

THE MADRAS REVIEW

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

EDITED BY C. SANKARAN NAIR.

~~~~~  
FEBRUARY, 1897.  
~~~~~

CONTENTS.

Page.

I. INDIA'S MILITARY FRONTIER. By Capt. A. Banon.	1
II. PROVINCIAL FINANCE.	9
III. Mr. BALFOUR'S FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF. ..	32
IV. THE EURASIAN PROBLEM. By A. P. S.	52
V. THE PLACE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA. By N. Vaithianadhan.	62
VI. HWEN-THSANG: THE CHINESE PILGRIM. By Ramanatha Iyer, M. A.	77
VII. INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN MODERN INDIA. By G. A. Natasen.	93
VIII. MARRIAGE LEGISLATION IN TRAVANCORE. ..	106

Madras:

PRINTED AT THE VIJAYANTI PRESS, LAKESIDE, EGMORE,

AND

PUBLISHED BY SRINIVASA, VARADACHARI & Co., MOUNT ROAD.

1897.

THE
MADRAS REVIEW

Vol. III.

FEBRUARY 1897.

No. 8.

INDIA'S MILITARY FRONTIER.

AS long as England holds command of the sea English dominion in India is secure against every power, except Russia. Therefore no attention need be paid to any other part of the Indian frontier, from a military point of view, than where a Russian Invasion is possible. It is generally supposed that we have now a scientific military frontier, but this is very far from being the case. Broadly speaking a Russian Invasion of India is only possible through Afghanistan, and the countries under the rule of the Ameer of Cabul. This then is the weak point in the defence of India against Russia ; that so much depends upon the Afghans, a people notorious through Asia for their savagery and Punic faith. Anglo-Indian official optimism has the most serene belief in the fidelity of the Ameer, Abdur Rahman ; quite oblivious of the fact that every Afghan looks forward to the day when the lost provinces of Cashmere and the Panjab will be once more regained after a successful war against the English Infidel. So great has been the infatuated belief of the Indian Government in the good faith of the Ameer, that by means of money, arms, and other subsidies, they have almost made Abdur Rahman the arbiter of the

destinies of India. All this while enlightened public opinion in India knows for certain that Russia has only to offer the Afghans Cashmere and the Panjab, to draw the whole nation to their side as allies in war. The blind infatuation of the Indian Foreign Office is all the greater in as much the Ameer has never concealed his real sentiments towards us. His whole reign has been characterised by an uniform series of unfriendly acts. Every frontier trouble, more especially Waziristan and Chitral, has been instigated by him. While destroying the trade of India with Afghanistan by monopolies and exactions, he has favored trade with Russia. Directly we closed one door into India against Russia at Chitral, he has opened another, an easier and shorter one, through Kafiristan. Every gift from us he has accepted as so much black mail. The only one astute move made by the Indian Foreign Office was in sheltering Ayoob Khan; and probably that was done more from necessity than choice. The custody of Ayoob Khan is the only hold we have on the very dubious friend to whom we have consigned the key to the defence of India against Russia.

The initial mistake made was in the invasion of Afghanistan before we were ready for it. The discredit of this insane proceeding must be divided between Lords Lytton and Beaconsfield. Before the end of the XXth Century it will be a matter of wonderment to the then English nation how their fore-fathers ever allowed themselves to be so illusioned and hypnotised by that Arch Charlatan and Mountebank, Benjamin D'Israeli. Even now, we are beginning to have an inkling of the truth when the results of the insane Cyprus Convention are being brought home to us in the matter of Armenia. Lord Lytton invaded Afghanistan without the least idea of what he was going to do next. When at last he had the pig by the ears no one was more unprepared for the natural consequences. One would have supposed the lessons of the first Afghan War had been taken to heart; but not so, for every folly of the First Afghan War was repeated in the Second, less than forty years afterwards. So desperate were the fortunes of the Indian Government in 1880 that the fate of India hung in the balance. Every demand and stipulation advanced by Abdur Rahman had to be conceded by the Indian Government. These things have been forgotten at Simla, but they have not been forgotten at Caubul.

Again in 1885 the Indian Government were once more unprepared for war and had to pocket the affront of Penjdeh, which they were helpless to avenge. All these things help to explain the policy of the Ameer since then towards the Indian Government.

The military strength of India has increased since the Penjdeh scare, but it is still far from sufficient to ensure us safety. The reason is not far to seek. The Government of India is a government of officials, by officials for officials; that is a government of official mediocrities, living from hand to mouth, without foresight, content with the present day. India is a veritable paradise for official mediocrities and non-entities, all banded together in defence of the loaves and fishes of office. What therefore does it matter to these official lotus eaters, that one half of the Native Army of India is quite unfit to put into line against Russian troops. Doubtless Lord Roberts and Sir George White are Gullivers among the Liliputians of Simla; but Gulliver in turn became a dwarf in Brogdinag. The ogre most dreaded at Simla is Lord Wolseley; for the officials of Liliput very shrewdly suspect that he would play Cain with their little tin gods and break their military play-things. What an unanimous and interested official howl went from one end of Anglo-India to the other, when Lord Wolseley spoke a few plain truths about the unfit half of the Indian Native Army. For a day, at least, the abominated Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji went near to being idolised for his tantrums on that historic occasion. And yet the most pressing need of India from a military point of view, is that, Lord Wolseley be appointed Viceroy of India for a period of at least ten years, with full powers to put the Indian Army on a thoroughly workmanlike footing.

A War with Russia would be very popular with the Indian Services, who anticipate a military picnic across the Border and victories on the Caspian. But have they counted the cost? It is always supposed the Ameer and his Afghans would be our very faithful allies on the occasion. Have they ever thought what the problem would become with the Afghan Army siding with Russia and all eager for the loot of India? Again, it is always supposed that the invading Russian Army would make one wild headlong rush for the Indus. Is this so certain? Suppose the Afghans faithful to their alliance with us, but also suppose the Russians choosing

adopt Fabian tactics? As things stand at present, within one month hostilities commence, the Russians will have possessed themselves of Herat and Afghan Tarkestan ; where, to some extent, they would find themselves in a friendly country. Making Northern and Western Afghanistan their base, drawing their supplies from a weak and friendly Persia, they could attract to their standards and train all the disaffected elements in Afghanistan hostile to the Ameer. Instead of advancing they could carry on a guerilla war with fire and sword, making our alliance worthless to the Afghans. What are we to do in such a case? According to pre-arranged plans we should have occupied Candahar and Jellalabad, to await there the Russian advance. What is our next move to be, if the Russians will not obligingly attack us in our carefully chosen and strongly fortified positions? But instead, systematically ravage the whole country in front of us with fire and sword, disgusting our Afghan allies with a power that cannot protect them in their own homes? How long under these circumstances would the Afghans remain in alliance with us? Then if we advance in force to drive the Russians out of Afghanistan, we shall be playing their game and giving them every military advantage in the struggle. As things stand at present the Russians have only to occupy Northern and Western Afghanistan, and they can occupy these comparatively friendly districts, without firing a shot, to compel us to make any terms they like. For what can we really do? We can only stand fast at Candahar and Jellalabad, all the while incurring a military expenditure of lakhs daily, and bankrupting our every resource, material, financial, and military. For us to attempt to drive the Russians out of Herat, under present conditions would be a physical impossibility, fraught with annihilation. The truth can be told now, but the fate of the Indian Empire hung trembling in the balance, while Ayoub Khan was besieging Candahar ; and we were at the end of our resources, in men and material in 1880. As things are, the military resources of India are just about sufficient to wage a successful war with the Ameer of Caubul, and to impose our own terms on the Afghans. By going to war with Russia, under present conditions, we should be only rushing headlong to destruction. For Russia, by playing a waiting game, could bleed us to death, morally, materially, financially. The sources of our present weakness

are, the want of reserves in officers and men, and the want of carriage. One of the defects of British Rule is that it emasculates the manhood of the populations over which it holds sway. It is only from our frontiers and Northern India that we can now recruit races that are fit put in line against Russian troops. Few as our serviceable and available troops are, they have no reserves behind them of officers and men. In 1878-80 we failed in Afghanistan from want of carriage and from want of men. We had swept all Northern, Central, and Western India clean of every beast of burden. We were offering fifty rupees bounty, an enormous sum for India, for recruits, and could not get them, for service across the frontier, even at that price. These things have been forgotten now-a-days, though similar difficulties will again encounter us in our next big war across the frontier. Even after an interval of nearly twenty years the country has not yet recovered the loss of the beasts of burden in the Afghan War. Last year there was not transport enough for even the small Chitral Expedition; while this same Border raid showed what an enormous demand a big war would make on our reserves of officers and men. If the Afghan War and the Chitral Expedition have proved any one thing it is that the most urgent necessity exists for a Railway Battalion in the Indian Army, in order that light railways may successfully supplement our deficiencies in transport. Though a Railway Battalion is a matter of life and death to the Army of India, there is no hope of such a useful body of men being embodied at the present time. We shall enter on the next big Border War as unprepared as we were in 1878, and with as light a heart born of ignorance and conceit.

The present times are very critical, for we are on the eve of another Afghan War, which promises to be a much bigger business than any of its predecessors. Before we begin let us know exactly what we want, and what we are going to do. If we are to have another Afghan War, we must emerge from it with our North West frontier made secure against any Russian aggression, offensive or defensive. We do not want to make an enemy of Russia, for Russia and France are the only two powers in the world that can harm us, and so plainly marked out as friends from necessity. We should come to a mutually profitable arrangement with Russia and France and divide Asia and Africa between us. Afghan Turkestan, with an

Usbek population, should by every ethnological right belong to Russia ; and to Russia we should hand it over. The Hindu Khush is the only satisfactory and scientific frontier between India and Central Asia, which now is Russian. An Afghan Ameer there must be at Caubul, but a chastened Ameer that will recognise his own powerlessness. We cannot again have an Ameer like Abdur Rahman whose present inflated vanity endangers the safety of India. *Salus Republicae, suprema lex.* Where the wellbeing of 300 millions of the human race are concerned the absurd pretensions of a barbarous savage and his uncouth subjects must be ruthlessly brushed aside.

The greater part of India has become so emasculated that for all administrative purposes no army is required in addition to an efficient police force. We have now four Army Corps, we could do equally well with two. With the necessary amount of reductions the three Army Corps of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras might be rolled into one. Not more than one big Military Cantonment is required for all Madras, that at Secunderabad. For Bombay, in like manner, but one at Poonah. For Bengal not more than three, at Lucknow, Jhansi and Meerut. The rest of the Indian Army should be cantoned in the Panjab and across the Indus. There are certain strategical points in Afghanistan we must hold in great force, by fortified standing camps with garrisons from ten to twenty thousand men at each. Jellalabad is one such, which must be protected by outlying forts, and connected by railway with Peshawar. Then we require to link up our Indian Railway system with the Russian Central Asian Railway system through Candahar and Herat. Beluchistan must be provided with strategic military railways. Our proper and strongest base is the sea ; and that we must strategically use for the defence of India. Beluchistan, properly forested and irrigated by canals, would be as rich as any province in India. We want a good harbour on the Persian Gulf, Gwadur, Son Miani, or any other yet to be found as the most convenient and secure for the terminus of a railway to run to Herat. It goes without saying that we must have a strongly fortified position at Herat with a garrison of twenty thousand men. At Candahar another fortified camp, and a garrison nearly as large. Between Candahar and Herat, protecting the railway, smaller fortified places and garrisons would be

necessary. For every Regiment disbanded in India proper, another must be raised from among the mutually warring tribes of Afghanistan. The Afghans proper are outnumbered by other hostile races, such as Hazarahs and Parsiwans. In our Native Army we must only have those men whom we can place in line against Russian troops. Afghanistan is perhaps the best recruiting ground for such men.

It may be objected that the linking up of our Indian lines of railway with those of Russia in Central Asia would only facilitate an invasion of India. So far from this being the case it would compel the Russians to attack us from that side of India on which we were strongest. A railway, and the possession of Herat, would enable us to assume the offensive at will, which now we can by no possibility do. That defence, which can never assume the offensive, when necessary, is doomed in the end. The possession and proper utilisation of these three points, Candhar, Jellalabad, and Herat, can alone ensure a successful defence of India against Russian Invasion. The necessity of Jellalabad is that it enables us to guard all the passes, debouching into India, with which the Hindu Khush is honeycombed. Holding Jellalabad and Candahar in great force we are enabled to prevent any Russian Army passing into India between these two places. The possession of Herat enables us to prevent the Russian occupation of Western Afghanistan, which would give them a secure base from which to operate against India. These three places, Herat, Candahar and Jellalabad, form the keys of India, and must therefore remain in our keeping. Peshawar and the Kuram Valley are mere *cul de sacs*, forming only death-traps to the armies occupying them. A defensive position, from which the offensive cannot be readily taken, is worse than useless.

It may be objected that the scientific Frontier for India herein roughly sketched out would prove too expensive. While admitting the great expense it may be questioned whether it is more expensive than present and past arrangements. The last Afghan war cost us twenty millions. Ten millions and more have been sunk in the Quetta sands. To take but one instance of the foolish waste of money by military advisers in quite recent years we have the nine forts round Rawal Pindi built by Lord Roberts, but since condemned by Sir George White as worse than useless. Now a real

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

Scientific Frontier for India is cheap, whatever the cost, for it saves the 300 millions of India from the horrors and losses of War. If England must fight for the mastery of India with Russia, it is better on every count, and cheaper, that the contest be decided in the wilds of Afghanistan, than upon the peaceful plains of India. Then, however heavy the permanent expenditure for a real Scientific Frontier, it is an expenditure incurred only once and for all time. Whereas now, there is no end to the annual expenditure on Frontier expeditions, caused by an indefensible frontier, and occasional panics and hurried preparations, costing millions, as in 1885 with the Panjdeh Scare. The expenditure on a real Scientific Frontier is really but a form of insurance, and after all no amount of expenditure is too great as an insurance against a great war and the devastation of Hindustan. If India were really strong, in a military sense, behind a real Scientific Frontier, Russia would give up all idea of invading India, as an insane project, leading only to disaster.

In November of the year, 1896, we were within an ace of a Third Afghan War. That conflict has only been postponed. Unless the Ameer Abdur Rahman dies in the meanwhile, another Afghan War is certain in the very near future. We cannot escape the inevitable, but we should be prepared for it, and in this present breathing time, before the coming conflict with the Ameer, let us deliberately settle, what it is exactly we must have. Nothing can be more undignified than our seizing the Afghan pig by the ears, like Lord Lytton, without knowing what we are going to do with him afterwards.

KULU KANGRA—PANJAB

A. BANON.

2-12-96.

PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

THE period of the current Provincial Contract expires with this official year, and we understand that the terms of the next contract are under the consideration of our Government and the Government of India. Only a few of our readers are apparently aware of the nature of these so-called contracts and the objects hoped to be achieved by the great Viceroys who initiated the scheme. To Lord Mayo must be given the credit of laying the foundations on which Lord Ripon has built a noble structure. When Mayo came to India, he found that the finances of India were in a chaotic condition. The estimates were generally not in accord with the actual facts. In 1866-67 the budget estimate showed a deficit of £ 72,800, the real deficit turning out to be two millions and a half. In 1867-68 a surplus of £ 1,764,479 was budgeted for, the result being a deficit of one million. In 1868-69 a surplus of upwards of 2 millions was budgeted for, but a deficit of nearly 2 millions occurred. The three years preceding Lord Mayo's first budget therefore left an aggregate deficit of about 5 millions and a half and the estimates as compared with the results had proved wrong to the extent of over nine millions. This deficit was for ordinary expenditure alone, and including the outlay on extraordinary public works, the total deficit is given in the official statements at £ 12,054,016 (at 2s. per rupee). We are not now concerned with the steps which Lord Mayo took successfully to prevent a deficit in that particular year. We propose to notice the measures he adopted to bring about a permanent equilibrium between the revenue and the expenditure of India. His reforms divide themselves into three branches. "First, improvements in the mechanism of the Financial Department of the Supreme Government itself. Lord Mayo thought that it would be useless to ask Local Governments to set their houses in order, if they could point to confusion or want of prevision in his own. Second, the more rigid enforcement on the Local Governments of accuracy in framing their estimates and of economy in keeping within them. While thus increasing their fiscal responsibility, Lord Mayo also extended their financial powers. Third, a

systematic and permanent re-adjustment of the revenues and the expenditure." It is not necessary for us to deal with the first in detail. It is on the second great branch of his reform that we must bestow careful attention. Apart from the defects that existed in the mechanism of the Financial Department of the Government of India which he soon remedied, Lord Mayo found that his great difficulty lay in his relations with the Provincial Governments. Those Governments were entrusted with the civil administration and the improvement of their several provinces without giving them any financial control or responsibility while the Supreme Government undertook the entire distribution of the funds needed for the public service throughout India. At the end of every year, each local Government submitted its estimates of expenditure for the coming 12 months and after a comparison of all these estimates with the expected revenue, the Viceroy granted to each local Government such sums as could be spared; naturally, therefore, the Provincial Governments were not allowed to incur any new expenditure, however small, or even to re-adjust old expenditure. They were not at liberty to spend upon one of its services any money they may have saved from grants for another service and any unexpended portion of the grant usually lapsed to the Imperial Treasury. The sanction of the Imperial Government was thus necessary for the employment of any official, however small his pay; for any work of improvement, any road, any building, however insignificant.

Thus the result was that the local Governments interested in the welfare of their provinces tried to secure as much as they could out of the Imperial Treasury. The Supreme Government without adequate knowledge of local circumstances but having regard to general financial safety always tried to cut down the Provincial demands as much as possible. There were thus frequent conflicts of opinion. Naturally, the wants of the Provincial Governments were generally legitimate, as there is no limit to progress, and the difficulty of resisting their increasing demands was one main cause of chronic deficit in the financial condition of India. To place a check upon the expenditure of the Local Governments, to induce them to spend only what was absolutely required, Lord Mayo divided the administration into two great services. For the economical management of one of these he made the Local Government directly

responsible. For its cost he made a fixed yearly consolidated grant not liable to reduction except under exceptional circumstances. The distribution of such income was left to the discretion of each Government, any saving from the grant not reverting to the Imperial Treasury. The original fixed grant was naturally based on the then actual expenditure under the heads transferred. Thus in 1860-71 the following services were placed under the control of Local Governments (1) Jails, (1) Registration, (3) Police, (4) Education ; (5) Printing ; (6) Medical Services ; (7) Roads (8) Civil buildings and various Public Works ; (9) Miscellaneous public improvements. For their cost the estimated receipts under the first six of these heads and an adjusting grant were sanctioned. But as the Imperial Exchequer then required relief a ratable reduction was made. Thus for Madras, grants on account of the above heads of the service were

...	...	...	Rs. 87,67,000.
Estimated receipts under the above heads	...	...	8,18,000
Net Charges (actual assignment)	...	...	79,49,000
Reduction for the relief of the Imperial Exchequer	...	...	5,54,000
Net permanent assignment	...	...	73,95,000

Subsequently, certain additions were made to the provincialized heads of service the permanent assignments being on such transfer raised to meet such cost.

