, with advantage, replace many a carpet-bagger and parasitical place-hunter, thereby enhancing the tone and increasing the dignity of the service. They may also come to realize that, besides the aristocracy of broad acres, there are persons who are denoted by what is known as the aristocracy of intellect and aristocracy of wealth—expressions which, in recent years, have acquired a wide and widening circulation, as if by way of revolt and protest against the erroneous restriction of the term aristocracy to the owners of extensive revenues alone.

P. ANANDA CHARLU.

POISONS AND POISONERS OF INDIA.

NO people in the world had carried the empirical study of nature to such an advanced stage so early in the period of history as the ancient Indians or Aryans. Nothing in the surrounding world seems to have escaped their keen attention; no stone, no tree, no animal that was found in India was left out of their most comprehensive and, so far as it could be carried then, their complete study. The amount of empirical knowledge that was gathered by them and that is found stored up in monumental works of the nature of the Charaka Samhita, now being translated into English by Mr. Kavyaratna, is, really astonishing. They seemed to have carried out their work in their own way with a thoroughness and an energy that excites one's admiration in the present day and makes one feel sad that the descendants of such a people have now lost entirely that profundity in all things so characteristic of their forefathers perhaps owing to the demand of a cheap superficial glitter and perhaps to the loss of all learned leisure consequent on the loss of prestige of the learned classes in this age of socialistic and democratic principles. The ancient Indians were by necessity empiricists, they had no means of performing any experiments except perhaps of the simplest sort. Facts had not been collected in sufficient numbers for thinkers to see the connection between and the general principles underlying various and apparently disconnected sets of them and to build up a science from them. Their work was to collect these facts by observation and by what simple experiments they could perform, and how thoroughly they carried it out, appears from the Charak which may be adduced as a standing example of this thoroughness of work.

In their study of the objects around them, their attention must have been early directed to their medicinal properties. In the history of chemical science, one sees how all the great chemists of the early ages, both in Europe and elsewhere, studied

their science with the principal object of knowing how far they could utilise the minerals and salts they dealt with to combat the thousand and one diseases the human flesh is heir to, and to restore and retain the health and vigour of their fellow beings. Paracelsus, Roger Bacon and others were, one and all of them, doctors in medicine in the first place. Their greatest ambition and their most cherished desire was to find out an elixir of life which would put an end to all diseases and maintain the human system in its youthful appearance and vigour and even conquer death. This tendency of all early students of nature is but a natural one, and the Aryans must have very early been influenced in their studies by such a tendency; for we find that it is precisely those properties of the different objects of nature they studied, that affect, either for good or for bad, the human system that is worked out most fully. In the knowledge of the therapeutical value of the numerous kinds of shrubs and plants that grow in a country, it may be safely asserted that there is not one people that surpasses the Indians. A great deal of this knowledge is unfortunately locked up in rare granthas which the possessors think it sacrilege, even to show to others who have not specially qualified themselves, by penances and what not, to read them—infinitely greater sacrilege to publish them—, and usually the knowledge is communicated from master to pupil only after the latter has taken a most solemn oath not to divulge it except under special circumstances. Any person who gives this knowledge to the world would be a great benefactor of mankind; for there is no doubt that many valuable specifics for difficult and dangerous diseases—nay even for diseases supposed to be incurable—are known to the Indians. As physicians, it is the belief of the writer, that the Indians are far and away superior to the Western doctors. Among them there seem to exist specifics for hydrophobia, for snake poisoning, for phthisis, and such hopeless diseases. For a foreigner it will simply be impossible to get to know of these, but those sons of the soil who have had the benefit of a Western medical education, ought to exert themselves in this field.

In this their study of the plants and minerals they did not fail to notice many, possessing deleterious effects on the human system. They studied these well, and as a result we have a large class of poisons, animal, vegetable and mineral, known to the people of India.