We have already stated that the Local Government was authorised to distribute the annual assignment as they considered fit and any savings effected in the allotments or increase in receipts could be made available for provincial purposes. In 1877 an extension of the existing provincial arrangement was proposed by the Government of India, to the various Local Governments but Madras declined to be a party to such scheme and continued therefore under the arrangements of 1871. The next great change so far as Madras was concerned was introduced in 1882 in the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. It will be observed that in the arrangement of 1871 no large share of revenue was assigned to the Local Government and that therefore there was no stimulus for the development of revenue as the Local Government did not derive any immediate benefit from its increase. Another defect was that the items of the revenue transferred were inelastic as the income of such departments as Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Printing and Medical Services cannot be expected

to vary considerably, while the expenditure on some of those items like education and police was likely to rise from year to year. The arrangement therefore undoubtedly called for modification. In 1882 therefore after reserving certain heads of revenue as imperial, others were divided in certain proportions between the Imperial and Local Governments; while certain others were made wholly provincial. Similarly the cost of certain great heads of expenditure was provincialised. The balance being against the Local Government a fixed percentage of land revenue was assigned by the India Government sufficiently large to make up the deficiency. Thus as will appear from the table at the end of this article, the receipts from excise, stamp, assessed taxes, registration, forest which Departments are directly under the management of the Local Government were divided under this arrangement equally between Imperial and Provincial. Those from District post, Minor Departments, Law and Justice, Police, Education, Medical, Stationary and Printing, were wholly and those from Marine, Miscellaneous and Public Works almost wholly surrendered to provincial, while land revenue, tributes, customs, salt, interest and superannuations, were reserved to Imperial, except in the case of some minor items. Forests also was afterwards made wholly Provincial. On the other hand the cost of the great heads of expenditure Land revenue and general Administration, were provincialised and the charges of those newly provincialised departments were similarly treated. The fixed percentage of Land revenue assigned to make up the deficiency was 28·8073. The advantage in this arrangement lay in the direct interest acquired by the Local Government in any increase of revenue to the extent of the provincial share which was left solely under their control. As the Local Government had thus to limit their expenditure to a limited scale of income and as any savings effected could wholly be utilised in the interests of their own province, it was expected that there would be greater care and economy and that friction would be avoided between the Supreme Government actuated by desire for economy and the Local Government prompted by zeal for progress. It was also expected that by giving the Local Government for utilization within the Presidency a share in any increase in revenue under certain heads it would be enabled to effect many improvements by judicious and

careful management which would otherwise have been impracticable. More important than all these changes noted in 1882 were the steps taken by Lord Ripon's Government to give effect to the anticipations shadowed forth by Lord Mayo in which the policy of decentralisation was recommended as affording opportunities for securing the assistance of non-official Europeans and Natives to a greater extent than before in the administration of the country and for instructing the people in Self-Government. To this matter we shall refer in detail later on. The hopes entertained above about the expansion of revenue and the administrative improvements were fully justified. During the currency of this contract the total income from the principal heads of revenue, excise, stamps, Registration and Forest increased by about 28 per cent. The provincial balance increased by about 26 lacs and the standard of Provincial annual revenue and expenditure each increased by about 16 lacs or at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum.

The provincial arrangements were revised in the year 1887 and the changes introduced will be seen at a glance in the column of provincial proportion in the table annexed. Instead of making an assignment of a fixed percentage on land revenue to effect equilibrium, a fixed annual allotment of 33 lacs was made by the Imperial to the Provincial Government; while at the same time one fourth of the land revenue was provincialised and the Provincial Government henceforth became entitled to one fourth of the land revenue. Again, the receipts from stamps which were equally divided between Imperial and Provincial Governments were divided in the proportion of 1 to 3, while of the receipts from excise the Provincial Government was given only one fourth. There were certain other charges which need not here be noticed. During the currency of this contract there was a further advance equivalent to 25·5 per cent in the total revenue of Excise, Stamps, Registration and Forest; and the standards both of the provincial and revenue continued to rise as before. The next, that is the current contract was on the same lines as the second with the exception of forest which, wholly provincial before, was made equally divisible between Imperial and Provincial. The advance in the total Revenue of the principal heads was maintained and the standard of expenditure also continued to rise,

The tables which we have given at the end of this article fully explain the great changes and the improvements which have taken place since 1882. A few explanatory facts may not be out of place. Under the contract of 1882 the percentage of land revenue which the Local Government was entitled to receive was 129·92 lacs while it actually realised at an average rate of 134·53 lacs, thus giving an average annual profit of 4·61 or total profit amounting to lacs 23·05. During the period of the second contract, the contract figure was 113·43 for the one fourth share of the land revenue, and the local Government actually realised an average of 117·97 lacs, giving an average annual profit of 4·55 or total profit for the period of 5 years amounting to 22·75. If we reduce the fixed percentage of 28·8073 for the first period (82-87) to 25 per cent for purposes of comparison with the second period, it will be found that the average annual profit of the first period was 4 lacs, while it was 4·55 during the second period. For the current period the contract figure was 121 lacs for the one fourth share ; while our Government realised 131·97 per year gaining an average annual profit of 10·97 lacs or a total profit for the period of 54·88 lacs. Thus for the total period of 15 years it has realised 100 lacs over the contract figure in the land revenue collections alone. Under the head of stamps during the period of 82-87 the contract figure which the Local Government was expected to realise was 27 lacs, while it actually realised 28·20 lacs giving us an annual profit of 1·20 lacs or total profit for the period of lacs 6·00. For the second (quinquennial) period for which the provincial share was increased to three-fourths the contract figure was 43·50 for such share ; while the Government actually realised 47·72 or an average annual profit of 4·22 lacs, giving us the total profit of 21·10 lacs. For the third period when the share continued the same, the contract figure was 49·50 lacs while the Government actually realised 57·92 lacs which gives us an annual profit of 8·42 lacs or total profit of 42·10. The total profit, therefore, for the three periods was 69·20 lacs. In the case of excise for the half share during 82-87 the contract figure was 30·90 lacs we actually realised 38·80 lacs giving us thus an annual profit on the contract of 7·90 lacs or a total profit of 39·50. Our share was reduced for the second period to one-fourth ; the contract figure

being 22 lacs while we actually realised 27·88 lacs, thus giving us an annual average profit of 5·88 lacs or a total profit of 29·40 lacs. For the current period when our share continued the same the contract figure was 30·68 while our Local Government actually realised at an average rate of 33·75 lacs an annual average profit of 3·25 or the total profit for the whole period of 16·25 lacs. Our gain therefore from 82 to 97 is about 85·15 lacs. In the case of assessed taxes for our half share during 82-87 the contract figure was 2·35 lacs, we lost in that period as we actually realised only 2·23 lacs. The share continued the same during the next period of 87-92, the contract figure was 5·60 lacs but we actually realised 87·07 lacs giving us thus an average profit of 2·47 lacs or total profit for the period of lacs 12·35. During the third period with the same share the contract figure was 8·25 lacs, while we actually realised 10·70 lacs, giving us thus only a gain of 2·45 lacs or 12·25 lacs for the entire period. From 82-97 our gain was thus 24 lacs. We shall conclude with the head of Forests. During the first period where the forest revenue was entirely provincial, the contract figure was only 2·40 lacs while our Local Government actually realised at the rate of 10·94, thus giving us a profit of 8·54 lacs a year, or for the period of 5 years the sum of 42·70 lacs. For the second period our contract figure was 13 lacs and we realised 15·87 lacs giving us an annual profit of 2·87 lacs or a profit of 2·87 lacs or a profit of lacs 14·35 for the period. During the period of current contract our share was reduced to half, the contract figure was 9·75 lacs and we realised only 9·51 lacs, thus being a loser. On the whole therefore from 82-87 we have gained to the extent of 56·05 lacs.

The increase of revenue has thus been steady and continuous. The column of total revenue and receipts will show that the contract figure for the period 82-87 was 217·78, while we actually realised at the rate of 242·69, thus making an average annual profit on the contract of 24·91; or in other words while the Local Government were expected to realise 1088·90 lacs for the full period, we actually realised 1213·45 lacs, thus gaining 124·55 for the full period. Similarly in 87-92 while the contract figure was only 256·36 lacs per year we actually realised 1417·90 lacs for 5 years thus gaining 136·10 lacs for the entire period of 5 years. Similarly

for the third period 92-97 while the contract figure was only 281·83 lacs to 81-83 per year we are actually expected to realise 1601·25 lacs thus realising 192·10 lacs for the full period of these 5 years. Our total gain therefore for the full period of 82-87 may be taken to be 452·75 lacs.

This enormous sum has been utilised in this presidency with the exception of what has been contributed to the Imperial revenue. It is unnecessary to compare the rate of increase in expenditure for each period as we have done in the case of receipts. Our readers can readily do so from the tables. In the year 1894 when Mr. Bliss made his financial statement he showed that the percentage of increase in expenditure under some of the chief departments has been as follows :—

Forest	...	...	...	104·9
Registration	...	...	...	63·7
Education	...	...	...	41·4
Law and Justice..	...	...	...	16·5
Land revenue	...	...	...	15·9
Police	...	...	...	12·5

He stated “nor are extra-ordinary items which often represent the most useful classes of expenditure included in these figures. In addition to strengthening and rendering more efficient our establishments under, it may without exaggeration be said, every important head of service, Madras has been able to assign about 13 lacs to the Mayavaram-Muttupet Railway and 8 lacs to the scheme of Municipal water supply and to aid the general finances of India by contributions amounting on the whole to 17 lacs 50,000. That the Presidency should have been in the position to do all this, to have met without appealing for any assistance from Imperial revenues the heavy losses and the increased outlay consequent on a succession of years of scarcity and famine, the direct charges on this account being in excess of 22 lacs and yet to have closed the eleventh year with a surplus to credit of 26 lacs is to my mind a conclusive justification of the provincial system of finance.” We may take it therefore that as between the Government of Madras and India the decentralization of provincial finance has been amply justified, There has been an enormous expansion of revenue ; and a fair share of such increase has been spent in this Presidency.

PART II.

We now propose to deal with a very important question concerning this large income and expenditure.

According to the scheme sketched above, it will appear that Provincial Governments could practically distribute the assignment as they considered fit, that savings effected were at their disposal and that they shared in any increase in revenue. Even where sanction had to be obtained either for re-adjustment or for expenditure of the funds allotted it is clear that the same check is not likely to be exercised by the Government of India as before when every pie saved would go to the credit of that Government. The great authors of the scheme, however, were not unaware of this defect. While fully recognising their own inability to adequately consider and meet the demands of the Local Government, they felt that it was in the interests of economy that there should be some check placed upon the Provincial Governments in the disposal of the funds placed at their disposal. For that check they looked to responsible non-official criticism. Lord Mayo declared that the operation of this resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of Self-Government, for strengthening municipal institutions and for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs, and he called upon all his subordinates to enlist the active assistance or at all events the sympathy of many classes who have hitherto taken little or no part in the work of administration. He directed that the Local Government should publish its yearly estimates in its own gazette together with a financial exposition to be made before the local councils whenever possible. The decentralisation of finance therefore was to go hand in hand with the development of Local Self-Government. The additional powers given to the Provincial Government were to be exercised subject to the criticism of the local Councils. The Viceroy apparently expected that he would be enabled to check the budget of the various Provincial Governments in the light of criticisms that may be so offered. Curiously enough this intention was apparently never attempted to be carried out till the Councils were enlarged after the Indian Councils Act of 1925. But the fact is remarkable and should never be lost sight of in discussing the question

of decentralisation of finance. Lord Ripon attempted a further advance on the same lines in his famous resolution. It was a part of the scheme of Lord Mayo that local taxes are to be raised for local needs, and in the famous resolution of May 1882 Lord Ripon declared that the decentralisation of finance was intimately connected with the development of Local Self-Government, and in addition to the non-official help which was looked for from the non-official members of the Local Legislative Councils as already indicated, the Provincial Government were desired to consider the advisability of handing over to Local Self-Government considerable revenues, subject only to the general remedial control that may be reserved to such Governments. Of course such revenues alone were to be made local as the bodies to whom they are to be entrusted are likely to administer well. He took the trouble to specially emphasise the fact that he did not expect that these local bodies would at first be able to do the work better than if the administration remained in the sole hands of the Government officials. And that it was not with a view to improve the administration that the measure was supported, but that it was put forward as an instrument also of political and popular education, though he expected that in course of time as local knowledge and local interests are brought to bear more freely on local administration, increased efficiency must follow. He did not expect these local bodies to be worked merely as departments under Government officials. The Local Boards both urbane and rural were expected to have a large preponderance of non-official members, and wherever practicable, they were to be chosen by election. The fact therefore in considering the question of decentralisation of finance should never be lost sight of: (1) That the local Governments were not to spend their money at their own discretion without any control or check whatever but that they were to be subject to the criticism of the Local Legislative Councils (2) that funds as far as possible were to be handed over to Local Committees to be composed mainly of non-official members, to be spent by them in such a manner as they might think fit subject only to a general control by the Local Governments. In the discussions that have taken place about decentralization of local finance, in the admirable articles on the subject which have appeared in journals and newspapers, we feel that sufficient

attention has not been paid to this side of the general scheme of which decentralisation of provincial finance forms only a part. Without the successful working of the other part of the scheme, that is, without the development of Local Self-Government, it is not quite clear whether the country would benefit much in any way by the decentralisation alone. It is undoubtedly true that at present each local Government has more money to spend within its own limits. But the same money would otherwise be spent, though outside its borders, within the empire, possibly for the development of the more backward provinces. While therefore, on account of decentralisation alone the Local Government may gain, the other parts of the empire may lose. The real benefit lay in the greater control given to non-officials over the finance separated from the finances directly administered by the Government of India. We have shown how far the Local Governments have benefited by the decentralisation of finance, we are also bound to see whether the people of this country have really benefited by such decentralisation and whether there exists that check over the great spending department, that Control in the increase of revenue which existed before the scheme was brought into force. In so far as the Imperial and Local Self-Governments are concerned, it can be seen from the tables at a glance as we have shown that the local Government has obtained about more than 452 lacs over the contract figure *i.e.*, the amount which were expected to be realized to meet the expenditure. It also affords an indication of the interest which the provincial Government has taken in the increase of revenue. This amount, which the local Government realized by our expansion of revenue, has been spent within this Presidency. In the years 1882 to 1897 therefore this presidency has benefited to that extent. We have also largely contributed to the Imperial Government. Our increase of revenue, and our increase in expenditure due to such increase of revenue have been steady. We will now draw attention to a few of the items.

“LAND REVENUE.”

Under the head of Land Revenue during the first period (1882-87) we realized 23·05 lacs, during the second period we realized 22·74 lacs and during the period of the current contract 54·88 lacs or 100·67 lacs from (1882 to 97) over the contract figure.

This large increase has been spent within this presidency, no doubt in the improvement of the subordinate services and apparently in various other useful ways. But the question that now concerns us and to which we are bound to devote our attention, is whether this increase in land revenue is healthy and whether the expenditure has been wise. For this matter it is necessary to bear in mind that this land revenue consists of various items and the increase is not of course evenly distributed amongst them. To give our readers an idea of the relative importance and of the increase in revenue we shall take the budget estimates of the closing year 96 to 97. The account of any year will serve our purpose equally well.

The provincial share of the Land Revenue is estimated at 134.50 lacs; the total sum shared between the Imperial and Local is therefore 4 times that sum amounting to 538 lacs. This is made up of what are called (1) Land Revenue miscellaneous receipts as Process Service Fees, Rs. 35,400, Fines and forfeitures of Revenue courts Rs. 1,500. Receipts from quarries and minor mineral products Rs. 3,200, Rents of Railway land Rs. 4,600, and receipts of the Survey Department amounting to Rs. 8,200, the total under Land Revenue Miscellaneous coming to Rs. 52,900. (2) Rent &c., of Fisheries expected to realize Rs. 10,000 (3) Sale proceeds of waste land and redemption of land tax estimated at Rs. 1,13,000 and (4) the ordinary land Revenue estimated at Rs. 5,36,24,000. This last item of ordinary Land Revenue consists of (a) Peishcush on Permanently Settled Estates *i. e.*, from Zamindaries, &c.. Rs. 50,46,000 (b) Land Revenue realized from the holders of villages held at favorable rates Rs. 7,38,000 (c) of Ryotwari &c., Revenue Rs. 4,78,40,000. The items *a* and *b* are not capable of much expansion. The great increase, therefore, in Land Revenue during these years of which 100.67 lakhs is our one-fourth share is due to the increase in the revenue paid by the ryots holding Government lands. This will also be clear at once when we notice that in 1891-92, the last year of the preceeding Contract, the income from settled estates amounted to 49,79,25 while the Ryotwar Revenue was only 3,83,19,465. Comparing these with the figures for 96-97 given above we see at once that the great increase has been in the Ryotwari Revenue. In fact the small variations from year to year in Peishcush and Shrotriem Jodi are due to the acquisition of such

lands for public purposes and to the transfer by Government of lands within their limits to the zemindars &c., on payment of assessment. The increase in the Ryotwari land Revenue is due to (a) the increase of the Revenue demand on lands already paying revenue to Government, (b) to extension of cultivation (c) transfers from Inam to Government and water-rate. More than 50 p. c. we have calculated is due to the first, an increase, which we must confess we do not contemplate with satisfaction. About 14 p. c. alone is due to extension of cultivation and it is to be noted that this increase takes place even in years of unfavorable season, and when cultivation could in no event be expected to pay.

We ask our readers now to consider whether there exists even such check on any unhealthy expansion of Revenue as existed before the days of the Provincial contract. In those days when the Provincial Government did not expect to share in any increase in the land revenue they were not directly intrested in its expansion. But being in greater touch with the people in their own Presidency they sympathised with the hardships felt by the ryot in any such increase and they were therefore more willing to listen to the complaints of the ryots against any increase in the assessment. A perusal of the land revenue reports and of such correspondence as are accessible to us between the Governments of India and of Madras inclines us to come to the conclusion that in the older days the Government of Madras was more determined in their opposition to the demands of the Government of India for settlement and revisions of settlement. We do not see we confess that same resistance to increasing the burdens on the people which are visible in the older records of this Government. Has this anything to do with the temptation held out to the provincial Government to share in increase in the revenue? We hesitate to arrive at such a conclusion but the fact is noticeable. Hence it is obviously necessary that when both Local and Imperial Governments are thus directly interested in the increase of revenue, some opportunity should be afforded to non-official bodies or persons for criticism and we have no doubt that when it was declared that finance statements are to be placed before the Local Legislative Councils, it was intended that non-official members

should have an opportunity of pointing out whether in their opinion any increase in revenue is unsatisfactory. Such opportunity does not now exist.

EXCISE.

Under the head of Excise also we see a large increase of revenue. The provincial share is only one-fourth and that share was estimated at 30·50 per year. For the five years of the period, therefore, the estimated amount is 152·50 lakhs while the Provincial Government expect to realize 168·73 gaining to the extent of over 16 lakhs. The revenue consists of

(i) License and Distillery duties for the sale of liquors and drugs which in 1896-97 is estimated to amount to	... ..	139,94,000
(ii) Transit duty on Excise opium	..	4,11,000
(iii) Fines, confiscations and miscellaneous	...	45,000

The total coming up to 144,50,000 of which the provincial share is 36·12 lakhs. Of these, by far the most important is the first item. The revenue derived from opium and other intoxicating drugs amounts to 4 lakhs, that from foreign liquors to 376,000 and the rest is made up of country spirits and toddy revenue. In the case of opium there is no increase but in others there is a steady increase. The Government attribute this increase to the prosperity of the lower classes who consume liquor. The administration Reports do not place before us any material from which we could draw such a conclusion. It is true enough that we are assured by Government that the liquor-shops are limited "to the reasonable requirements of the population." But so far as we are concerned it would have been more satisfactory if we had been assured that no liquor-shops have been opened against the consent of the Municipal Councils within the Municipalities or against the consent of the Taluq Boards in the various Taluqs.

STAMPS.

Another important head, so far as Revenue is concerned, is stamps. The provincial share is three-fourths of the Stamp Revenue. The contract figure is 49·50 a year. The provincial share of the revenue for the period is, therefore, 247·50, whereas the Government actually realised 289·62 for their share, having thus gained about 42·12 lakhs. The Madras Government attribute this increase

of Revenue which has been steady, to the increasing prosperity of the country. The revenue is derived mainly by sale of general stamps and Court Fees stamps. In so far as the increase is due to the increase in the sale of stamps for receipts and cheques or bills of exchange or hundies, it may be that the difference is due to the advance of trade but the great increase on that of 1891-92 consists of the enormous difference in the value of Court Fee stamps sold. And those alone, who regard litigation as the test of prosperity will accept the view that this advance indicates increased prosperity. We also find that over 40,000 rupees per year is realized by fines and penalties imposed by officials. Apart from Court Fee stamps, papers for copies and stamps for receipts and cheques, the value of general stamps sold has not much increased. It is therefore to litigation and trade that we have to look for any development of the Stamp Revenue.

REGISTRATION.

This is another head of steadily expansive revenue. The Provincial share is one half and that was estimated at 5.50 lakhs per year. For the five years of the period, therefore, the estimated amount is 27.50 lakhs, while the Provincial Government expect to realize 30.98 lakhs gaining thereby to the extent of over 3.48 lakhs. According to the Provincial Government "the receipts," in some of the years "were high owing to the scarcity which gave rise to a number of land sales and mortgages."

LAW AND JUSTICE.

Another important head under receipt, which we propose to notice is that of Law and Justice. This is one of the wholly provincial heads. With reference to both revenue and expenditure, it is divided into two sub-heads, (a) Courts of Law, and (b) Jails. Under Courts of Law, the revenue is mainly derived from magisterial fines which alone come to 6,26,000 out of a total of 7,70,000 in the Budget estimate of 1896-97. The increase in magisterial fines has been steady. And if this increase indicates an increase in crime we need hardly say that it is far from being one which we can view with satisfaction.

FOREST.

The Forest Revenue has more than doubled itself. Here also there is room for great anxiety. The main item of Forest Revenue

consists of the value of timber and other produce removed by consumers or purchasers. Their relative importance will appear from the budget estimate of 1896-97 where timber so sold is expected to realize

...	...	...	1,98,800.
Firewood & charcoal	...	...	2,71,200
Bamboos	...	...	1,59,600
Grazing & Fodder grass	...	...	3,16,200
Other Minor Produce	...	...	4,81,200.

Each and every one of these items indicates additional taxation. The items of minor produce are being constantly added to and fresh taxation is thus being imposed without legislation and without even bringing the matter before the Legislative Council.

We do not think this is right. We consider that the Annual Budget Statements before the Council ought to enable us to see whether any increase in Revenue is due to the increasing prosperity of the people or to their increasing poverty, as in the instance of Registration already referred to, to the increase in crime as in the the case of law and justice already noticed, or to their moral degradation as is indicated in the matter of the increase in excise Revenue or for any other reasons.

If non-official criticism is needed in the case of expansion of revenue, it is almost essential in the case of expenditure. We have dwelt at such length on the increase in revenue that we cannot in this article go in much detail through the tables of expenditure to show the necessity of control. Under the heads of minor work, navigation, and civil work, about 140 lacs, out of the total 2 lacs realized over the contract figure have been spent. It will not serve any useful purpose to draw attention to any particular item of expenditure as not essential. But when the separation of judicial and executive is not fully carried out on financial grounds, when higher education is starved, technical education entirely neglected, and the Provincial Government attempts to force Secondary and Primary education more on the local boards whose finances will scarcely bear the strain, it is clear that such a proportionately large expenditure on public works would scarcely have been allowed to pass unchallenged, if any opportunity had been afforded for criticism in the council.

Our conclusions therefore are that:—

The system so far as it has been carried out has proved a success and such success therefore justifies progress on the same lines, either by declaring that there ought to be no more revisions except under exceptional circumstances or if that is not feasible such revisions should take place only at far greater intervals than at present. When such revisions are made the India Government ought not to take away any portion of the increase in the Provincial Revenue.

No adequate attempts have been made to carry out that part of the system which requires that Provincial expenditure ought to be subject to non-official scrutiny or criticism and opportunities ought to be afforded to non-officials particularly to the Legislative Council to bring to public prominence or to the notice of the India Government or Secretary of State any unnecessary expenditure about to be incurred or any increase in revenue when such increase is due to any executive action and is prejudicial in their view to the best interest of the ryots.

RECEIPTS.

		Provincial Proportions.	Contract Figure.	82-83	83-84	84-85	85-86	86-87	Average.	Average annual profit.
i	Land Revenue Collections ...	28·80	129·92	135·76	136·58	126·05	137·89	136·39	134·53	4·61
	Adjustments ...	...	...	1·45	1·24	5·45	4·28	·56	2·37	2·37
iii	Salt ...	Mis	·19	·25	·38	·45	·91	1·20	·64	·45
iv	Stamps ...	½	27·00	26·04	28·12	28·25	29·50	29·10	28·20	1·20
v	Excise ...	½	30·90	32·29	33·06	38·66	44·15	45·83	38·80	7·90
vii	Customs ...	Mis	·50	·38	·41	·25	·22	·26	·31	—·19
viii	Assessed Taxes ...	½	2·35	2·30	2·33	2·16	2·17	2·17	2·23	—·12
ix	Forest ...	All	2·40	9·07	9·54	11·67	11·99	12·47	10·94	8·54
x	Registration ...	½	2·88	2·90	3·16	3·79	4·63	4·36	3·77	·89
xii	Interest ...	...	·03	·02	·03	·02	·02	·02	·02	—·01
xvi	Law and Justice Courts of Law...	All	4·28	4·28	3·67	4·13	3·70	4·02	3·96	—·32
	Jails ...	All	3·10	3·22	2·14	2·03	1·69	1·54	2·13	—·97
xvii	Police—									
	Police ...	All	2·48	1·65	1·05	·84	·62	·89	1·01	—1·47
	Pounds ...	All	2·03	2·09	2·26	2·38	2·45	2·65	2·36	·33
xviii	Marine ...	All	·22	·05	·05	·05	·04	·04	·05	—·17
xix	Education ...	All	1·72	1·89	2·13	2·11	1·77	1·65	1·91	·19
xx	Medical ...	All	·64	·62	1·08	·88	1·13	1·41	1·02	·38
xxi	Scientific Depart- ment ...	All	1·01	1·95	1·57	1·73	1·71	1·47	1·69	·68
xxii	Superannuations ...	...	·34	·56	·23	·22	·23	·21	·29	—·05
xxiii	Stationary and Printing ..	...	·70	·82	·73	·84	1·04	·83	·85	·15
xxv	Miscellaneous ..	...	1·01	·76	·79	·73	·85	·69	·77	—·24
xxx	Miner Works and Navigations—									
	Civil ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	P. W. D. .	...	·15	1·40	·55	·53	·59	·74	·39	—·39
xxxii	Civil Works—									
	Civil Officers ...	...	·05	·06	·10	·29	·30	·04	·16	·11
	P. W. D. ...	...	1·73	·73	1·37	·79	·98	1·08	·99	—·74
	Contributions from L. F. ordinary...	..	1·15	5·75	2·72	1·87	2·09	2·23	2·93	1·78
	Total...	...	217·78	236·29	235·29	236·17	245·95	250·73	242·69	24·91

PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

27

EXPENDITURE.

		Provincial Share.	Contract Figure.	82-83	83-84	84-85	85-86	86-87	Average.	Average annual profit.
1	Refunds and drawbacks ...	Mis	1'09	'99	1'77	'90	'91	'75	1'06	'03
3	Land Revenue ...	All	42'62	43'80	45'68	47'43	44'79	45'82	45'50	-2'88
5	Salt ...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	Stamps ...	½	'72	'72	'78	'84	'80	'82	'79	-'07
7	Excise ...	½	1'05	'99	1'00	1'16	1'77	1'21	1'23	-'18
9	Customs ...	All	2'32	1'85	1'70	1'60	1'65	1'76	1'71	'61
10	Assessed Taxes ...	½	'04	'03	'04	'03	'03	'03	'03	'01
11	Forest ...	All	2'13	6'45	7'86	8'95	9'31	11'49	8'81	-6'68
12	Registration ...	½	2'10	2'26	2'41	2'64	2'90	3'07	2'66	-'56
13	Interest on debt...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	Post Office ...	Dist.	1'08	1'05	1'18	1'11	1'07	1'06	1'09	-'01
18	General Administration ...	All	9'53	10'54	10'07	10'51	10'67	10'53	10'47	-'94
19(a)	Law and Justice Courts of Law...	All	37'13	38'31	38'75	39'46	39'04	39'28	38'97	-1'84
(b)	Jails ...	All	10'62	9'04	7'89	8'02	7'99	8'83	8'36	2'26
20	Police Proper ...	All	37'28	36'25	36'45	36'79	36'39	37'38	36'65	'63
	Pounds ..	All	1'30	1'27	1'39	1'44	1'40	1'82	1'46	-'16
21	Marine ...	All	'17	'06	'08	'27	'23	'18	'16	'01
22	Education ...	All	10'42	11'06	11'66	12'37	12'99	12'67	12'15	-1'73
24	Medical ...	All	9'80	10'23	10'85	11'19	11'87	11'48	11'12	-1'32
25	Political ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26	Scientific...	All	3'48	5'18	3'98	3'68	3'77	3'95	4'11	-'63
27	Superannuation ...	...	8'69	8'40	8'62	9'16	9'52	9'84	9'11	-'42
30	Stationary and Printing ...	...	6'48	7'26	8'51	7'60	7'63	7'67	7'53	-1'05
32	Miscellaneous ...	...	4'16	2'77	2'59	2'82	2'53	2'52	2'64	1'52
33	Famine Relief ..	...	..	1'35	'32	'57	2'78	'05	1'02	-1.02
37	Construction of Railways ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
38	State Railways ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41	Miscellaneous Railways ..	...	...	'08	'12	'06	'39	'39	'21	-'21
43	Minor Works and Navigation Public Work Officers ...	..	3'28	3'53	3'33	4'45	6'22	4'23	4'36	-1'08
45	Civil Works—									
	Civil Officers ...	...	2'00	2'85	2'65	3'85	2'47	2'05	2'77	-'77
	Public Works Officers ...	...	16'93	17'16	21'95	25'30	18'64	21'77	20'96	-4'03
	Contributions to Local Fund ...	...	1'12	1'97	2'37	2'70	2'52	3'21	5'56	-1'44
	Total...	...	215'54	225'45	234'0	244'90	240'28	242'36	237'49	-21'95

RECEIPTS.

		Provincial Proportions.	Contract Figure.	87-88	88-89	89-90	90-91	91-92	Average.	Average annual profit.
i	Land Revenue Collections ...	¼	113'42	120'75	118'94	123'58	118'53	108'04	117'97	4'55
	Adjustment ...		34'07	35'02	40'22	39'93	21'93	41'47	35'71	1'64
iii	Salt ...	Mis	1'37	1'44	1'37	1'82	2'10	1'18	1'58	'21
iv	Stamps ...	¾	43'50	44'79	46'02	48'76	48'43	50'61	47'72	4'22
v	Excise ...	¼	22'00	24'35	26'19	28'50	29'99	30'35	27'88	5'88
vii	Customs ...	Mi.	'27	'27	'29	'30	'33	'35	'31	'04
viii	Assessed Taxes ...	½	5'60	7'64	7'56	8'25	8'21	8'68	8'07	2'47
ix	Forest ...	All	13'00	13'75	15'15	15'58	17'95	16'94	15'87	2'87
x	Registration ...	½	4'38	4'54	4'79	5'14	5'42	6'17	5'21	'83
xii	Interest ...		'03	'02	'35	'33	'43	'44	'31	'28
xvi	Law and Justice Courts of Law...	All	4'01	4'58	4'95	5'50	5'65	6'57	5'45	1'44
	Jails ...	All	1'93	1'49	1'66	1'45	2'03	2'58	1'84	'09
xvii	Police—									
	Police ...	All	'57	'84	'91	'86	'86	'89	'87	'30
	Pounds ...	All	2'45	2'78	2'92	3'04	3'34	3'38	3'09	'64
xviii	Marine ...	All	'06	'14	...	...	..	'04	'04	'02
xix	Education ...	All	1'65	1'63	1'65	1'47	1'35	1'33	1'49	'16
xx	Medical ...	All	1'20	1'15	1'13	'70	'73	'81	'90	'30
xxi	Scientific & c. Dept.	All	1'65	'90	1'16	1'72	1'75	1'89	1'48	'17
xxii	Superannuation ..		'24	'36	'57	'27	'34	'34	'38	'14
xxiii	Stationary and Printing ...		'78	'88	'95	'88	'85	'91	'89	'11
xxv	Miscellaneous ...		'75	1'22	1'43	1'40	1'47	1'50	1'41	'66
xxx	P. W. D. ...		'54	1'00	1'11	1'24	1'39	1'61	1'27	'73
xxxii	Civil Officers ...		'10	'21	'22	'08	'31	'19	'20	'10
	P. W. D. ...		1'00	1'07	'98	1'03	'98	1'43	1'10	'10
	Contributions Ordinary ...		1'79	2'72	2'21	2'29	1'92	2'10	2'25	'46
	Contributions Mayavaram Muthupet Railway ..		...	...	...	...	...	1'43	'29	'29
	Total Rev. and Receipts ...		256'36	273'54	282'73	294'12	276'29	291'23	283'58	27'22

PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

EXPENDITURE.

		Adjust.	Contract Figure.	87-88	88-89	89-90	90-91	91-92	Average.	Average annual profit.
1	Refunds and draw-backs ...	Mis	1'01	1'11	1'09	1'21	1'07	1'30	1'16	—'15
3	Land Revenue ...	All	45'82	46'45	46'25	46'76	45'79	48'70	46'79	—'97
5	Salt ...	...	...	...	...	...	'47	'84	'26	—'26
6	Stamps ...	3/4	1'09	1'15	1'19	1'24	1'23	1'28	1'22	—'13
7	Excise ...	1/4	'64	'67	'82	'96	1'18	1'40	1'01	—'37
9	Customs ...	All	1'58	1'61	1'63	1'62	1'56	1'58	1'60	—'02
10	Assessed Taxes ...	1/2	'15	'17	'08	'08	'08	'08	'10	'05
11	Forest ...	All	10'50	11'26	12'16	11'51	12'39	13'14	12'09	—1'59
12	Registration ...	Half	3'12	3'11	3'28	3'29	3'38	3'55	3'32	—'20
13	Interest on Ord. debt. ...	Mis	...	...	'28	'31	'36	'69	'33	—'33
15	Post Office ...	Dist.	1'07	1'06	1'06	1'06	'96	'91	1'01	'06
18	General Administration ...	All	10'47	9'64	9'59	9'80	9'86	10'07	9'79	'68
19(a)	Law and Justice									
	Courts ...	All	39'62	39'89	40'81	41'28	41'85	43'04	41'37	—1'75
(b)	Jails ...	All	8'42	8'63	8'29	8'00	8'39	9'76	8'61	—'19
20	Police ...	All	35'79	35'96	35'39	36'11	37'63	39'14	36'85	—1'06
	Pounds ...	All	1'40	1'97	2'18	2'26	2'32	2'46	2'24	—'84
21	Marine ...	All	'19	'27	'11	'83	'36	1'50	'61	—'42
22	Education ...	All	10'66	12'50	11'81	12'43	14'02	14'54	13'06	—2'40
24	Medical ...	All	11'84	11'51	10'81	10'77	10'73	11'58	11'08	'76
25	Political ...	All	'75	'81	'72	'75	'84	'77	'78	—'03
26	Scientific... ..	All	3'80	3'64	4'01	3'50	3'84	3'51	3'69	'11
29	Superannuation ...	...	9'76	10'78	11'54	12'33	13'39	13'17	12'24	—2'48
30	Stationary and Printing ...	...	7'66	8'98	8'14	7'46	7'49	7'53	7'92	—'26
32	Miscellaneous ...	...	2'34	1'63	1'75	1'45	1'29	1'52	1'53	'81
33	Famine Relief ...	...	...	'01	'03	4'41	'24	1'57	1'25	—1'25
37	Construction of Railways ...	...	...	...	...	...	2'86	4'27	1'43	—1'43
41	Miscellaneous Railways ...	...	...	...	...	1'00	1'75	'36	'62	—'62
43	Public Works Officers ...	...	26'51	26'27	32'94	32'43	35'46	39'99	33'42	—6'91
45	Civil Works—									
	Civil Officers ...	...	2'93	'85	1'77	1'29	1'41	4'21	1'91	1'02
	Public Works Officers ...	...	17'07	19'42	20'74	22'70	24'81	27'17	22'97	—5'90
	Contribution Ordinary ...	...	2'17	3'64	2'87	2'82	2'95	5'78	3'61	—1'44
	Total... ..	...	256'36	263'00	271'34	279'66	289'96	315'41	283'87	—27'51

RECEIPTS.

		Provincial Proportions.	Contract Figure.	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	Budget 96-97	Average.	Average annual profit.
i	Land Revenue ...	¼	121'00	126'24	132'20	133'78	133'16	134'50	131'97	10'97
	Adjustments ..		32'54	33'09	32'48	29'69	35'30	31'56	32'42	—'12
iii	Salt	Mis	1'58	1'69	1'35	1'58	1'61	1'71	1'59	'01
iv	Stamps	¾	49'50	55'23	55'74	59'05	59'75	59'85	57'92	8'42
v	Excise	¼	30'50	30'28	32'19	34'18	35'96	36'12	33'75	3'25
vii	Customs	Mis	'30	'54	'48	'57	'83	'76	'64	'34
viii	Assessed Taxes ...	½	8'25	9'27	10'31	11'03	11'43	11'45	10'70	2'45
ix	Forests	½	9'75	7'89	9'73	9'47	10'55	10'08	9'55	—'20
x	Registration ..	½	5'50	6'59	6'00	6'08	6'11	6'20	6'19	'69
xii	Interest		'59	'85	1'79	1'81	1'57	1'48	1'50	'91
xv	Post Offices ... ..		...	'01	...	...	...	...	...	...
xvi	Law and Justice Courts of Law...	All	5'70	6'63	6'97	7'37	7'42	7'70	7'22	1'52
	Jails	All	1'90	3'60	3'66	4'32	4'84	4'26	4'14	2'24
xvii	Police—									
	Police	All	'89	1'30	1'23	1'22	1'20	1'03	1'19	'30
	Pounds	All	3'31	3'33	1'73	3'51	3'60	3'54	3'54	'23
xviii	Marine	All	'03	...	...	...	1'13	...	'23	'20
xix	Education	All	1'37	1'58	1'86	1'81	1'95	1'93	1'83	'46
xx	Medical	All	'73	'85	'87	1'13	1'34	1'22	1'08	'35
xxi	Scientific... ..	All	1'49	1'88	1'73	1'84	2'17	2'13	1'95	'46
xxii	Superannuation ...	All	'33	'32	'38	'41	'46	'47	'41	'08
xxiii	Stationery and Printing ...		1'06	1'07	1'13	1'24	1'33	1'38	1'23	'17
xxv	Miscellaneous ..		1'38	1'48	1'39	1'84	1'75	1'54	1'60	'22
xxvi	State Railways ...		.20	...	...	2'12	2'47	2'71	1'46	1'26
xxx	Minor Works and Navigation—									
	Civil ... ..		...	...	'06	'16	.11	'16	'10	'10
	P. W. D.		1'50	1'60	1'80	1'66	1'56	1'70	1'67	'17
xxxii	Civil Works—									
	Civil Officers ...		'07	'19	'47	'31	'26	'08	'26	'19
	P. W. Officers...		1'00	1'16	1'29	1'25	1'70	1'25	1'33	'33
	Contribution Ordy.		1'36	3'42	2'53	2'14	2'40	2'26	2'55	1'19
	Mayavaram Muthupet Railway.		..	2'13	4'60	3'20	'63	'60	2'23	2'23
	Total Receipts...		281'83	302'22	315'97	322'77	332'59	327'67	320'25	38'42

PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

31

EXPENDITURE.