Each poison has apparently been thoroughly studied in its action on the human body and the bodies of the inferior animals, in varying doses and in different combinations with other substances in the same thorough manner characteristic of their study of other things. Many of these poisons have strong therapeutic effects when given in safe doses and are used by the Indians as valuable medicines. If we are to believe the words of those who profess to be acquainted with the secrets of the Indian doctors, these poisons form the basis of powerful specifics for the cure of diseases which are at present incurable under European medical treatment. These poisons, before they are administered internally, are made to undergo a process of what is known as purification by being passed through or soaked in such liquids as the water of the tender cocoanut and the urine of the cows. How the process can effect any change in the poison, it is impossible to understand; but yet, this purification is considered to be an important process by the Indian doctors for removing deleterious substances mixed with the poison and increasing its efficacy. The minerals are generally converted into 'Bhasmams' (calx) with the aid of fire and administered in that form, the alkaloids in the form of 'Leghyams' (electuaries) or 'Kashayams' (decoctions). It would also seem that, for many of the poisons known to Indians if not for all, antidotes are also known; at any rate, this is the general belief. To a people who are in possession of antidotes for the poisons of the snake and the mad dog, the two most dangerous of animal poisons, it is not incredible that antidotes for vegetable and mineral poisons are also known.

In this sketch it will be sufficient to consider a few of the more common poisons found in India, not with reference to their medicinal qualities, but with reference to their power of acting as poisons and destroying life and to the various methods that are adopted to administer them with the greatest chance of escaping detection and punishment. In India some of the criminal classes, who seek the aid of poisons for the carrying out of their dangerous practices with greater ease, have particular poisons which they invariably use. The ways of these classes form an interesting study and one of great utility to Magistrates and others who have to deal with these men, but here we can only touch upon them in passing.

One of the commonest of the vegetable poisons, and perhaps the

one that is best known to, and the most employed by Indian poisoners, is the *datura* which contains as its active principle the alkaloid *atropine*. Datura is a small shrub with large green leaves and fruits which bear a large number of characteristic spines on the surface and bell-shaped flowers either white or dark-blue in colour, growing all over India ordinarily in village wastes and uncultivated lands. There are two varieties of this shrub distinguished from one another by the colour of the flowers and the stem, the one having white flowers and the other dark-blue ones. The latter is said to contain more of the alkaloid and to be more efficacious and more powerful in action. For the purpose of the poisoner the seeds of the plant are chosen as containing the alkaloid in the greatest abundance, and probably also because they bear a most deceptive resemblance to chilli seeds, an ordinary ingredient in Indian curries. These seeds are gathered from the mature fruit, and after the outer shells are removed, are powdered and kept for use. This powder is peculiarly suited to the poisoner as it has little or no tell-tale taste and is of the colour of turmeric and as it has an effect on the human system varying from mere passing giddiness to complete loss of consciousness and finally to death, depending upon the strength of the dose. This poison is perhaps not so often used to take life as to render men unconscious to facilitate theft and such like crimes; it is generally used by road thieves in Upper India. The datura powder is made into sweetmeats for their nefarious purposes. These gentlemen of the road, dressed as *bonâ fide* travellers used to frequent the great trunk roads of the North. They fall in with parties of travellers and by their general agreeableness and suavity of manners, which they have cultivated as a fine art, they soon work themselves into the good graces and confidence of their unsuspecting fellow-travellers. They generally choose their opportunity of poisoning when the company has dwindled to a small number besides themselves; and when they see that they have arrived at some convenient spot away from villages and human habitations and whence they could easily escape perhaps into a neighbouring Raja's territory, they make themselves specially friendly to their intended victims and as a token of deep regard they offer them the tempting sweetmeat which however contains the deadly poison lurking in it. The Hindu is so fond of sweetmeats that he will by no chance reject the offer made and particularly as the offer is made

with such show of seemingly genuine regard for him, it would be the height of rudeness on his part to refuse it. He takes the sweetmeat and eats it with great pleasure. But soon he feels a sort of giddiness which is readily ascribed by his friend to the effects of the midday sun. He then eats some more of the sweetmeats and after a few minutes becomes totally unconscious. Now the period for which the road-thief has been working so assiduously and so long has arrived and he takes prompt advantage of his opportunity and relieves his friend and fellow-traveller of all his valuables and puts a good many miles of rough country between his friend and himself. If the poison was not taken in too large a quantity, the unconscious traveller manages to sleep off the effects of it in a day or two; but when he wakes up, he finds himself without his friend and his money. Now the truth of the whole thing flashes across his mind; he had heard stories of thugs and road-thieves before. But what is to be done; it is his fate, and so he goes his way probably thanking his stars that he was not murdered. Such occurrences as these used to be extremely common a few years ago, but the British Government has put them down with a strong hand and the road thieves, in spite of all their cunning, find themselves landed in jail too often to make such practices pay.

It is not for the road-thieves alone that this poison formed a convenient drug; it was put to a peculiar use by the Nawabs and Rajahs of the Mogul period. Datura has, it would seem, when administered in small doses for a number of days, the power of destroying the coherence of the intellect and converting the person who takes it into a drivelling idiot. This property was taken advantage of by the Mogul Emperors in particular, for removing from their path of political power any inconvenient person who proved an obstacle or a source of possible future danger to them, but whom they did not desire to see murdered either from the exigencies of the political situation or from some small feelings of regard. Such a person would be consigned to the tender mercies of the official poisoner of the palace with instructions to administer the fatal cup. After the cup has done its work, the poor victim wanders about the palace, a raving mad man and an entire nonentity in the political world.

This drug datura, as stated before, is not so often used for the actual purpose of taking life, and but few cases come before the

chemical examiners where the poison used is detected to be the alkaloid of datura. The favourite poison with all classes in India, either for self-destruction or for removing some obnoxious person from the path to love or money or for destroying cattle to injure one's neighbour or for any other purpose of destroying life, is white arsenic. It is more or less certain in its action unless too much of the poison has been administered which might result in the whole quantity being thrown out by the stomach before the poison has had time to produce its deadly effect; it is easily procurable in the market for a few annas as it is sold by almost all the bazaar druggists, no restriction being placed upon its sale by the Government. It is easily administrable as it is easily reduced to a white powder which mixes well with the white rice, the staple food in India, and is also somewhat soluble in water. It is free from all taste which might otherwise rouse the suspicion of the victim; the symptoms it produces after being swallowed, specially the vomiting and purging, are very similar to the symptoms produced by an attack of cholera, a common epidemic in India. Giving as it does all these facilities to the poisoners, it is naturally more often chosen than other poisons. In the great majority of cases that come to the chemical examiner arsenic is found to be the poison employed. Fortunately for society at large, and specially for society in India where poisoners abound and where chemical examiners are generally inexperienced and deficient in their knowledge of the principles and practices of chemical analysis, a most elegant and easy method of detecting arsenic in mixtures that contain it, however complex that mixture might be, has been devised by Prof. Reinsche. A clean bright piece of copper foil when heated and immersed in the mixture containing arsenic to which a little pure hydrochloric acid has been added, soon becomes black by the formation of a compound of arsenic and copper. The blackened piece of copper when taken out dried and heated in a glass tube will give a deposit of beautifully regular octohedral crystals of white arsenic on the cooler part of the tube. By this means a tyro in chemistry could detect even traces of arsenic in the fluids of the stomach of a poisoned man or beast. The only drawback from the poisoner's view to the use of arsenic is this extreme readiness with which it is detected. As this is not known to the poisoning classes in general, arsenic is still extensively used, specially in cattle-