		Adjust.	Contract Figure.	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	Budget 96-97	Average	Average annual profit.
1	Refunds and draw-backs ...	Mis	1'00	1'25	1'16	1'72	1'15	1'22	1'30	—'30
3	Land Revenue ...	All	45'71	50'76	51'67	51'79	52'00	53'03	51'85	—6'14
5	Salt ...	¼	6'01	5'13	5'40	5'76	6'19	7'09	5'91	'10
6	Stamps ...	¾	1'91	2'8	2'44	2'60	2'66	2'63	2'54	—'63
7	Excise ...	¼	1'25	1'44	1'51	1'55	1'75	1'94	1'64	—'39
9	Customs ...	All	1'62	1'67	1'75	2'01	2'32	2'39	2'03	—'41
10	Assessed Taxes ...	½	'08	'09	'10	'12	'12	'13	'11	—'03
11	Forests ...	All	8'00	6'62	6'78	6'93	7'23	8'35	7'18	'82
12	Registration ...	½	3'53	3'70	3'81	3'98	4'08	4'30	3'97	—'44
13	Interest on debts...	...	'56	1'43	1'79	1'67	1'59	1'72	1'64	1'08
15	Post Office ...	...	1'07	'79	'82	'85	'88	1'07	'88	'19
18	General Administration ...	All	9'44	10'02	10'03	10'25	10'27	9'73	10'07	—'63
19(a)	Courts of Law ...	All	44'03	44'87	45'27	46'52	46'70	47'05	46'09	—2'06
(b)	Jails ...	All	8'60	10'30	10'57	10'26	10'35	10'51	10'39	—1'79
	Police—									
20	Police ...	All	37'81	39'69	41'13	41'38	43'20	43'01	41'68	—3'87
	Pounds ...	All	2'45	2'52	2'58	2'58	2'64	2'81	2'63	—'18
21	Marine ...	All	'19	1'09	1'24	'48	'15	'40	'67	—'48
22	Education ..	All	14'29	15'64	16'18	16'39	16'73	17'41	16'47	—2'18
24	Medical ...	All	10'77	12'22	13'17	12'99	13'00	13'07	12'89	—2'12
25	Political ...	All	'75	'91	'78	'85	'83	'84	'84	—'09
26	Scientific...	All	3'32	3'72	4'22	4'07	4'05	4'39	4'9	—'77
29	Superannuation ...	...	14'00	13'58	13'79	14'46	14'85	15'60	14'45	—'45
30	Stationary and Printing ...	...	7'48	7'48	8'02	9'00	9'48	8'39	8'47	—'99
32	Miscellaneous ...	...	1'35	1'41	1'43	1'39	1'44	1'52	1'44	—'09
33	Famine Relief ...	...	...	2'44	'02	...	'02	...	'49	—'49
37	Construction of Railways ...	...	...	9'19	6'40	1'27	'53	'40	3'56	—3'56
38	State Railways ...	...	...	...	...	1'31	1'53	1'68	'91	—'91
41	Miscellaneous Ry. ...	...	...	...	'11	—'07	'00	...	'01	—'01
43	Minor Works and Navigation—	...	...	4'35	3'35	3'97	3'73	4'20	3'92	—3'92
	P. W. D. ...	...	33'09	28'97	28'07	29'37	31'83	38'95	31'44	1'65
45	Civil Works—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Civil Officers ...	...	1'00	3'85	3'49	4'20	8'56	8'05	5'63	—4'63
	P. W. Officers ...	...	20'10	21'53	22'93	20'90	25'31	28'00	23'74	—3'64
	Contribution Ordinary ...	...	2'10	9'09	2'60	2'67	2'56	2'55	3'89	—1'79
	Mayaveram Muthpet Railway ...	...	'32	...	...	'31	'47	'50	'26	'06
	Total...	...	281'83	318'13	312'61	313'63	328'20	342'93	323'08	—41'25

MR. BALFOUR'S FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF.

IT may be remarked that two years have elapsed since the publication of the Rt. Hon. Balfour's book on the Foundations of Belief and that a criticism on it offered at this date comes too late. But it is evident that the questions to the solution of which the book is directed are of such permanent and daily-increasing interest and importance that notwithstanding they have exercised the great minds of many ages they have not become stale topics nor promise to become so. But what, it might be asked, could a Hindu possibly have to say about a book on whose merits both as regards its manner and its matter, many competent critics of European fame have already passed a verdict? To this we answer that our special qualification for the task we have undertaken is the very circumstance which might probably provoke the question—the fact of our being Hindus. The subtle intellect of the Hindu had delved deep into the abstruse world-problems as they are called and gloried in the possession of an exhaustive philosophical literature before the other nations of the world had learned to dabble in philosophy; and despite the stamp of regrettable unchangeableness imprinted on the social and intellectual conditions of the people in the East and the marvellous and rapid progress of science in the West, the educated Hindu of to-day is able to look down with self-complaisance upon the intellectual activity of the West from those sublime heights of philosophy to which the scientific genius of the West is in vain trying to soar. One noticeable feature about the various criticisms which have appeared in print from the pen of Western writers is the apparent reluctance of these critics, otherwise presumably competent, to give the subject and the views of the author their due without suffering their judgements to be influenced by considerations altogether irrelevant to the questions proposed for solution and we confidently assure the reader that whatever its faults, this critical brochure will be altogether free from those blemishes which inevitably disfigure the best criticism when the critic, happening to fall in with *some* of the views of an author on a subject, feels bound not to express a note of dissent from *any*.

The concluding paragraph of the book under review makes it clear that in Mr. Balfour's view no system of philosophy which does not include the fundamental elements of Christian Theology can be regarded as even in the least degree satisfactory and it is interesting to note the process of reasoning by which he arrives at this conclusion. After observing, just to give an air of expediency to the method which for reasons of his own he had resolved to pursue, that the views he was to advocate would be exhibited to advantage against the back-ground of some contrasted system of philosophy, he chooses for the object of his vehement diatribe the naturalistic system of thought, as one which more than Transcendental Idealism militates against his own creed and profits exclusively by any defeat which Theology might sustain.

This system of philosophy the author christens by the name of Naturalism although other men have called it by various names such as Agnosticism, Positivism and Empiricism and, that the reader may not still labour under a mistaken apprehension as to the fundamental doctrines of the particular creed which has received so many names, lays them down for the reader's benefit in the following words :—

“ The leading doctrines (of this creed) are that we may know phenomena and the laws by which they are connected but nothing more. More there may be or may not be; but if it exists, we can never comprehend it; and whatever the world may be in its reality, supposing such an expression to be otherwise than meaningless, the world for us, the world with which alone we are concerned or of which alone, we seem to have any cognisance is that world which is revealed to us through perception and which is the subject-matter of the natural sciences. Here and here alone are we on firm ground; here and here only can we discover anything which deserves to be described as Knowledge; here and here only may we profitably exercise our reason or gather the fruits of wisdom. Such, in rough outline, is Naturalism.”

Whether the creed indicated by these lines is Agnosticism Empiricism or Positivism correctly understood and unambiguously stated we are inclined to doubt. But that it is not Naturalism as understood by philosophers is apparently easy to perceive. For Naturalism is unanimously understood in the philosophical world

as the opposite pole of Supernaturalism which calls in the aid of centaurs and other imaginary beings to solve difficult problems about the universe. Naturalism enters a vehement protest against the pernicious and ridiculous inclination of ordinary humanity to explain any observed fact demanding an explanation by unphilosophically tracing it to the working of supernatural agencies of whose existence they have no manner of assurance—an inclination engendered and fostered by an intellect which is either impotent or otherwise incapable of carefully pursuing the slow scientific methods to arrive at a philosophically sound explanation of the apparently disorderly phenomena of the Universe. Naturalism which according to the author's own observations in a subsequent chapter of the book is only Rationalism developed and pushed to its legitimate consequences is a very healthy creed which emphasises the desirability of finding out or suggesting a rational explanation for any embarrassing phenomena we may encounter and ridicules with commendable frankness and boldness the superstitious theory of the existence of a whole hierarchy of Powers of Light and Powers of Darkness and of their occasional or periodical transgressions into the domains of Nature and of their mischievous activity and diabolical pleasure in disturbing the smooth course of natural laws. That such a creed is the pitiless adversary of blind superstition goes without saying. But how so refreshing a creed can be called the enemy of religion it passes any body's imagination to suggest. But still we find that the Rt. Hon. author expresses in no mistakable or equivocal language his conviction that this creed of Naturalism is the most formidable opponent of religion continually and pitilessly harassing the outskirts, making mouths, without being overawed, at the nameless, innumerable and hideous shapes guarding or supposed to guard the frontiers of the domains of religion, compelling them by means of incessant and open warfare to vacate their possessions and to fly from the field leaving the enemy to press into the interior of the territorial jurisdiction of religion. Shall we then be justified in attributing the pious indignation and the virulent attack of the author to his sincere misconception of the fundamental doctrines and the consequences, direct and indirect, of the cardinal principles of this wholesome creed? Shall we be arguing fairly

in saying that the author considers religion so ill fortified against the attacks of Naturalism that it should apprehend being ousted altogether from its dominions? We have too high an opinion of the author's intellect to suppose, even on such strong testimony, that he was not aware of the signification of the term Naturalism, generally, nay universally, given to it in the philosophical world or that he really apprehended that religion was so poorly guarded by its superstitious adjuncts and outworks as to perish with them at a blow from Naturalism. On a consideration of the intellectual prestige of the author and of the ridiculous nature of the blunder committed we feel rather inclined to fall back upon the only alternative hypothesis, certainly not discreditable to a statesman of renown, that the author has and could possibly have no quarrel with Naturalism as it is generally understood and as he really understands it himself and that not wishing, of course for reasons which we are not aware of, to ventilate his spleen against the chilling doctrines of Agnosticism he gives it the name of Naturalism and hangs it by that unfortunate name. We hold no brief for Agnostics or their creed and it may even be that we are in as little sympathy with them as the Rt. Hon. author of the *Foundations of Belief*; but that is certainly no justification for our declining to grant them a patient hearing and to deliver an unbiassed judgment after a full and impartial inquiry. We will therefore let the Agnostics speak for their own cause before the reader.

"We know and can know" say the Agnostics "phenomena and the laws by which they are connected; we know and we can know nothing more. There may or may not exist a God. But if He exists (which we neither affirm nor deny) we know Him not nor can we know Him. We go further and say that a God Whom we can know is not worth knowing. We know neither mind nor matter as they are in themselves and we are therefore neither materialists nor spiritualists." This is, so far as we can see, an honest statement of the results of their labours in the field of science and philosophy arrived at by pursuing as carefully as they could the methods prescribed to guarantee the soundness of their conclusions and if the conclusions so arrived at do not satisfy the Rt. Hon. author in the same way that they do not satisfy many others not excluding all the Agnostics, it is certainly no reason why we should call

it names. These conclusions at which science arrives cannot take any body by surprise as no body could have reasonably expected better results. Not one of the many religions obtaining in the world asserts the existence of a God Whose existence could be scientifically demonstrated—a proposition of which after waste of considerable verbiage which could be used for better purposes, the Rt. Hon. author affords us a beautiful illustration by finding it necessary—of course in the interests of erring humanity—to *postulate* the existence of God. There is, we cannot help observing, another view of Agnosticism which places mankind under a deep debt of gratitude to that creed. Considering the brilliancy of the advocates of Agnosticism and their unstinted intellectual exertions to warrant the soundness of their conclusions there can be no manner of doubt that none who travels the road which they have gone will find God. The search after the Infinite is very taxing and costs much time and the Agnostics have really done a great service to humanity by taking the trouble—as proxies for the public—of making observations and experiments, by closely studying the phenomena of nature, by detecting the laws in strict obedience to which they occurred or recurred, by suggesting an explanation, where they found one, for any event that required an explanation, by doing, in short, all that their hands and heads individually and collectively could devise for reading the mystery of the Universe and its origin, by emphatically declaring at the close of their wearisome task, in as clear and unmistakable a way as language could permit it, that they found no God and that none could find Him by that road. There cannot be a more useful and authenticated warning for those who believe in a God and who not knowing where He is, what He is or how He could be found exhaust or try to exhaust one department of knowledge after another in the vain hope to get at Him one day at the end of some book, manuscript or printed, paper or cadjan. To such people who on account of the shortness of their lives often reach their end before their search after God is earnestly begun or at the best before they have travelled quite a furlong from their starting-point it would often be a great relief to know on reliable authority (believe the Agnostics for it) that the road is long and wearisome and that they are not to find God at their journey's end. They (the Agnostics) by announcing the results of their scientific investigations have not

disproved the existence of God but only disproved the fallacious logic of the pious preacher who asks his hearers to argue from the beauty of the rose to the beauty of the God who made it.

Nor is there reason to be sorry for the attitude of the Agnostics in the matter of belief in God. Evidently they restrict the term knowledge to knowledge obtained through sense-perceptions and when they say that they know or can possibly know nothing of God, they must be understood as asserting that they can know nothing of God on the testimony of the senses. Consistently with these doctrines they could very well have *believed* in the existence of God and for aught we could say to the contrary they probably did believe and those who could claim any acquaintance with the private lives of some of these Agnostics may be cited to bear testimony to their amazement at the withering and chilling consequences of their own philosophy and to their having been at Church on the Sabbath day as often perhaps as the most pious among the congregation. But the grateful reader of Mr. Balfour's pages may choose to interrupt us hastily at this point and refer us to the beautiful illustration of the Parasite. It may be contended that the spiritual life they lead is parasitic and that it is nourished by processes in which they take no share. The belief which an Agnostic may have in God cannot possibly be affected by the conclusions of his own philosophy which does not furnish him with a reply, either negative or affirmative to the question 'Is there a God.' We are thus inclined to think that the creed of Agnosticism is not necessarily antagonistic to a *belief* in God.

There is yet another assertion of the Agnostics which is certainly not antagonistic to Theology and which expresses a sober truth that must find favour with the followers of every other creed. It is the statement clearly conceived and clearly expressed that if *we can know* God, then *ex hypothesi* He is not worth knowing. At first sight this may seem a startling and chilling proposition to Theologians who speak of God with the familiarity with which we speak of brother John of the next street and who maintain that we can know God without very much inconveniencing ourselves. To them it will undoubtedly appear that this is rather a circuitous and indirect denial of the existence of the Supreme Being; for in their opinion if God exists, He exists only that we may know Him. But the Rt, Hon,

author who, for certain purposes of his own in respect of another controversy, asserts that the adherent of Naturalism is an Empiricist from necessity can easily understand what the Agnostics mean by *knowledge*. According to the theory of Empiricism, knowledge is strictly confined to objects of sense-perception and altogether excludes belief or expectations born of habit. Is it not then manifest that what the Agnostics assert is that our senses, as they are, can convey to us no impressions of God, supposing Him to exist? And is it seriously contended either by the Rt. Hon. author or any philosopher or theologian worth the name that God is an object of sense-perception? There is overwhelming testimony for the fact that God if He exists sternly refuses to become an object of perception to the senses which we possess and that He can be known only with the aid of senses other than the untrustworthy ones which now mankind call their own or with the aid of these so highly developed in their functional qualifications that they then can hardly be identified with what they are at present. It must be admitted to the credit of all Theology that it will in no inconsiderable measure detract from the dignity of our conception of God to postulate Him as a phenomenon among phenomena capable of being perceived by the gross faculties which we possess and if there is one doctrine more than another which makes any system of theology tolerable or endurable by its followers and absolutely indispensable to make it worthy of the name, it is the doctrine that God cannot be known through the medium of our sensory organs.

These are indeed only some of the considerations which go to prove that a believer in God can reasonably find nothing in the cardinal doctrines of Naturalism alias Agnosticism which offends against his religious sensibilities and it is a pity that the Rt. Hon. author should have chosen so innocuous a system of philosophy for his attack, having deliberately misunderstood the scope and legitimate consequences of the system.

Having chosen Naturalism for his attack the Author proceeds to describe the withering consequences of this system on our moral and aesthetic sensibilities and the claims unanimously put forward by mankind in favour of the dignified lineage of reason. His complaint against Naturalism and its effect upon ethics is, as he puts it, that morality becomes then no more than a bare catalogue of

utilitarian precepts. He argues that in the light of Naturalism the feelings subservient to morality are nourished by physiological and psychological processes hardly distinguishable in kind from those which prop up the coarsest and the vulgarest of our appetites and that morality is thus degraded by Naturalism into an ingenious though disingenuous contrivance of nature to cheat us into practising interested or disinterested benevolence. The Rt. Hon. author maintains (and we are not concerned to gainsay him) two propositions of the correctness of which he is tolerably well-assured. The first is that practically, human beings being what they are, no moral code can be effective which does not inspire in those who are asked to obey it, emotions of reverence and the second, that practically the capacity of any code to excite this or any other elevated emotion cannot be wholly independent of the origin from which those who accept that code suppose it to emanate. It is difficult to understand how morality on the Naturalistic hypothesis controverts either of the two propositions just above enunciated. It is extremely doubtful if the lower appetites have got the same *pedigree* to boast of as the feelings that contribute to our admiration of disinterested benevolence. It may be that both are *ultimately* traceable to physiological or psychological processes. The processes are not identical in both cases. They are only similar and this difference very properly makes all the difference in the feelings which the satisfaction of the baser cravings and the higher needs inspire in us. All that we contend for is that the word *origin* in the second of the propositions enunciated does not mean the *ultimate source* but the immediate antecedent of which it is the consequent. We might here well observe that it is more philosophical to judge of the tree from its fruits than to judge of the tree from the seed and it is probably in anticipation of this objection that the Rt. Hon. author after dismissing with a few observations the question of the emotional character of the moral law as judged from its origin enters an emphatic protest against the claims of any Naturalistic system of ethics to emotional adequacy—a *sine qua non* of every moral code if it is to be honored by observance and admiration. He examines the highest ends of the moral code on the Naturalistic hypothesis and pronounces in the course of a grand peroration that the highest of ends, no matter if it is not achievable,

consistent with the Theory of Naturalism (*i. e.*) the perfection and felicity of all sentient creation, does not satisfy our ethical imagination. The author conceives or at any rate appears to do so that, before scientific investigations assiduously made had revealed the immeasurable vastness of this universe to the gaping eyes of mankind, the ethical end above referred to might have been adequate to satisfy the ethical aspirations of humanity. But he urges that man has left those ages of comparative darkness far behind, that the marvellous progress of science during the last few centuries had clearly pointed out to him the relative insignificance of his position in the immeasurable universe, that the world of which he has any knowledge however erroneous, is but a speck in the whole creation, that he is as it were a dew-drop lost in the sea and that he is consequently or ought to be well aware of the utter inadequacy of any ethical end calculated to secure the happiness of sentient beings alone in all the universe. This argument really sounds like something and in the garb in which the author dresses it appears formidable. But a closer examination of the reasons alleged to show the inadequacy of this highest of ends on the Naturalistic hypothesis furnishes, queerly enough, reasons equally in favour of its adequacy. Without affecting the importance of man as the lord of the universe science had only extended the territorial jurisdiction of man. Man has discovered worlds on worlds and planets on planets and he is no longer the petty chieftain over a small tract of land that he once was. He is now master not only of the earth but of a universe compared with which the earth is a speck. And when this large accession to his jurisdiction has not offered him a single specimen of a sentient being entitled to occupy a higher place in the scale of creation, his importance in his opinion has rightly grown with the progress of science and the accession of new worlds to the known universe. The reasoning employed by us seems to be so obviously sound that we think it hardly necessary to support it by the quotation of eminent authorities; but we are tempted to make a passing reference, before we leave this part of our subject, to the same or nearly the same argument used by the author, of course in a subsequent portion of the book, to refute objections raised against the credibility of the Incarnation in Christian Theology. When it is objected that the fact of the incarnation is thoroughly

incredible on the ground of the extreme improbability of God's choosing this small speck of earth as the theatre of that great and glorious event, considering the very insignificant part played by man in the cosmic drama of such an extended universe, the author rightly, in our opinion, argues that it is absurd to measure man's importance in the scale of creation by the quantity of measurable space that he fills in this immeasurably vast universe and that considering the moral superiority of man over the rest of the creation, the earth which man inhabited was preeminently the proper place for the occurrence of such an unprecedentedly stupendous event. This argument *mutatis mutandis* applies to the case before us and we can see nothing inadequate in the moral code whose end is nothing less than the perfection and happiness of all sentient beings morally superior to the rest of the universe.