poisoning. There is no general method adopted in its administration in human beings. It is mixed with rice or other eatables intended for the victim. But in cases of cattle-poisoning, a peculiar mode of administering it is resorted to. The poison is powdered and ground up with cotton rags and oil, and made up into boluses which are concealed in tufts of green grass or heads of ragi or corn, and given to the cattle to eat. The mixing with rags is probably with the idea of preventing the poison being thrown out by the stomach. Great numbers of cattle are yearly killed in this way by the chuckler and other low classes. According to the custom of the village, all cattle that die in the village become the property of these low class men who eat its meat and sell its hide. These men in times of high price for hides, carry on their nefarious practice of poisoning cattle in numbers. Accidents are often caused to human beings by inadvertently eating substances containing the poison prepared for the destruction of rats and such vermin, and cases are also known of children having eaten arsenic under the impression that it was sugar. A most extraordinary case of accidental poisoning with arsenic came to the notice of the Chemical Examiner of Madras lately. It would seem that some one had prepared a hot cake, commonly known in Tamil as Vadé, with a large quantity of arsenic in it, probably with a view to kill some crows or rats. This cake was somehow picked up by a crow and taken to a tree in a neighbouring garden, where a lad of 15 or 16, seeing the crow eat the cake, drove away the bird and possessed himself of it, and all unconscious of the dreadful poison that was lurking in it, the presence of which there was nothing to indicate, the poor boy enjoyed his cake. But soon he had to pay the penalty of his mistake; the usual symptoms set in, and in a few hours he was dead. One fruitful source of accidents is the mistake that hakims and native doctors make who use white arsenic as a medicine. They have an idea that by some means of purification they could destroy the poisonous qualities of arsenic, and so they often boldly administer fatal doses of this so-called purified arsenic for some disease or other, and the remedy proves, to their surprise, much more efficacious in putting an end to the man's disease and trials and troubles in this world than they expected; and the British Government, as a reward for their great merit and learning finds them free lodgers in a jail. With these hakims, the calx of orpiment or arsenious

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sulphide is also a potent medicine. Though orpiment, when pure, does not seem to have any decided poisonous properties, in the process for the preparation of the calx, one of the operations in which is heating the orpiment with some vegetable juices, a portion at least is certain to be converted into white arsenic, and these hakims, not knowing it, administer the medicine with of course unpleasant results. Arsenic, even when taken in quantities not sufficient to kill outright, acts in a very deleterious manner to the system unless the quantity of the dose be exceedingly small. It generally inflames the stomach, often destroying the mucous coating of it and kills the patient after some months. A sad case came to the knowledge of the writer, illustrating this slow action of arsenic in destroying life. A person who was suffering somewhat badly from dyspepsia came across a hakim who gave him a preparation which he called an unfailing specific for all stomachic disorders. The poor man, putting faith in the hakim, took his medicine, and although there were premonitory symptoms to warn him of the dangerous effects this medicine was producing, he disregarded them and persisted in taking the bhasmam; till, finally, the pain in the stomach became so unbearable that he could not continue. For a time his appetite seemed to have improved, but soon the dyspepsia returned in a much worse form. He could not retain any food in the stomach, the whole being thrown out as soon as taken. The arsenic,—for the medicine was a preparation of arsenic,—had done its work; the mucous coating of his stomach, which contains the digestive glands, was probably destroyed. He died some months after by an actual process of slow starvation as he could not assimilate any food.

Another dreadful poison rather common in India, and easily obtainable in all the Indian markets, is aconite; it seems to grow in North India on the Himalayas and in the neighbourhood. As sold in the market it is brown dried up tuberous root, with a pale white and glassy fracture when broken across. It contains an alkaloid aconitine, one of the most virulent poisons known, as its name in the Indian languages indicates; it is often called ativisam (strong poison). Its action on the system is very rapid and most characteristic, producing tingling and numbness of the lips and the mouth spreading on to the whole of the body, loss of power of speech and control over the organs, great thirst and pain, a look of deep agony on the face and

cold perspiration over the whole body. Soon the victim loses consciousness and dies. It is so powerful that a dose of a fifteenth of a grain is enough to kill an adult. Although so virulent in its nature it does not seem to be very generally used either by the homicide or suicide; it does not suit the former because of its extreme rapidity of action, and the unmistakeable symptoms of poisoning which accompany it, which would lead to early suspicion and probable detection; it does not suit the latter as apparently its action seems to be attended with great agony and pain. For similar reasons the nux vomica, which contains the extremely bitter alkaloid strychnine, is seldom employed, although the tree is very common in India.

The opium containing alkaloids of the morphine group is also answerable for a number of deaths in India, although as a poison it is not so powerful as the two last described, and requires fairly large doses to produce fatal effects. It is extensively used in India and elsewhere for the purpose of producing intoxication and for medicinal purposes, specially for temporarily deadening the nervous system and allaying pain. Opium forms an ingredient of a great number of specifics and is also largely used by the hakims of the country. But certainly the larger quantity is used up as a stimulant and intoxicant in various forms. Some smoke it, some chew it, and others take preparations of it mixed with sugar, ghee, and such other ingredients. It is reputed to have, when taken in proper quantities, the power of steadying the intellect and enabling concentration of thought and of making the body proof against hardship and exposure. People who lead austere lives, such as the sanyasis and the field labourers in Upper India who have to work exposed to the sun and the rain, generally indulge in the habit of opium-eating or smoking. Opium gains such a power over the nerves of their victim to the habit of taking it, that it becomes impossible for him to give it up afterwards. Death from opium-poisoning occurs more often as the result of accident than of design; some opium-eater perhaps taking too much of this favourite drug or some one unused to it eating the somewhat delicious preparations of this drug, with ghee and sugar, or again some one suffering from some form of excruciating pain taking too much of the medicine to allay it.

Somewhat similar in properties and in action is the drug ganjah, prepared from the Indian hemp; it is used in a similar way

as a stimulant and intoxicant. Though not strictly a poison, it has deleterious effects on the system when taken in quantities. It produces when taken internally great nervous excitement and is largely used as an aphrodisiac, specially by the women of the town. They prepare a peculiar kind of sweetmeat called the Majum halva, which they administer to their lovers. The active principle of ganjah has not been discovered yet; it does not seem to be an alkaloid as in the other cases above discussed. It is apparently a resin, but what its exact constitution is we do not know. Consequent on this ignorance of its nature no good chemical tests are yet known to identify ganjah in its mixtures; it produces a pale green fluorescent liquid when dissolved in alcohol, but the test is neither sufficiently characteristic nor easy to apply to complex mixtures, such as electuaries made of ganjah.

There is another class of poisons, the abortifacients, employed to cause abortion and destroy the fœtus. In a country where enforced widowhood is the rule in the higher castes, and where it is a social death to be discovered in any criminal liaison, but where the climate and surrounding circumstances are such as to heighten the passions, it is only to be expected that this mode of causing abortion would be common; and as a matter of fact it does seem to be not uncommon, especially among the unfortunate class of Brahmin widows. The means employed for bringing about abortion are very various. Two of the most common drugs used for the purpose are the oleander roots and the milk of the different varieties of the callotropis. Both these are very dangerous drugs and often cause the death of the mother. The oleander is a very common plant, with long thick lanceolate leaves and beautiful pink flowers, and it is commonly grown in gardens for the beauty of its flowers. It is very generally used for medicinal purposes in India; it has a powerful effect on the system and acts very strongly as an abortifacient, causing abortion even in advanced stages of pregnancy. Its application is attended with great risk, and cases often come up to the chemical examiners where the cause of death is traced to the use of the oleander, pieces of the roots of which are found in or near the deceased women. Callotropis gigantea, the most commonly used variety, is a member of the family of Euphorbia, and is characterised by very peculiar shaped flowers and thick leaves, and the presence of a white milky juice in abundance in the stem of

the leaves. It grows wild in all waste places; it is abundantly found in the neighbourhood of Madras. The white milk which exudes out as soon as any part of the plant is cut, is the substance that is employed as the abortifacient. It is a powerful drug for the purpose, and acts almost unfailingly when locally applied. The danger attending its use is not so much due to the inherent qualities of the milk itself as to the complications it produces when causing abortion; and death often occurs from its use. Both the oleander and the callotropis are difficult to trace and identify chemically. But fortunately in most cases of death where these agents have been employed, either unused remains of these, or the roots of oleander and the coagulated milk of the callotropis in an unmixed state, are found; otherwise it would be for all practical purposes almost impossible to detect the presence of these by chemical tests. Oleander gives a white crystalline powder in the acid ether extract in the process to be described below, which turns a fine pink colour on addition of potash; but there are other substances which give similar reactions rendering this test inconclusive. It is still more difficult in the case of callotropis to identify it. The only test that is at present known is the addition of nitric acid which, when acting on the coagulated white juice in a pure state, produces a green colour, but it is apparent that the test must fail in all cases where the juice is not obtained in a sufficiently pure state. The difficulty is specially felt in cases of cattle-poisoning by callotropis where the juice is mixed with cowdung; in such cases the chemical analyst can really only make a shrewd guess.