The author next proceeds to consider the prejudicial effect of Naturalism upon Aesthetics. He complains that Naturalism makes Beauty the chance occasion of a passing pleasure. He finds that there is very little scientific literature on the philosophy of Aesthetics and that the few theories, if theories they can be called being nothing more than desultory and haphazard observations, are all absurd, discordant and insufficient to answer the two pertinent questions viz (1) what causes enable us to derive æsthetic enjoyment from some objects and not from others and (2) whether there is any fixed and permanent element of beauty perceivable in objects which we call beautiful. After indulging in a course of destructive criticism on Spencer's Theory of Primordial Coincidence and other explanations as to the causes of æsthetic enjoyment he disappoints the anxious reader by a conclusion in which as in the last chapter of Johnson's *Rasselas* nothing is concluded. For fear of being accused of trifling or carping we quote his conclusion. "However little we may be prepared to accept any particular scheme of metaphysical Aesthetics—and most of these appear to me to be very absurd—we must believe that somewhere and for some Being there shines an unchanging splendour of Beauty of which in Nature and in Art we see each of us from our own stand-point only passing gleams and stray reflections whose different aspects we cannot now co-ordinate, whose import we cannot fully comprehend but which at least is something other than the chance play of subjective

sensibility or the far-off echo of ancestral lusts." Here we are treated to a belief founded exclusively upon an unshaken conviction of the absurdity or the inadequacy of the current theories on the origin of aesthetic emotions. It is impossible to conceive a proposition more loosely or vaguely expressed. The only reason why mankind should share the author's beliefs as regards the origin of Aesthetic emotions appears to be that the few theories admittedly unsystematic have been found, when weighed in the author's balance, wanting—a fact which may not so far frighten mankind out of their wits as to give their voices for a theory neither sufficiently stated nor sought to be supported by any reason whatever. The author makes haste to leave the subject immediately after being delivered of this necessary belief without pausing to examine whether it has any and what solution to offer for the two questions set out by the author at the beginning of his destructive criticism. Where the perennial fountain of beauty is and for whom it exists, the author does not tell us; nor is it possible to gather by what process the beauty is reflected in Nature and Art and why these reflections so vary in their aspects. What after all is the answer furnished by the author's skeleton of a theory to the question whether there is any permanent element of beauty? What are the elements of beauty and do they individually or collectively produce the feeling of beauty? How to account for the fact daily witnessed that one individual is charmed at the sight of the rose and another at the sight of the lily? Why are not they charmed alike at the sight of the rose or the lily? These are interesting questions to which the theory gives no answer and we leave this part of the subject as there is no theory stated to deserve criticism.

The author next observes that on the Naturalistic theory of the universe, Reason becomes the dim passage from one set of unthinking habits to another. It ceases to be regarded as 'the roof and crown of things' and becomes the product of unreason. He emphasises the fact that from the stand-point of organic evolution it is impossible to draw any distinction between the processes by which reason is developed and the processes by which any other faculty physiological or psychological is developed, faculties being developed by Nature on lines calculated to ensure their utility or inure for the benefit of the race. He observes that faculties brought

into existence and developed in view to such practical and utilitarian ends cannot be otherwise than inadequate to satisfy the speculative curiosity, one of the products of the evolutionary process and to furnish us with satisfactory answers to our questions about the universe of which we know so little, the senses we possess being unable to comprehend even a decent portion of the vast universe. He further points out that nature so intent on creating a faculty in view to some practical end is equally intent on suppressing it when it has done its work and becomes in legal parlance *functus officio* and in support of his view of this economy of nature quotes the instance of the decay of the instincts of a domesticated animal as a case in point. He therefore argues that mind, the most precious thing in man, will be suppressed by nature so soon as the habits which it originates render the play of Reason superfluous in any department of human endeavour. We will take in their order these objections propounded by the author to the naturalistic theory of the origin of Reason and see what they are worth. It is true that so far as the physiological or psychological origin is concerned Reason is in no more elevated position than any of the less important faculties. But we do not claim any superiority for reason on the ground of its aristocratic lineage. It is not ennobled above the rest of the faculties by the accident or advantages of its birth but it bases and maintains its title to eminence on the superior functions which it is called upon to perform in the transactions of life. Reason may like other faculties be debased by its low origin. The fertilizing stream is certainly to be placed on a higher level of estimation than the noisy cataract though both may take their source from the same modest eminence. As regards the objection that the reasoning faculty is not adequate to satisfy the speculative curiosity of humanity we answer that the faculty having been created for purely utilitarian purposes it is too much to expect it to answer the queries of curiosity which the author himself admits to be a *by-product* of the process of evolution. Presumably Nature appears to have thought that it was more desirable in the interests of humanity to check his curiosity and as it could not possibly provide against its birth without suppressing faculties which were necessary from other utilitarian considerations it made reason not as a help-mate to curiosity but as its controller; for reason as our experience often

tells us cautions us against being too curious. Nature has furnished us with faculties requisite for obtaining all knowledge which she thought it desirable for us to have and like a prudent though affectionate mother has effectively provided against our seeking to know more than we can know. There is therefore no reason to fear that on the Naturalistic hypothesis and on the consequent deposition of reason from the high pedestal which it occupies in other theories we miss the one important ground on which mankind base their superiority over the rest of the creation.

As regards the objection that the formation of habits does and must gradually supplant reason and altogether suppress it when it is no longer required we rely upon the very illustration relied on by the author but for a different purpose—for the purpose of proving, if proof were required, that Nature is kinder and more attentive to our well-being than she is in the author's view. It is no doubt true that the instinct of the domesticated animal decays but the true explanation for this admitted fact is not the one offered by the author. Nature does suppress the instinct in the domesticated animal not because the instinct is under the circumstances *superfluous* but because it is *injurious*. Imagine for instance a tiger retaining its furious instincts—its thirst for human gore—after it is domesticated and you can understand what a havoc it would cause. Nature therefore erases its instincts altogether that it may be as harmless as a kitten, not because it has its wants supplied by man and does not require its instincts for its being. But in the case before us the formation of habits, however strong, does not render the existence of reason in the individual superfluous, much less does it render it injurious to the individual. Habits, however strong, are still amenable to reason and in many instances are overcome when they are found inconsistent with the well-being of the individual subject to their influence. Reason does not become defunct or even superannuated because of the habits which are its own progeny. It does not abdicate its rule nor does it give up any portion of its original jurisdiction. Being required for almost all purposes of life and constantly worried with ceaseless calls it clamours for some rest and resigns the management of a portion of its dominions to its own progeny—the habits—invests them with all power, reserving to itself the power of deposing them from their

suffered elevation if they in over-weening confidence in their own strength forget the source to which they owe their position and begin to set up independently for themselves, in open scorn of the power of Reason—their progenitor. Habits, however strong, are the tenants-at-will of all-powerful Reason and it is a kind provision of nature that it should be so seeing that otherwise Reason will be overtaxed with work and that it should always have a right as the supreme faculty in man to suppress habits when they become obnoxious to the interests of the individual. We have thus no reason to apprehend with the author that sooner or later on the naturalistic hypothesis the reasoning faculty will be altogether suppressed and man, rendered essentially a bundle of unthinking habits.

Having thus considered the effect of Naturalism on Morality, Aesthetics and Reason the author proceeds to discuss its philosophic basis. The two fundamental doctrines of Naturalism are (1) that we can only know what science teaches us and (2) that beyond what we learn from the Natural sciences, we know and can know nothing more. It is against the latter assertion that philosophers and theologians have hitherto emphatically protested while the former has either been unnoticed or uncontested. The author however impugns the truths contained in the Natural Sciences. According to Naturalism, the theory of the universe is maintained exclusively upon experience which again is the sum-total of our knowledge of the universe furnished by the testimony of the senses. The whole theory therefore according to the author rests upon the nature and value of their testimony. The author urges (a position which cannot, certainly be contested and if need be can easily be proved by daily-occurring cases of mistaken identity) that the senses sometimes if not often, lie and that their want of veracity is exposed by their own subsequent evidence. If however it be replied that we are cognisant only of our mental states and that we only *infer* from our knowledge of our mental states the existence of independent material objects corresponding to the mental states of which alone we are conscious, the author urges that this theory while answering in a way the objection just above raised leads to other objections of a more serious tenor in that it utterly mis-states the principles on which scientific investigations have been conducted and necessarily falsifies their

conclusion ; for it is asked whether the men of science have been all along building theories on observation of objects thought of as independently existing or whether upon introspection of their own mental states. Clearly scientists observed independent objects and based their conclusions upon their observations ; and if there has been an error in the very first assumption on which their whole theory is based, the error, it is rightly urged hopelessly vitiates the results arrived at and thus proves that the science of matter we have is radically false.

He proceeds to examine whether it is possible on the empirical theory of knowledge, to extract out of it any knowledge of an independent universe and finds it impracticable to argue by any process of reasoning from our feelings and sensations the existence of an independent material universe for the following reasons viz., that it is extremely unsafe to argue from effects to causes, that the universe in which we believe is not quite congruous with the sensations or feelings they produce and that the principle of causation or any other principle of the kind cannot be squeezed out of experience which the author proves to be in effect nothing more than individual experience. At this stage of the treatise the author suspects that he has been overdoing his duty and that in having so effectually condemned all empirical theory of knowledge as inadequate and radically unsound he had virtually demolished all science ; but he subsequently assures himself and his readers that the apprehension is unfounded and argues that Naturalism cannot possibly drag science in its fall as science preceded all theory of science. We are afraid that this is hoping against hope but we reserve a searching examination of this assertion for a subsequent portion of this paper where it may appear more relevant.

The author next takes up his cudgels against the theory of Transcendental Idealism. This theory, the author observes, satisfactorily disposes of some strong objections urged against the Psychological analysis of experience and substitutes for a universe of unrelated sensations a world which is constituted by relations existing in the percipient mind. But this theory promising as it is compared with the Psychological theory of perception whose defects it is meant to cure not to speak of other anomalies which its fundamental

doctrines necessarily result in, makes God no other than a principle of unity—a pure abstraction impossible to conceive and inadequate to the soaring ethical imagination of mankind. The author also demonstrates that the problem of an independent material world is not more satisfactorily solved on the idealistic than on the empirical theory. The author next places under review the system of thought recently much favoured which had its origin in the wish of the people to find a scheme of knowledge provisionally sufficient to bridge over the real or supposed inconsistency between the teachings of Science and those of Theology. This theory designated Rationalism divides Religion into two portions Natural and Revealed, the *former* based upon the course of nature as science proves it to be and inferring the existence of a powerful intelligent and moral creator from particular phenomena observed and the *latter* containing truths the belief in which is exclusively supported by the evidences in favour of a special revelation and by facts not accessible otherwise to the most speculative human intellect. Two objections to this theory are propounded (1) that it renders the question of the truth of the events narrated in the Holy Scriptures amenable to the same canons of critical examination as would apply in the case of any other event in the history of the world and thus virtually deprives Religion of all its pretensions to excite a sort of mystical ecstasy and (2) that it is not strong enough in itself to keep Naturalism at bay. It may be that a naturalistic philosopher might with some difficulty be persuaded to accept this version of Natural Religion as it only infers the existence of a Deity who so far as that version goes has had apparently nothing to do with the universe after He called it into being. But his objection to Revealed Religion on the ground of its being opposed to the general course of events in Nature will be altogether unanswerable by the Rationalistic philosopher who, resting, as he does, his version of Natural Religion on the conclusions arrived at by science cannot consistently with his professions throw off his bondage to science to meet the objections against his version of Revealed Religion.

One other system of philosophy which postulates the existence of an independent material world and a spiritual world, each subject to its own laws and refusing to unite under a common sway, each completely divorced from the other, the author contemptuously

rejects as a patchwork scheme of beliefs offending against the growing philosophical instinct for unity notwithstanding that this theory is able to overcome some of the objections fatal to the empiric or the Naturalistic system.

Having thus in his opinion clearly demonstrated the inadequacy and the sceptical tendency of any empirical system of thought, the incompetency of Transcendental Idealism to provide a reasoned scheme of knowledge sufficient to answer the intricate world-problems and the abortive nature of all extant systems of thought, the author closes the destructive portion of his criticism and proceeds to give us a bit of his own mind on these problems—to lead us into the secrets of his provisional philosophy to which his criticism on other systems has paved the way.

Before proceeding however to discuss the intrinsic merits of the provisional philosophy ultimately reached by the author, we are tempted to ask ourselves what good, if any, could any provisional philosophy confer upon mankind. It must be conceded that the systems of philosophy reviewed by the author in the pages of his book and found to be inadequate or radically unsound, have at least had the merit of being provisional philosophies in their own days, even supposing that they are now found to be worthless. Is it then a philosophy of the kind repudiated in the first portion of the book that the author promises to treat us to in the second? It may perhaps be replied that although according to the author's own admission his provisional philosophy may be found to be incomplete it would better commend itself than the systems which it is intended to supplant for two very obvious reasons:—(1) its greater harmony with our increased knowledge of our environments, (2) its inclusion of the demands of our ethical imagination in its scope. It is true that our knowledge of the material universe has considerably grown in proportion to the progress of the natural sciences and that mankind could scarcely be expected to find any repose for their intellectual unrest in the doctrines of philosophies propounded in the course of ages when men's knowledge was comparatively small. But it is equally true that science has not yet come to a stand-still, that it is still progressing, that our knowledge, great though it be as compared with the knowledge of men in the past, is daily increasing and that we are every moment conscious that it is increasing. A philosophy

therefore whose author candidly warns us of its provisional and inadequate nature can scarcely commend itself to our intellect especially when we are conscious that our knowledge is increasing. Conscious as he is of the shortcomings of his provisional system of philosophy the author says that he is tempted to give it to the world because it is impossible, unless the constitution of human nature and man's faculties were thoroughly metamorphosed, to land at a thoroughly satisfactory system and that therefore we must be satisfied with the best that we can have at any moment. This argument while it does not advance our interest in this system or its claims to a longer lease of life than that generally accorded to other systems that have gone before it has, on account of the author's admission or the necessary implication that it will have to be given up when a better should be found, the undesirable effect of making it virtually less endurable than its predecessors. A philosophy of scientific beliefs can conceivably be borne with in spite of any short-comings that could be pointed out in it. Every such philosophy must by its nature be provisional considering that science is still progressing. It is intended to supply us with explanations of phenomena observed and our belief in the phenomena themselves cannot in any degree be prejudicially affected by any fallacy that could be detected in the reasoning process by which we arrive at their scientific explanation. A philosophy of scientific beliefs is a mere luxury without which we could practically be as well-off as without it. But a consistent theory of religious beliefs founded upon the existence of pressing ethical needs is an over-mastering necessity indispensable to satisfy the demands of the ethical imagination of man which finding no halting place in the fleeting phenomena of the material universe soars after the Abiding and the Infinite and will not rest satisfied until it has reached that goal. A philosophy therefore which includes religious and ethical beliefs along with the scientific cannot possibly find favour with mankind if it is labelled 'provisional' by the manufacturer himself. To illustrate our position, we never doubt that the sun gives light though we doubt how it does. Science comes to our aid and offers a hypothesis or more to explain our doubt. Here any one or all of these hypotheses may possibly be wrong. But the disproof of any of these does in no way tend to shake our beliefs. Take however our belief in the Incarnation or any other event

recorded in the Holy Scriptures. Here as the author himself points out though for some other purposes, our belief is so bound up with the explanation theological or otherwise offered in support of the probability of the event that the moment we find the particular explanatory hypothesis untenable we do not generally seek assiduously for a better hypothesis but drop our belief in the event itself.

The explanation of any event in matters of belief does not as in the case of a phenomenon of the material universe simply perform the function of satisfying our idle curiosity or thirst for knowledge but is intended to prop and strengthen our belief which as apparently running counter to our notions of probability based upon our judgments of sense-perception requires a strong back-support. It is thus evident that though the subsequent rejection of provisional theories about scientific beliefs does not impair the strength of our belief, every theory about religious and ethical belief once proposed and subsequently found untenable necessarily slackens our beliefs themselves. So much against the author's philosophy as an admittedly provisional one. We shall now proceed to judge of it on its merits.

Foremost according to the author among the causes that produce belief are Reason and Authority and he devotes much space to their relative merits as such causes. He finds that our beliefs are more largely due to Authority than to Reason and supports this position by shewing that even beliefs arrived at by Reason, by purely intellectual processes, are in the last resort due to premises solely supplied by non-rational Authority. Considering the high influence which Authority exerts in the matter of the formation of beliefs and the little part that Reason plays in it the author commits himself to a startling paradox in saying that mankind excel the brute creation not so much in the possession of the reasoning faculty as in obedience to Authority. We are tempted to exclaim whether this is making Reason "the roof and crown of things." We certainly do not deny that mankind like their brute progenitors obey Authority; but, nevertheless, our superiority to brutes does not lie in our greater obedience to Authority than is found in the brute creation but in the possession of the reasoning faculty which makes our intelligent acquiescence in Authority possible. It may be that mankind and the brute-creation may alike be controlled by Authority;

but while the latter are always under the control of their instincts mankind are, in virtue of their reasoning faculty, found capable of controlling Authority.

The question now naturally suggests itself whether Authority includes in its jurisdiction religious and ethical beliefs and the author points out how this irrational impulse is invariably called in to support our so-called universal and inevitable judgments of sense-perception and the theory of an independent material universe exclusively resting on them and strongly urges that by no manner of reason whatever we could be compelled to narrow the jurisdiction of Authority to these judgments alone. If then it is virtually the influence of Authority that supports our belief in the existence of a material world corresponding to our judgments of perception, does it not follow, asks the author, that we are justified in postulating the existence of a correspondence between the universe and the higher and the nobler portion of ourselves? He then finds that we are driven to postulate the existence of a Deity and to satisfy our ethical and intellectual needs, a living, intelligent and moral God and proves how in the light of this postulate all our beliefs, Scientific, Ethical and Theological, unite to form a coherent whole.

Here we may probably expect the book to close; for, being as he often tells us, only an introduction to Theology its function appears to have been thoroughly performed. But suddenly however a Roman thought strikes the author whether the God of Christianity does not better satisfy our ethical imagination and its needs than the God of any other system of Theology and he devotes the remaining pages of the book to the solution of that question. We are afraid that we cannot pursue the author in the discussion of this question. We have already taken up as much space as could be conveniently spared for a single contribution to the Journal to which we are sending this for publication and as we apprehend that the importance of the question of the superiority of the Christian Theology deserves a lengthy discussion, we are obliged to reserve our comments upon this portion of the book under review for a subsequent issue of this Journal.