Even in the case of alkaloids, though a method has been elaborated by Stas and other European chemists for their separation, identification and detection, still the process is so difficult in application, and requires such extreme care and ability in the analyst, that it is often difficult to say whether one has obtained a genuine alkaloid; and often one has to go upon symptoms attending death, which in some cases are certainly more characteristic and safer to rely on than chemical tests. The chief difficulty in all these analyses is to separate the small quantity of alkaloid from the multifarious contents of the stomach and the fat on its walls, and obtain the alkaloid in a pure state to test. The usual method employed in India is the ether extraction process, originally devised

by Stas. The stomach and its contents, which generally contain the poisons, are extracted with alcohol, slightly acidulated with acetic acid. This extract is filtered and evaporated to dryness by the regulated application of heat by steam. When the evaporation is drawing to an end, some broken pieces of glass are added to cut up the residue and make it expose a greater surface for the next extraction. This is technically known as the glass extract; it is once again extracted with a small quantity of strong, slightly acidulated alcohol. A good deal of the impurities, such as albuminous matters, coagulated by heat, are left behind. The extract is once again evaporated, and the residue is treated with distilled water and washed into a shaking bottle. The alkaloids forming salts with the acetic acid employed, go into the solution. At this stage anhydrous ether is added and well shaken with the water extract and separated from it. This serves to remove fat and other impurities not yet removed. The white crystals of oleander, spoken of above, and similar substances are found in this portion of the extract. The process is repeated a number of times, and then the water extract that is left is rendered slightly alkaline by the addition of ammonia which serves to precipitate the alkaloids. It is once again extracted with ether, which now extracts the alkaloid and deposits it on evaporation in a fairly pure state. Morphine, strychnine, atropine, aconitine, and similar bodies, are found in this extract. The separated and the still somewhat impure alkaloid has to be identified next. The chemical tests which generally depend upon the different colours produced by the different alkaloids when different chemical re-agents are added to them, are first tried; but the alkaloid being in an impure state, the colour tests are seldom completely reliable. The taste and the action on the tongue, which serves to characterise aconitine, are then tried, and finally a watery extract is injected into a frog, which generally shows clear symptoms of poisoning if any alkaloid is present. If there is reason to suspect the presence of atropine, the datura alkaloid, the extract is further applied to the eye of a cat, extreme dilatation of the pupil indicating the presence of atropine; this is the only test —and a very unsatisfactory test it is—to identify the alkaloid of the most commonly employed poison in India.

Add to this, the inherent difficulty of identification, the known inexperience of the official analysers in India, and it may be truly

said that the poisoners are a fortunate set of people here, more fortunate than their brothers elsewhere.

To carry on these delicate and difficult operations of chemical analyses, the Government deputes men whom a great authority on chemistry, Dr. Voelcker, could describe, and describe truly, it seems to the writer, as men of mere test-tube experience. It is unfortunate that the chemical examinership should be a monopoly of the Indian Medical Department. The utmost training in chemistry that these medical officers receive, and the utmost that could be claimed for them even by an official apologist of theirs, is a six months' training at Netley, a training ridiculously insufficient, as would be apparent to any one who knows anything of chemistry, to fit a person for the difficult and responsible duties of a chemical examiner to the Government. The employment of such men is a real danger to society and an advantage to the criminals. It is high time for the Government to take an enlightened view of the matter and appoint only specialists, men who have made a special study of chemistry to such an office. Untrained men are apt to fail in detecting poisons that really exist, and also to suppose that poisons do exist where none really is present, being misled by the indications of chemical tests. It is no wonder that the responsible judges of the country often refuse to attach importance to the chemical examiner's certificates. If the analysts are apt to go wrong in their analysis, where well known poisons are employed, the chances of mistake are enormously increased in the case of obscure and unstudied poisons, a number of which seem to be known to and employed by the natives of the country; such obscure poisons are, it is believed, not attempted to be detected, nor even looked for by the chemical examiners. The existing state of affairs is a source of discredit to the Government in the eyes of all scientists, and it is to be hoped that it would be changed for the better soon.

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