THE EURASIAN PROBLEM.

THE Seventeenth Anniversary of the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association has been duly celebrated with much self-gratulation verbiage and rejoicing, and I would fain ask, where was the occasion for rejoicing and what has the Association accomplished during its seventeen years of labour? It will be said by optimists like Mr. Rowlandson, and Mr. Beeson "We have given the Association a local habitation and a name; we have established various philanthropic institutions like the Provident, and other funds; we have become possessed of a journal which voices our claims, our disabilities and our ambitions; we have encouraged and are encouraging education, by offering special inducements to Eurasians to educate their children; we have memorialized Parliament on the subject of forming Eurasian regiments; we have infused, or attempted to infuse, into the Eurasians, a sense of their obligations to themselves and to society, and lastly, but by no means leastly, we have awakened sympathy in behalf of the Eurasian in quarters where, until a short time ago, no sympathy existed." This, shortly put, is what the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association has done and I do not, for one moment, mean to depreciate and disparage the excellent results, so far as they have been achieved. But what I would ask is this? Might not these, and much better, results have been obtained if the Association had not taken the fatal step of abandoning the policy chalked out for its guidance by that long-headed and for-seeing man the late Mr. D. S. White? Practical, Mr. White may not have been, so far as his pet scheme of establishing village settlements was concerned, but even that scheme was only part of the idea which dominated him; *viz.* that the Eurasians are Indians and that India is their home. Mr. White indulged in none of that sentimental claptrap which Eurasian-and-Anglo-Indian Association-members profess to have for their European brothers. He recognised, with the courage born of conviction—which by the way is much to be admired and which it is desirable should be imitated—the exact position that the Eurasians occupied in the Social fabric as it exists in India; and he foresaw that to succeed and to

prosper as a community it was necessary for Eurasians to adapt themselves, to speak in more senses than one, to their environment. This necessity is a biological law, which as all students know, spells deterioration and rapid extinction to ignore. The present policy of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, as I understand it, is to encourage the Eurasian to Europeanize himself, in spite of the adverse conditions which encircle him. For the Eurasian to do this, is to court disaster and ruin ; for in his endeavour to do it, he necessarily places himself more and more out of adjustment with his environment. I am not speaking from a social point of view—though much may be advanced in support of my opinion that a total, or even partial, change in the modes of living of the Eurasians is calculated to benefit the community very considerably. What I more immediately refer to is the false and harmful idea that the Association—indirectly may be—is inculcating a belief in that the Eurasian is after all a European. That position, in view of the many and vast changes overspreading the face of the country, is utterly untenable. Eurasians must be made to understand that they are Indians—which undoubtably they are. Whatever costume they may wish to adopt and whatever food they may habitually consume and in whatever religious communion they may worship, they are—from political and legal points of view—Indians.

It will be objected that in their veins runs the blood of English men. It is a regrettable truth ! They are, in very many cases, the offspring of the most dissolute kind of European on the one hand and native women of the frailest virtue on the other ; and if, of the combination, the products bear in their composition the “vices and not the virtues” of their progenitors, there really is some excuse for the alleged fact. However that may be, if the Eurasian has English blood in his veins has he not a full share of that of the Native ? If he has clung tenaciously to the speech of his father and his mode of living, is he not the son of his mother and of the soil, and is not India his home till he dies ? There is no gain-saying it. Before I proceed to discuss the advantages that will accrue to the Eurasian community if it should reconsider its political position, it is perhaps as well to ask “What is the Eurasian Problem” “The Eurasian problem” is one of those catch-phrases which most people accept without thinking, but which when analytically

examined melts into their air. I confess my inability to see that any special problem exists in connection with the Eurasian community which does not apply to every other unprogressive community in India. The problem, according to many people whom I have consulted, is that a new variety of the *genus homo* has been evolved from an intermixture of race by reason of the British occupation of India, and that the units of such intermixture, by renewed accretions to, and multiplication among themselves, now form a considerable community and an integral, and by no means unimportant, section of the subjects of the Queen Empress; that this community, following to a great extent European modes of living and claiming English as their mother tongue, are descendants of Englishmen and, as such, deserve the special assistance of Englishmen and the English Government; that the vast majority of this community are steeped in crushing poverty and ignorance and require to be specially aided. This, briefly, is the problem. The remedial measures for the elevation of the community I have already indicated. For the present let us consider the true bearing of the facts before us and see if there is any necessity for any special treatment. As regards the intermixture of race, the process has always been characteristic of the intimacy resulting from close social relations where two races are brought together. The products of such intermixture do not, *ipso facto*, necessarily demand special treatment. Cross-breeds in all countries and in all times have generally been considered to be of the same race and have been brought up in the habits and customs of their maternal ancestry—and so did not differentiate into a separate race or community. During the slave days in America, for instance, every child born of negro women by a European father was considered to be, and treated as, a negro—a slave—regardless of the colour of the skin or the amount of European blood in his veins. I am far from defending the institution of slavery, or the treatment accorded to the Mulatto, the Quadroon or the Octoroon, but there can be no doubt that the system of cross-breeds remaining practically in the position, as regards race, of their mothers was on the whole beneficial to all concerned. If any cross-breed did struggle out of the slough of slavery and ignorance and his surroundings into comparative emancipation and enlightenment, he exemplified the survival of the fittest. The vast majority remained Negroes and

~~~~~

slaves, more or less, contented with their lot and were happy and hard-working members of Society. With the abolition of slavery came the formation of a new community aping the habits and customs of Europeans—a community that is the curse of American cities to-day—too proud to work, but not ashamed to beg and in a similarly degenerate position as the Eurasians of this Empire are.

It might be said that the circumstances here were and are entirely dissimilar, but a moral may be drawn in this connection from the Tiyas of the Malabar Coast. We find among the Tiyas a large Eurasian Community who, however, call themselves Tiyas and who, under the provisions of the Marumakkatayam principle, have been brought up in the religion and the habits and customs of their Tiya mothers. These cross-breeds are none the worse, but by a far the better for the compulsory adaptation of themselves to their environment. There is no Eurasian problem on the West Coast, and the only Eurasians who there clamour for assistance and special treatment are Christian-Tiya-Eurasians, and pseudo-Eurasian accretions from the Native Christian ranks. Another community though they are not the result of intermixture of race, furnish a very favourable example of the advantages resulting from adaptation. I mean the Syrian Christians of Malabar. The early colonists of this community recognised, with a prescience worthy of respect and imitation, that unless they lived and dressed and laboured like the indigenous Hindu population of Malabar, they would soon be wiped out of existence. Giving effect to that conviction the Syrian Christians of Malabar and Travancore, while retaining their religion and differing but little from the Malabar people in appearance, are a flourishing and progressive community, wealthy, prosperous, enterprising and contented. In fact, quite a privileged class, when compared with the lower orders of Malabar Hindus. Race characteristics are asserting themselves and the community bids fair to oust the indigenous population from the soil.

In this connection, a lesson may be learnt also from the Jews of Cochin who have managed to survive for generations as a peculiar and separate people as a race, but who nevertheless are practically natives of the country in all else. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* for October, speaking of the Jews observes:—"No one is born a Jew



who has not a Jewish mother. This is the recognised law among the Jews everywhere. Even a person whose father was a Jew, but whose mother was not a Jewess is not considered to have been born into the Jewish fold. . . . Persons who merely bear Jewish blood in their veins are not Jews any more than a man is a peer because he is connected by kinship with a Peer's family. The title to be a Jew is determined by one of two conditions—one hereditary through the mother, the other a religious rite analogous to baptism". In regard to the Eurasians the mistake made at the very commencement was that they were brought up as if they were Europeans. This is at the bottom of the great misery in which the community is admittedly in.

And to that circumstance can be traced all the poverty, the false pride, the expensive habits, the want of thrift, the deterioration in physique and the general want of self-help that is said to be—and I fear with some truth—characteristic of the race. The problem arising out of this, enunciation—so to speak—of the Eurasian difficulty is, therefore, "How to raise the community morally, mentally and physically?" If this process of raising consists in teaching the Eurasian to become a man of higher character, a man of parts and an able bodied workman then it is a consummation devoutly to be wished, not only of the Eurasian but of the neer-do-weels of every community in the land. If, on the other hand, the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association's intention is to improve the Eurasian community into the European, and practically eradicate the race, then it has undertaken a Sisyphcan labour which it will never accomplish. The very idea is impossible, for in the hourly increasing struggle for existence and the demolition of caste and racial barriers combined with the more intimate association of Indian—and at all events, Europeans and Eurasians in the lower walks of life, there appears to be no hope of the Eurasian becoming extinct, within any definitely measurable distance of time. Not only is the Eurasian community uncommonly prolific itself, but the accretions to it from the intermixture of European and Native blood, as well as by pseudo-Eurasians from the out-cast Hindu and the Native Christian ranks, will produce in the future an ever-increasing number of Eurasians to raise whom, to the status of the European is not only an utterly hopeless task, but would be an unwise and foolish

endeavour. That this forecast is by no means exaggerated, any one who has a knowledge of Eurasian life in the great cities of India will endorse. The writer has seen European girls with blue eyes flaxen hair in Calcutta the mistresses of *khansammas* and *syces* while others who had sunk even lower *khansammas* would not notice. Granting, however, that there is a problem, and that it is absolutely necessary that Eurasians should strive and should be helped to become Europeans, is not, may I ask, the process taking place now, wherever the Eurasian has the energy, the opportunity, the 'go' to get on? Are not a certain aptitude to progress, education and the survival of the fittest, factors which are moulding the future of the Eurasian as they are moulding the future of other sections of the public. Every Eurasian family in Madras will afford examples in this connection. One member of a family, through vice, inherited unfitness, or want of opportunity steadily deteriorates till, in a short time, his descendants are to be numbered with the "submerged tenth", whilst another member of the same family energetic, hardworking and ambitious rises in the social scale, his descendants soon becoming merged in and being no way distinguishable from prosperous Europeans. In the former case the disreputable Eurasian, clinging to the belief that he has European blood in his veins, to work in a humble sphere is too much ashamed and becomes a cancer in the body politic, whereas in the latter, the success that has been achieved is a stimulus to further exertion and prosperity. In my humble opinion nothing that the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association can do will lift the wilful beggar out of the mire. It is better that he should be lost sight of; and in course of time, the force of necessity will have the desired effect of, erasing from his mind all fruitless ideas of his being in any degree better than the occupants of the Parcherry he rots in and, of compelling him to work for an honest, if humble, livelihood. Admittedly, it is this degraded class, mostly, that the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association hopes to raise. The prosperous and the enterprising Eurasian can, and does, mostly, do without the Association. In effect the Association says to the submerged Eurasian: "You must have nothing to do with the Natives of this country. In your veins flows the blood of Englishmen (notwithstanding the existence of the least drop in the world or no drop at all) and we shall, make (by

some mysterious process only known to the Association) Britons of you. Although Providence has cast our domicile in India, England is our home. Everything European is worth imitating. Nothing in Indian character or Indian aspirations is worthy of consideration. We are labouring under disabilities of all kinds which we protest against and want you to protest against." As a matter of fact, to take the disabilities first, there are no disabilities under which the Eurasians are suffering which do not apply to any other community in this wide empire, except perhaps that Government is averse to the formation of pure Eurasian Regiments. Curiously enough, this request is quite inconsistent with the ambition of Eurasians being in all senses of the term European. As a matter of fact, however, Commanding officers do not object to enlisting Eurasians as British soldiers so long as candidates for enlistment approximate in some degree in physique and complexion to the European as the considerable number in the ranks of the European army in India abundantly testifies. What Government does object to is the composition of regiments entirely composed of Eurasians, as it objects to the formation of regiments, except in one or two instances, formed entirely of Mahomedans or Hindus. While discussing this question there is no use in blinking the fact that the average Eurasian is about as fit to become a soldier as is the average woman. But, I am not blind to the truth that there are Eurasians fit to be soldiers and who would do credit for physique, intelligence and 'go' to any army in the world, but these are just the men who would derive no benefit from the ranks of the British Army being thrown open to them, simply because they can afford to do without. If the Eurasian wishes to show his loyalty and has a consuming desire to fight for his Queen and country, let him enter the ranks of the Native army and rise if he can, for there is no objection to his doing so. This clearly proves that there is no real disability to the Eurasian becoming a soldier. Where the shoe pinches is, that the Eurasian thinks himself superior to the native and quite equal to the European, and, therefore, if Government cannot provide him with a privateship in the British ranks, it is incumbent on Government to make him a separate arm of the military Service,

Sir Arthur Havelock with that peculiar straight forwardness characteristic of his utterances showed conclusively, I think, that

even in point of numbers, the Eurasians are out of it in regard to the formation of Eurasian Regiments. But granting that this attitude on the part of Government is a disability I confess my inability to specify another.

The "levelling up" policy of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, interpreted in idiomatic English, is "holding on to the coat tails of the European in this country"—a position which is neither dignified nor profitable. And this unseemly position has merited, deservedly, the often expressed contempt of the European and alienated the sympathy of the Native. Between two stools the Eurasian hovers like Mahomed's coffin, in mind air neither on earth nor in Heaven. The sooner it is recognised that India is the home of the Eurasian; that to the Indian people he is bound both by the ties of blood as well as of country; that his progress is included in their progress; that his fate is bound up in their fate; that their political disabilities are his political disabilities and that in their ultimate destiny is bound up his ultimate destiny, the better for the Eurasian. In this connection the Association committed a grave and unpardonable error when it replaced Mr. White's by substituting its present policy.

It must be clearly understood that the interests of Europeans and Natives in India, are, at one and the same time, identical and antagonistic. Identical in the sense that both Europeans and Indians are fellow subjects of the same Queen and subject to the same principles of Government: antagonistic in regard to the claims to power and administration of affairs coveted by each. The European likes, and it is but natural, since he is the conqueror, to keep in his hands the reins of Government; but it is a legitimate ambition, fostered by England's declared policy of equality of opportunity to all, for the Native to endeavour to obtain, as much as possible, a share—and considering the numerical proportion of Indians—a large share in the executive administration of the Empire. There is very little doubt that, as time goes on, capacity, opportunity and ambition will give to the Native, an equal, if not a greater, share, in the Government as the European. By legitimate agitation the Native has, in many instances, forced the hands of Government and received the reward of importunity. Where is the Eurasian in this struggle?

Echo answers "where." Numerically he is insignificant, physically he is feeble, intellectually he is comparatively a child, and, financially he is bankrupt. Handicapped in this way has he any chance in the race? Most assuredly not! Much umbrage will be taken when I say that the Eurasian intellectually is a child. This remark requires explanation. The Eurasian is as keenly intelligent as any people in India but it must be admitted that his education has been neglected. Wherever he has genuinely endeavoured to study he has succeeded, but comparing the average Eurasian student with the average Hindu student, the Eurasian is much the inferior; while after obtaining employment, ninety-nine Eurasians out of every hundred neglect to study, fail to keep abreast of the times and drift useless intellectual derelicts into old age and obscurity.

Let us look now at the position taken up by the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, politically, in one instance. When the simultaneous examination question was before the public, the position assumed by the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, through its organ the *Eastern Guardian* was, to use a mild term, deplorably weak and irrational. As far as the Eurasian is concerned it is to his advantage that simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service should be held in India. If rather, the Association had joined the Indian Press in its agitation for the examination to be held in India there would have been some reason in it. If such an event had come to pass there was a hope of a poor Eurasian becoming a civil servant and obtaining some share in the administration of the country. But now such hope does not remain. The rich Native, regard being had to the weakening of the bonds of caste, is now able to compete with the European on his own ground; but for the Eurasian there is, in view of his poverty, no such hope. Politically, the Eurasian and the Native are in the same boat and I would counsel the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association to consider this important fact in all its bearings.

In conclusion, I assert again, that the European sentiment, if I may so call it, the desire to be all European and not the least bit Native is at the bottom of all the misery that the Eurasians are suffering. It is that which impels Eurasians to live and move and have their being like wealthy Europeans—and in the majority of

cases is it not a lamentable travesty after all. It is that which has paralysed the Eurasian's energies in regard to manual labour and humble employment, it is that which has, to use an expressive Eurasian vulgarism, made him "starve his stomach to feed his back", and deteriorate physically, and it is that which has, in every respect, been as a curse unto him. What then is the remedy? My conviction is that it consists in only one thing in making the Eurasian understand that he is a Native of India and that to progress he must throw in his lot and stand or fall with the Indian people. As a section of the great Indian people, prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with them through thick and thin, he will receive much more consideration than in his present isolated and anomalous position. Europeans, after a short residence in this country, often throw in their lot with the Native and join them in agitating for equality of opportunity and it is absurd for Eurasians to stand aloof and only wait for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. There is nothing Englishmen like, so much as pluck and self-reliance, and when they see the descendants of Europeans owning themselves Indians in the sense that Americans call themselves Americans, or Australians, they are much more likely to help their Kinsmen than when they seek for special treatment with no basis, beyond a sentimental one for their claims. In regard to the expensive habits of Eurasians, nothing can now be done, except to tender advice. If legislation were possible in such a connection, I should rule that every child born of a native mother should be brought up as a native. But the days of Lycurgus are gone and probably Eurasians and Pseudo-Eurasians will continue to be brought up to the end of the chapter in the idea that they are Europeans. One more word I feel is necessary. This paper has not been written in a hostile spirit. The observations here offered are the sincere convictions of one who is himself of that despised, but not, altogether I trust, useless class, the Eurasian.

A. P. S.

---

## THE PLACE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

---

The subject on which I have undertaken to speak is a large one and demands more information and abilities for any thing like an acceptable handling of it than what I have at my command. I have yet ventured to offer a few remarks on it with a view to impress upon you the importance of the subject and thereby to make you pay some attention to it ; and hope that you will give me an indulgent hearing.

It is my conviction that English education is capable of developing only the intellectual side of our nature and that its effect upon the moral and religious elements is necessarily secondary and inefficient ; and that even in regard to the intellect, its line of growth must necessarily be one-sided ; I think, therefore, that a remedy should be found to rectify this defect, if our educated countrymen are to have all their powers equally developed. I shall try to elucidate this to you in the following.

English education has succeeded in this country far beyond the most sanguine expectations of those who organized it for our benefit. In the period of 40 years since the establishment of the University of Madras, it has become the most important factor in the intellectual life of the community. Many among us speak and write the English language with greater freedom and ease than their mother tongue. It is the language of our social intercourse and of our daily correspondence. And I may say that we even think in that language, so much have our ideas become associated with it. Thousands of our countrymen have participated in this new enlightenment. Of graduates alone we have now about 4,000 living in this province ; and there are not less than 25,000 under graduates among us. There are, besides, the enormous numbers of our countrymen drawn into the sphere of university education, who have from a variety of causes lagged behind the advancing columns, but who have yet had a taste of the new system of education.

What is the benefit derived by these thousands of Indians? They may be and are filling high offices of state ; or are amassing wealth as lawyers and in other ways. But our present concern is

not with their material prosperity. I may however remark in passing that they have not by their education added anything even to the material wealth of the country. They might have grown rich individually, but it has been mainly by a transfer of wealth to their hands from the hands of others. No one can say with much truth that the country now produces more wealth because of the spread of education in our midst, or that it draws to itself more of the produce of other countries.

But it is not my purpose to dwell upon this aspect of the question and request you therefore to ignore it altogether. We shall here confine our attention to the gain secured by our educated brethren and through them by the country at large in respect of the intellectual and moral elements of their nature. Are these men who have come out of our schools and colleges better intellectually and morally than those who have not had this kind of training? And have they imparted to their countrymen at large any share of the benefit conferred upon them by their English education? How has this education acted upon our conception and conduct of life? And what help are we receiving from it for the life which we all believe to be in store for us, as soon as we should pass through the portals of death? I do not undertake, nor is it possible, to answer in detail all or any of these questions. I shall only, suggest the general direction of my views on them.

English education has unquestionably conferred upon us one boon, *viz.* clearness of intellectual vision, not in the gift to an equal degree of the system of education, in vogue in our country in former times. It develops with a considerable amount of success the capacity to observe and argue. It has also furnished us with a fund of information regarding the phenomena of nature which is of no small significance as a factor in our general education. Many a phenomenon shrouded in mystery to our less fortunate countrymen who have not had this advantage of western education is to us the normal result of the operation of the ordinary laws of nature. We have learnt the true meaning of the allegory of the enormous snake which swallows up the obscured sun or moon at the time of an eclipse. When the fable describes Indra as smiting the clouds with his thunder and as sending down the refreshing rain from the heavens illumined with lightning, we



know how to distinguish the poetry in it from the facts that the poet would image forth. The fancy of the Puranas that would prop up the earth on the shoulders of elephants, the elephants on the hood of Adisesha, and seek in the end the supporting omnipotence of Vishnu, we know how to understand.

This much is solid gain. And English education came to us at a very opportune moment in the history of the nation. It came in time to start into new life the smouldering embers of our national genius. The Hindu mind had been thrown off its lines of advance by the intrusion of the Moslem. The followers of the prophet of Arabia brought fire and sword into the country and would also impose their religion on its children. The Hindus had advanced in their own quiet way to a frame of mind that was in perfect harmony with their surroundings. They were keen observers of nature, and enjoyed her blessings or submitted to her capricious freaks with hearts full of faith and reverence. The glowing sky over them and the earth teeming with life all round them had taught them, early in their career of intellectual progress, to feel every where the presence of an all-pervasive soul. They gave a moral life.

To every natural form, rock, fruit or flower,  
Even the loose stones that cover the highway.

And all that they beheld "respired with inward meaning." Nature greeted them with bright images in all seasons of the year, took their minds captive with her sudden explosions of anger in thunder and lightning, and was mysterious in her unsteady ways. She never wore the apparel of icy death, but was ever full of life and animation. The Hindu was attuned to all them. His mind was reverential; and "the earth and every common sight" did seem to it "apparelled in celestial light." The very magnitude of the forces in the midst of which the Hindu lived threw him upon himself, and his mind often recoiled into itself from the terrific phenomena which it could not unravel. While the climate has a tendency to unnerve the body and dispose it to seek repose, the mind must have been in early times equally shut off from the external world because of the difficulty of entering into its ways and understanding its activities. It thus reached a condition of subjective activity in the special environments of its early life, and learned even

then to seek a refuge in the inner self from the struggles and turmoils of the world. And when the land was being torn to pieces by the unholy ravages of the foreigner, it had within itself,

Enough to fill the present day with Joy,  
And overspread the future years with hope.

External force drove the Hindu to seek consolation in the world of mind which afforded him at all times ample scope for his desires and aspirations. His soul breasted her own griefs in heavenly solitude. He could submit to tyranny because of the consolation he ever found in his inner consciousness. There he had a sphere of activity and enjoyment subject to no change and exposed to no violence. He was even then most rich when most oppressed, for he had a world about him, and it was his own. His was the tranquil soul,

That tolerates the indignities of time,  
And, from the centre of Eternity  
All finite motions over-ruling, lives  
In glory immutable.

This subjectivity of life formed the essential feature of his existence and he fell back upon it contracting himself from the external world at the approach of danger or force. The Mahomedan failed, therefore, to inflict any serious injury on the national life of the Hindus. The race stood intact against the oppression of the Arab, the Mogul, and the Tartar. It submitted to them as the familiar reeds on the banks of our rivers, bending quietly to superior force, but ready to lift up its head at the approach of peace, never losing the calm individuality of its nature.

But it must be confessed that the Moslem invaders did arrest the progress of the Hindu nation and even threw it back to a considerable extent. Our minds can never expand in the midst of ever present dangers. Even if it should preserve its composure in such troublous times, it means not any progress along its usual course. Indian civilization was then and is at present a composite of many grades of intellectual and moral advancement. In no country can you expect to see men of all social grades in the same level of mental growth. The minds of the members of a society necessarily run along many parallel veins. There were in India minds imbued with the highest wisdom pulsating in consonance with minds revelling in the grossest ignorance. The Upanishads

breathing as they do the purest atmosphere of divine knowledge were explained and discussed in the halls where ritualistic sacrifices were being performed with the exactitude of detail prescribed in the Bráhmánàs. The fables of our Puranas were listened to with reverence by sages versed in the holy lore of the Vedánta, and accustomed to feel the presence of the eternal Atman equally at every place and in every object. The conviction that the universe is but a play ground for the Supreme, embodying Him and permeated by His presence, explains the universal tolerance of the Hindu to all modes of approaching our Maker. The wise man, says the sloka, sees the same (Brahman) everywhere.

The higher fruits of the philosophical culture of the Hindus, the Moslem succeeded in crushing out of the conscious life of the nation. The even course of the complexity of its mental existence was interrupted by his wild ferocity. There was not then available that tranquillity which the philosopher requires for his higher flights to the regions of eternal existence. It was as much as the Hindu mind could do to retain unforgotten the ground work of ancient thought, to preserve the monuments of ancient wisdom, and to shrink into the uninvaded corners of the land with minds incapable of progress, but not altogether dead to the higher impulses of the nation. The invader nipped off ruthlessly the budding tendrils of progress, but the sap of subjective existence lay beyond his reach.

It was at this stage of our mental life, when all progress had been completely barred, but while yet the national mind retained something of its old vitality, that Providence sent the European to our shores. He brought us peace; and the yoke that he imposed upon us was not so galling as to reach the placid stream of inner life. We have been able to wake up to renovated life under his un-felt sway. And he has also conferred upon us a boon more valuable than this negative one of tranquillity. It is the state-organized education of which we are here considering the results. It has acted as a positive force to rouse up our oppressed minds to resume their old course of progressive thought. The European has not simply left us to ourselves, but has stirred us up from our lethargy, and we are now looking about ourselves with a newly opened vision.

I believe you have heard of men born blind gaining their eyesight on the removal of what obstruction there was to their vision; and

---

such men have been led into ridiculous blunders by a too much reliance on their inexperienced eyes. We are now in his plight. We have regained in a way the use of our mental eyes; but this new vision leads us into egregious blunders. There has been no time as yet for us to scan the world about us with the help of the new capacities developed in us; we are bold enough, however, to dispose of every question without a thought of our capacity for the task. Our intellect is yet but half-fledged, but we would soar on its wings to the determination of the highest problems that have weighed down the greatest minds of the world. The development of the genius of the nation was obstructed and the national intellect was thrown out of gear by the Islamites; and the present system of education has been vouchsafed to us that we may not be lost altogether in the sea of intellectual torpidity into which we were precipitated by the followers of the crescent. But this new system of education is not a natural growth of our soil; it is not the result of our own longings for light and of our efforts, through trial and failure, to satisfy the inborn cravings for mental elevation. It is an exotic transplanted into our midst from a remote country, where it had its birth and where its parts were fitted up so as to suit the peculiar circumstances of the place. England and India, the West and the East, are most appropriately separated by a vast interspace of oceans and continents. The two stand as wide apart in their internal economy as in their geographical situation. The English mind nurtured up in the climate of icy winds and bleak soils must be intrinsically unlike the Indian mind accustomed to the warmth of his tropical climate and to the ease of life in the East. Our rulers inhabit a country where man lives only by unremitting toil and where repose comes only after the fatigues of labour. But our more propitious regions require less toil from us and the serenity of eastern happiness is not therefore associated with manual exertion. The man of the north lives struggling with nature, and we of the south may be said to live in amity with her and on what she freely bestows upon us. Hence it is that while the former attaches almost exclusive importance to the material side of life, we as a nation are not equally in earnest about it. The Englishman with his strong individualism, with his exuberance of physical vigour and with his pride of power is quite the reverse of the timid Hindu who

gladly merges his individuality in the circle of his family and relations, who will gaze away his time in the dreamy consciousness of inward peace and the activities of whose life are mostly in the inward recesses of the mind. Mental growth is regulated in the Englishman by the external circumstances of his physical life, while in the Hindu it used to be regulated mainly by his spiritual and moral longings.

Now what we have to consider here is whether a system of education built up to meet the requirements of a nation like the English can be adapted to our mental conditions. English character is one sided and so must be the educational system of that people. It is true that this education has brought us new mental life, and is shedding new light on our surroundings. But it dazzles us by its attractive novelty. We are alike men waking up from a dream and show a tendency to discard as unreal and illogical all that we felt and did before the present awakening. Our national life, the structure of our society and our many institutions appear to us to be unreasonable in the new light of our education. We hear of the great inventors and scientists of England, of her orators and statesmen, of her poets and philosophers ; and straight way we are anxious that we grow into that nation so that their intellectual greatness, their wealth and prowess may become ours, as well. The constitution of our social and domestic life is galling to us, because it is not what we have learnt to admire. The new phenomena of European life to which we are thus suddenly introduced fascinate us by their novelty and apparent reasonableness, and we wish we were magicians to change by a single wave of our wands our country and ourselves to something like to what we find in the new land opened to our vision.

But how to do this? Even if it can be accomplished, is it desirable that we grow every inch natives of England or France? Is it, besides, possible to change the color of our nature to what we find elsewhere? In regard to the mere externals of Western Civilisation, we can readily take them upon us. We may and do dress as the Englishman, and eat and live as he eats and lives. But can we think and act as he thinks and acts? And even if we can successfully imitate him here, will that suffice for the needs of our nature and of our nation?

True enlightenment, if our education has given it to us, should make us look about ourselves, and take correct soundings of our position before we make up our minds to steer in advance. Before we take the axe in our hands for the work of destroying the remnants of our ancient civilisation, we should take an estimate of the gaps that will be left and of the structures that should be erected to fill them up. The work of destruction is easy, but not that of construction. Old buildings unfit for habitation must necessarily be pulled down, but not the old sanctuaries in our hearts and souls where we ever kept a warm corner for our religion and morality. The over-growths of an ignorant age have to be cleared out, but not the underlying structure of solid marble, designed and perfected by the genius of a nation.

Now English education is not in its nature fitted for this work of discrimination. Western civilisation is essentially material. The necessities of physical existence have singly guided its lines of advance. The supply of the necessaries and luxuries of life has been its exclusive aim ; and the mind of man has played a part in it only so far as it is an indispensable element in that bread-and-pleasure-winning career. Rivalry among individuals and among nations for the good things of the world has been the central and operative cause of Western civilisation, and has left its indelible mark upon it. With all its visible magnificence, European civilisation, is defective on the side of morality and religion. The fleets and manufactories of Europe, its armies and fortifications, its international polity, and even the machinery of administration in each of its units, all speak clearly of only one thing,—wealth and the means of increasing it. If these nations have at times acted from higher motives, that has been only at intervals of business, when they could spare time from the one pursuit of their existence. They are moral and religious in their leisure hours, and continuously active only in the cause of material gain. To them religion is, in the language of Emerson, “a holiday guest.” He asks, “in Christendom where is the Christian?” The poet Wordsworth was fully conscious of this besetting evil of Western civilisation and has expressed that

The world is too much with us ; late and soon,  
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

\* \* \* \* \*

We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon !

If in spite of this deep-seated characteristic, European nations are found devoting their attention occasionally to the cause of morality and religion, that only shows how great their stock of energy and wealth is, and how much of their time they can in consequence give to these pursuits.

This fact, the worldly nature of the mainsprings of the modern civilization of Europe, historians of eminence have denied. They have declared that this civilization is unlike the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome and "that it is a rare exception in the history of the world." It has been asserted that the civilization of the Greeks was mainly tribal and military ; and the Romans have been accused of a policy of "organized exploitation by force and violence of weaker peoples." It is difficult for us to comprehend the real drift of these statements. Modern Europe is as militant and her nations are as ready to cut each other's throats as the petty states of Greece were in their days. Europe is armed to the teeth and each nation makes enormous sacrifices to bring up its military equipments to a level with those of its neighbours. The peace of Europe is an armed peace, no nation, whatever its strength, being so much more powerful than its possible opponents as to venture upon war on its own account. All the nations sit round the bones of contention with watchful eyes and make ample professions of peace while strengthening their military armaments. If Europe is not to-day a scene of warfare and bloodshed, it is not because of the influence of any principle of humanity unknown to the ancients, but is due entirely to the fear felt by all of retarding the accession of wealth and of destroying the machinery of industry and trade. The acquisition of wealth is the sole motive of action in the West, and the higher impulses influence those nations only in subordination to this main spring of action.

The partition of Africa is a standing disgrace to the boasted humanity of European civilization. The three powerful nations of Western Europe have entered into a division of central Africa to which the Africans themselves were no parties. They found that the natives of that continent were divided and weak, that the country was fertile and habitable to the European, and have played over again the story of the lion and the lamb. The richness of its

resources has led to the spoliation of its children by the covetous nations of Europe, and we hear of the African Empire of Uganda and Mashonland brought under the sway of Imperial England.

Does this show that there is any room for the boast of Europeans that their civilization is ethical more than intellectual? Does it show a preponderance of benevolence over selfishness? The individual, it has been said, now forgets self for the sake of others; and this tendency to self-sacrifice is asserted to be the glory of the Christian religion. The equilization of man's rights and responsibilities among the nations of Europe, and the steady increase of energy and enterprize among them have been traced not to the struggle for existence and the spread of intelligence under the stress of rivalry and competition, but to a supposed fund of altruistic feeling with which Western civilization has been equipped by the religious system on which that civilization is dependent.

Can this be the right view of Christian influence and European progress? Does history teach us that in the middle ages when the Church of Rome was supreme and the crusades were fought, and when nameless scenes were being enacted in the city of the pontiffs, whether, in those ages of feudalism and ignorance, the religious and moral impulses of Christianity were on the ascendant? Was it benevolence or the love of God that fought the Wars of the Roses or led to the bloody wars with France consequent on the unrighteous intrusion of the English king in her affairs? Was it not the impiety of the monks and the open sale of tickets to heaven that led to the revolt under Luther? Again why had not Christianity brought up the French nation which had adhered to it for wellnigh fourteen centuries, in God-fearing ways, so as to have averted the horrors of the Reign of Terror under Danton and Robespierre? If the horrors of the French Revolution were unknown in England, it was due not to the abnegation of the selfish impulses in favour of the unselfish ones, but to the timely concessions made to the people by the privileged classes and to their retreat at the proper moment from their untenable position. The tendency, now strong, to equalize the several strata of society, is due almost exclusively to the upheaval of the great unwashed and to their rising intelligence and growing unrest. There is no force in the argument that would ascribe to Christianity the whole social progress of Europe from the earliest



times. The religion of Christ, as it was taught by him, though not as it is practised by his so-called followers, has a code of moral conduct vastly superior to any that was comprised in the religions of Europe which it supplanted. The Greeks and the Romans placed midway between the East and the West had a religion neither prominently individualistic as Christianity, nor prominently Universalistic as Hinduism. Their ideas about religion were more human than divine, and they seem to have had no time to carry up their religious conceptions to their universalistic conclusions. Their ideas on religion remained therefore as tribal and local as those of the Old Testament. The short duration of their political autonomy cut short their opportunities of spiritual advancement, and their religion had no time to send down its roots into the philosophical certainties of existence, and could not therefore maintain its ground against the ascetic earnestness of early Christianity. The barbarians of Germany and of the north of Europe generally felt no hesitation in transferring their allegiance from the primitive gods of their woods and mountains to the mysterious personage exalted by the Christians high above the mountains ; and their minds succumbed without so much as a thought, to the gorgeous pageantry of Catholicism. But Western civilization however much it was helped by the new religion has had its perennial source in the character of the races of Europe modified as it is by the peculiarities of the climate, soil and geographical position of each country. It must be admitted that in the first centuries after the settlement of the barbarians in Italy and the South of Europe, the Church gave them peace by its audacious pretensions to dispose of the crowns of European countries as it chose and to settle, as the supreme arbiter of Christendom, all disputes among nations and sovereigns. It also diverted the fiery spirit of the martial races that came under its influence into the fatal plains of Palestine and thereby also strengthened the bond of brotherhood among them. Thus was secured a set of circumstances in which Europe had rest and peace, such as they were, and could concentrate its young energies on the development of its material resources.

That Christianity did no more than this is rendered obvious by the results of the acceptance of it by countries like Greece and Italy, and the states of South America. These have been enjoying

the blessings of that religion, whatever those blessings may be, now for many hundreds of years. But what is there in Christian Greece and Christian Italy to compare with pagan Greece and pagan Italy? These countries continue to stagnate to the present day or were stagnating till recently while their Christian brethren of the north-west of Europe have been advancing with rapid strides. Pagan Greece was the land of heroes. The names of Homer and Hesiod, of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, of Herodotus, Xenophon and Thucydides, of Pericles and Aristides, and of a host of others who maintain to this day their "soveran" greatness, these names rise to our lips at the very mention of Greece. Where and what are the descendants of this galaxy of the elect of the human race? The mountains and seas that nurtured their high souls are still there. But 'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more;

We start, for soul is wanting there.

Paganism, the worship of Jupiter and Apollo, stood not in the way of its greatness, but Christianity has not succeeded in making it a prosperous nation, much less in bringing back to it its former glory. Greece and Italy accepted the Christian religion early in its career of conquest; and theirs was no half-hearted acceptance of it. But the new religion has not raised them up even to a level of prosperity with the other nations of Europe. It must have taught them long ago its lesson of universal benevolence and weaned them off from the selfish and military spirit laid at the door of their ancient civilizations. But this lesson seems to have borne no fruit whatever; and the only explanation is that the Greeks and even the Italians have not yet been brought fully within the sphere of rivalry and competition for material wealth on which alone is dependant the civilization of the West.

Italy was the stronghold of the Christian religion till the period of the Reformation. The Popes, who were the sole custodians of its virtues, lived and ruled in Italy. The first stir of the Revival of Learning was experienced in that country and it spread to the rest of Europe from it as a centre. Yet it remained a land of dormant greatness, "less wretched if less fair," till very recent years,

While aye her pipers sadly piped of her  
 Until their proper breaths, in that extreme  
 Of sighing, split the reed on which they played.

Her emancipation came to her from the genius of a warrior statesman who welded her divided territories into one solid kingdom and whose promptings came to him not from Christianity, but in spite of it.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples, as the same tale is told by Spain and Portugal, Germany and Russia and by the united countries of the Christian continent of South America. The dogma that Europe progressed in the past and is progressing now because of the Christian unselfishness of its peoples must appear to be peculiarly a perversion of truth to Indian minds. To us with what we know of European politics, this boast must appear strange. Our sacrifices for the fortifications and strategic railways on the north-western frontier of our country against the ever-expected invasion of the land by the Christian emperor of all the Russias, the occupation of Burma and the extermination of the so-called dacoits of that country, and the many other little affairs which our Government now and then finds on its hands, make it a hard morsel for us to swallow, if we are told to believe that European civilization is unreasonably unselfish under the influence of Christianity.

I have been so long endeavouring to impress upon you the true nature of that civilization to which we owe the system of education now prevailing in this country. This system is exactly what that civilization has made it to be, or rather what has brought about that civilization. It is essentially an education fitted only to develop the material side of our nature; and its effect on the moral and religious elements in us is not and cannot be what it ought to be. It should not be supposed that this defect in it is due to the peculiar position our Government has to take up in this country in the matter of education, because of the divergence of religion between the rulers and the ruled. It cannot, even if it wills it, change its nature, and the stamp on it of the materiality of Western civilization is ineradicable.

I have, I believe, succeeded in showing that, a godsend as this English education is in the special circumstances of our age, it is yet ill-adapted to develop to the fullest extent the whole of our nature, and that this defect in it is due to the source from which we get it; and it must be clear that we should try our best to supplement it, therefore, with help from other sources. Western Education

being material to the core, and the religion of the West being but an accident working only on the outskirts of Western civilization, the system of education that has grown up on such foundations must labour under similar disadvantages. And we should fall back, therefore, upon ourselves and upon the strength of our own national life, to remedy the evil. We should try to get over the irrational pride of youthful conceit that would discard the ancient lore of the land as antiquated and impractical. It is this unpractical side of education that is important for us as human beings. If we have anything in us more than the body, if there is in us an immortal spirit which alone makes us what we are, then a due attention to its present nature and future hopes, unpractical though it may appear to be, is yet what we cannot afford to neglect. Remember that India is no young land, like the United States of America, but has monuments and traditions that take back her history to many thousands of years. And

Great men have been among us; hands that penned  
And tongues that uttered wisdom—better none.  
Remember that, In everything we are sprung  
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Human institutions result from a complexity of causes and man's mind is not merely a bread-desiring entity. It has other yearnings which all nations in their wiser moments have placed and even now do place in the forefront of human aspirations. You will find the first place assigned to morality and religion even by the wealth-carnying civilization of the West at moments of temporary relaxation from that pursuit. Its poets have sung

Of truth, of grandeur, beauty, love and hope,  
Of blessed consolation in distress,  
Of moral strength and intellectual power,  
Of the individual mind that keeps her own  
Inviolate retirement, subject there  
To conscience only, and the law supreme  
Of that Intelligence which governs all.

I regret that I have no time, even if I have the ability, to turn to the constructive side of the question, and point out where and how we should seek for help in this our sad plight. I shall only repeat the warning against the dangers of trusting too much to the

---

so-called enlightenment of your present system of education which starves out your ethical and religious natures. I would only repeat the old-fashioned request that you should think before you act, and that you should approach the sacred institutions of our ancient Hindustan not with the irreverance of the iconoclast, but with the meekness of the humble enquirer into the mysteries of existence and the solemnities of the universal Lord. Remember that we "stem across the sea of life by night"; and that our soul should be well-knit to enable us to win life's battles and mount to eternal life. Nurse up your national spirit that its wings may soar up again to the immortal heights known to your ancestors. Beware of the danger lurking in the honeyed words of our interested opponents. They are strangers imbued with the dogmas of a materialised god and cannot understand and appreciate either the inborn tendencies of the reticent Hindu or the innate majesty of his divine religion. Beware of the means they employ to get you under their influence, to spread their coils round your inexperienced hearts and draw their net tightly round you, depriving you of the power, nay, of the desire for freedom. But I have faith in you and in our nation. The Mahametan swept unopposed over the countries of Asia but fell back baffled in his mission of religious propogandism only when confronted by the philosophical firmness of Hindustan. I have no doubt that the minds of our youths will naturally return into themselves as soon as the first flush of the new cult of selfishness in the disguise of reason is over. I sit down requesting you to remember that "the aids to noble life are all within" and that there is not a man

That lives who hath not known his god-like hours,  
And feels not what an empire we inherit  
As natural beings in the strength of nature.

N. VAITIIANADHAN.

---

## HWEN-THSANG : THE CHINESE PILGRIM.

[The books consulted in preparing this paper are : Julien's French translation of the Chinese account of Hwen-Thsang's Life and Travels by Hoëli and Yen-Thsong, Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Yule's notes on the Travels of Hwen-Thsang in Vol. VI., of the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Fergusson's article on Hwen-Thsang's route from Patna to Vallabhi in same volume and the article on Hwen-Thsang in the Encyclopædia Britannica—Ninth Edition.]

Hwen-Thsang was born in the district of Keushi near Hónan Fu in the year 605 A. D. He was the youngest of four sons and showed signs of great intelligence from very childhood. His father reading to him one day out of a book of filial piety came to the passage where the pupil Tseng-tseu leaves his seat to honor his teacher Confucius; when the little eight-year-old fellow rose and on being asked why, said, "When Tseng-tseu received instruction from the master, he left his seat and rose up to revere him. Is it for Hwen-Thsang to remain seated when receiving such gracious lessons from you?"

The father, it may be believed, was charmed and augured future greatness for such a towardly child, wise and reverent beyond his years. And the child did not belie the early promise. The passion for study grew with the child's growth and not even the attractions of young men and maids joining in great crowds to assist in public festivities would make him stir out of his study.

An elder brother of Hwen-Thsang who had settled as a monk at Lo-yang in Hanan gave him the ply which settled his future career. He too became a monk and took his residence with his brother at Lo-yang. While there the doctrine of Nirvana was explained to him. He applied himself to the study with such ardour that he hardly found time for sleep or meals. His fame as a religious student and later on as an expounder of religious truths grew apace. Going to the Convent at Kingchu to resolve his doubts, he is honored with consultations by various learned monks. The King of Han-Yang hears of a conference where Hwen-Thsang is to play a prominent part and forthwith he proceeds with his courtiers to hear him. Many are the sages assembled on the occasion. The

young monk has an easy victory over them all. The king struck with admiration wanted to load him with presents, but he would accept none.

Finding that many difficulties of doctrine which occurred to him in studies could not be cleared up by the sages in China, Hwen-Thsang wanted to travel to India to study the doctrines of Buddha at the fountain-head. So he and some others who were of the same mind with him petitioned to the emperor to be permitted to travel to India. The emperor refused permission. All but Hwen-Thsang gave up the project. But he nothing daunted pursued his inquiries about the route and resolved to go by himself rather than give up the long-cherished plan of a pilgrimage to India.

Encouraged by an auspicious dream, he started from Liang-Cheu on the eighth month of the third year of the period of Ching-kwong, *i. e.*, according to Cunningham's calculation, on the 1st of August, 629. Eluding the vigilance of the border official he arrives at Kua-Cheu. He learns there the dangerous nature of the journey before him. The horse on which he travelled so far dies there and the inquiries of the government spies about a monk who had left Liang-cheu secretly do not add to his comfort.

The governor of the place wanting to favour the traveller advises him to depart secretly and he quits the place. He furnishes himself with another horse and picks up some guides on the way. The guides leave him when he reaches the sandy desert which extends to the north and the north-west of the Soulaiho (the Edzina of our maps).

The journey through the desert was full of many trials for the solitary traveller. He had to guide himself by the bleaching bones of those who had journeyed before him or by the dung of horses which had served to carry such way-farers. The mirage played him many a trick. All at once it would appear as though there were hundreds of soldiers covering the plain, all mounted on camels or horses richly caparisoned. This scene would give place to another and yet another one equally delusive. The pilgrim devoutly prayed to be saved from the demons whose work these illusions seemed to be.

After crossing the desert of Gobi with unheard of difficulties, the intrepid Chinaman reaches Igu (the Khamil of our maps). Then

passing by Karachar and Kouche, he travels along the southern part of the Thian-Shan range of mountains. Here is the traveller's description of the mountain Ling-Chan (near the sources of the Sir Daria): "The summit of the mountain reaches as high as the sky. Since the beginning of the world the snow has been accumulating and has been changed into blocks of ice which melt neither in spring nor in summer. Sheets of hard and glittering ice were seen spread out one on another till they got confounded with the clouds. The spectator is dazzled with the brilliancy. There are met with ice-clad peaks stooping on the sides of the route, some being hundred feet high and others dozens of feet thick. As they were not to be crossed without difficulty, neither might they be ascended without peril. Add to this squalls of winds and whirl-pools of snow the traveller is assailed by every moment and in such sort that even the lined shoes and the furcoats of the way-farer are not able to keep him from shivering in the cold."

It occupied the traveller seven days to traverse the difficult gorges of the mountain and fourteen of the escort that accompanied him along the base of the range died from the inclemency of the weather. Then he arrived on the shores of a great lake which has been identified as Lake Issikul. The Khan of the country is very gracious to the Pilgrim and treats him with the greatest respect. He is persuaded by the genial presence of the Buddhist enthusiast to renounce the worship of fire and embrace Buddhism. When Hwen-Thsang departs the Khan sends with him one versed in the local dialects and the Chinese tongue to accompany our traveller as far as Kapisa (the modern Kushan).

From the lake region the Chinaman proceeds to Tashkend and thence to Samarkand where also he finds the practice of fire worship. He converts the king to the Buddhist religion and the people follow suit. At Hwo\* which he next reaches he has to stop for a month on account of the funerals of the king. From there he goes to Bactra (Balkh), passes through the kingdom of Gatchi (valley drained by the Durya?) and traversing some snow covered mountains reaches Bamian. He spends at the latter place fifteen days visiting Buddhistic remains.

---

\* Cunningham identifies it with Khulu and Yule with Kunduz.



Departing from that place he has to cross the Hindu Kush before reaching Kapisa. The whole of summer is spent at Kapisa. The king of the country pleased with the controversial skill and the profound knowledge of Hwen-Thsang presents him with five pieces of plain silk.

Lamghan, Nagarahara and Gandhara mark the next stages of the Pilgrim's advance towards India. Nagarahara has been identified with Jelalabad and Gandhara with the district north of Kabul having Peshawar for its Capital. Leaving Peshawar the Chinaman proceeds to Utakhanda which M. Julien identifies with Attock and Cunningham with Ohind a few miles above Attock.

From here commences that portion of the Pilgrim's progress which is of the greatest interest to us.

The first region of India that the traveller examines is the doab between the Indus and the Jhelum.\* The traditional holiness of the region is attested by innumerable edifices dedicated to the Buddhistic religion and its ministers and by the multitude of *stupas* found therein. Hwen-Thsang next proceeds to Kashmir. The king, hearing of the intended visit, sends his uncle with chariots and horses to receive him with due honor. The religious men of the place are warned by a dream of the great Chinaman's arrival. They are shamed out of their lethargy and apply themselves to pious duties. When the Pilgrim had come very near the Capital, the king and his courtiers and the monks from the *viharas* advanced to welcome him. The road was covered with standards and umbrellas and all the way was bestrewn with sweet and odorous flowers. When the king came before Hwen-Thsang, he overwhelmed him with praises and strewed as a mark of respect a great quantity of flowers before him. Then mounting him on a big elephant the king returned to the capital and lodged the guest in Jayendra Vihara built by his father-in-law.

Here our hero diligently applied himself to the studies of the *Sastras* under the guidance of an *Acharya* who was delighted with the rare intelligence and the unconquerable energy of his pupil. The king engages many copyists to get for the traveller manuscript copies of many rare works not to be had in China.

---

\* This is the view of M. Julien here followed. Cunningham supposes the place to be Swat, (Kafistan) on the further side of the Indus.

After a stay of two years in Kashmir, during which he visits all the sacred monuments of his religion, Hwen-Thsang takes leave of the king and the monks, and crossing many mountains and torrents arrives at Punch in Oct. 633. We have next to follow our traveller from Punch to Rajpura or Rajaori and thence to Jayapura and Sakala. Soon after Hwen-Thsang's leaving the last place the usual monotony of the journey is broken (agrecably for us) by an attack of robbers on the party of our Pilgrim as they were traversing a grove of Palasa trees (*Butea Frondosa*). After easing the travellers of their robes and provisions, the brigands pursue the party sword in hand up to a tank. Arrived there the *Sramanas* (the Buddhist pilgrims) find the bed dry and covered with thorny bushes. Afraid of loss of life as they were, they break through the bushes and finding underneath a large cavern they all conceal themselves in it. After the robbers go away they come out and run south-east. The tale of distress reaching the ears of a Brahmin-field-labourer, he runs to the village and summons the people to pursue the robbers. But it was all too late and there was no overtaking the robbers. Their victims are then attended to: they are clothed and fed. The Master of the Law—as our traveller is called often in the Chinese biography—preaches the Buddhist doctrine to the people and saves them from error. This business occupies him a month. From this place he goes to Chinapati or Haibat (according to Cunningham) where he remains the whole of the year 634.

The next important place the traveller reaches is Mathura (Muttra). Going from there along the banks of the Jumna he arrives at Thaneshvar and proceeding thence eastward to Srughna halts there for winter and spring. Part of spring and the whole of summer are taken up by the pilgrim's studies at Mandawar or Mandor in Rohilcund. After visiting some of the neighbouring kingdoms Hwen-Thsang comes to Kanoj. The last king was a Vaisya of the name of Harshavardhana. When he was killed by the neighbouring King of Karna-Suvarna his younger brother Siladitya succeeded him. The pacific reign of the prince promoted the happiness of the people. Every year he fed a number of the monks or the *religiosi* 3 or 7 days and every five years he held an assembly (called Moksha Mahaparichat) and distributed alms. Hwen-Thsang

stayed at Kanoj for three months and busied himself with religious studies.

Then he next proceeded to Ayodhya. While travelling in that province he was well-nigh made a victim to Kali by certain robber-devotees of hers. In their search after a fitting victim for their favourite deity they lighted upon the party of Hwen-Thsang and struck by the noble and distinguished air of the Pilgrim resolved to sacrifice him on the altar. The Master of the Law pleaded to be spared, explaining to them the objects of his mission. But the chieftain unmoved wanted the men to proceed to the sacrifice. betraying not the least fear or emotion, Hwen requested a respite for a few minutes to prepare himself for *Nirvana*. He was allowed the request. He prayed devoutly to Buddha and a feeling of exceeding peace and joy bathed his soul and he remained unconscious of the fate that awaited him. All at once a sudden storm arose tore up the trees by the roots and caused the sands to whirl. The robbers struck with terror learn all about his greatness and let him go.

Among the places visited next by our traveller were Prayag (Allahabad), then, as now, held sacred, Kapilavastu where Buddha was born, Kusinagara where he died and Varnasi where he first began to preach. Thence he went to Tirhut, visited Vaisali, made an excursion to Nepal and returning by Vaisali crossed the Ganges and came to Magada—the part of India about which we have the fullest information. If we recall the fact that Magadha corresponds with Bihar the derivation of which from *Vihara* (a Buddhist monastery) tells us that the Buddhist religion was strong there, we shall not be surprised at the wealth of detail that the Buddhist pilgrim from China has lavished on this part of his itinerary. ‘There is not,’ says M. Julien, ‘there is not in all the vast territory to which the traveller dedicated five whole years, a single religious edifice, a single *Stupa* or commemorative pyramid, a single *Vihara* or convent that the narrative does not mention with details often very circumstantial.’ The later researches of scholars fully confirm the account of the Chinese traveller and we are enabled to reconstruct in some detail the map of this part of India in ancient times.

I shall content myself with giving a sample or two of the stories the traveller has diligently gathered about the places he visited.

To the east of Ramagrama was a *Stupa* containing the relics of Buddha. Near it was a tank of dragons. These would often change themselves into men and go respectfully round the *Stupa*. And savage elephants would often come with flowers and strew them round about the *Stupa* in honor of the relics.\* A Bhikshu or mendicant called his fellow disciples to pay their respects to the *Stupa*. On their arriving near the place they noticed how the elephants culled the flowers, weeded the soil with their teeth and watered the ground with their trunks. The spectacle astonished and moved them exceedingly. 'The elephants serve piously Buddha thus. Shall man do less?' said the Bhikshu. And he made himself a habitation, planted a flower garden there and worked hard at it. The neighbouring princes moved by his devotion gave him rich gifts wherewith he might beautify the *Stupa*. There is no end of such Puranic stories in the narrative of the life of Hwen-Tsang.

Our hero now spent a great part of his time in the monastery of Nalanda which did the same service to the Buddhist religion that Cluny or Clairvaux did to the Catholic religion. He perfected there his knowledge of Sanskrit and the outline of the grammar given in the life may be appreciated for faithfulness even by the beginner.

From Magadha our traveller proceeds through Champa (now Pathargata on the Ganges—Cunningham) Kanjkol (eighteen miles to the South of Rajamahar) and Poundravardhana\* to Kamrup (Asam). Turning southward Hwen proceeded to Samatata or the Gangetic delta and passed by the coast town of Tamrilipti.† From this last place he wanted to go to Ceylon in which there were many men versed in the doctrines of the Buddhist religion. But before he began the journey he met with an Indian monk of the South who advised him to go further South and then take ship to Ceylon.

Accordingly the Master of the Law proceeded to Charitrapura § and thence to Orissa.

The Pilgrim's travels take him southward along the coast line of the Bay of Bengal except when he makes excursions into the

*Cf.*—The story of the pious elephant which gives the name according to popular etymology to Kalahasti.

\* *i. e.* Burdwan says M. Julien and Pubna says Cunningham.

† *i. e.* Tamruk—Cunningham and Dutt. Dr. Fergusson thinks otherwise.

§ Tamrilipti and Charitrapura, both coast towns near the mouths of the Ganges; Charitrapura is Tamrak according to Fergusson,

interior of Maha Kosala and Jorya. In his first departure into the interior to Mahakosala (Central India) Dr. Fergusson supposes Hwen to have left higher up than Rajamahendri whence Mr. Cunningham supposes him to have proceeded. He returns again to the Coast near Bezwada. Again he goes from there to Jorya near where the Tungabhadra joins the Kristna. Then he takes a south-easterly route and reaches Kanchipuram. This is generally identified with the place of pilgrimage of the same name in the Chingleput district. But Dr. Fergusson is inclined to make Kanchipuram nearly identical with Negapatam in the Tanjore District. The description given by the Chinese writers countenances the theory of Dr. Fergusson. "The town of Kanchi is situated *on a port of the sea* at the point of Southern India *in face of the kingdom of Sinhala*, where one might arrive after three days of navigation."

Here our friend met three *religiosi* from Ceylon who on being asked by him as to the state of the country warned him from going to it as it was in a disturbed state owing to the death of Raja Buna Mugalan in 639. So he gives up the project of going to Ceylon and strikes off in a western direction. He hears of Melakuta situated near the sea extremely rich and abounding in products as rich as various (Madura evidently) and Malaya (Malabar) where grow the Tchantanipo (sandal trees). The wood, says the traveller, is like the white poplar. As it is very cool, a great number of serpents attach themselves to it in summer. But when winter returns, they conceal themselves in the ground. This is what serves to distinguish that species of sandal—adds the traveller.

An interesting account is given of how the name of Sinhala arose. A daughter of one of the Kings of South India being affianced in marriage to a neighbouring prince was going through a forest in the course of her journey to her husband's kingdom. A lion crossing the path of the princess and her party, the servants who formed the escort fled in terror in different directions and left the princess alone. The beast approached the helpless beauty, took her on his back and fled far into the caverns of a mountain. Safely housing her, the lion played the host admirably by bringing her, daily, fruits and animals slain in the chase to serve as food for her. Thus supported and living with the lion the young princess brought forth after some years a boy and a girl. Though the children were

human in shape, their character was violent and ferocious. The son when grown to a man's estate asked his mother how he was to class himself—with the beast as his father was or with his human mother. She then narrated her unhappy story. The son asked her why they should not flee and live by themselves. The mother was quite willing to escape and she waited only for an opportunity. Then they all fled and sought for the father of the princess. The family had become extinct. Then finding themselves without shelter they lived as best they could in the far off woods.

On his return, the lion, finding his wife and children gone, grew ferocious and slaughtered many men and women in his fury. The king of the country on being informed of the ravages of the lion made a proclamation of reward to whoever might kill the lion. Meanwhile the princess and the children being reduced to the last stage of famine, the son said he would slay the lion and claim the reward. He accordingly went forth in pursuit of the lion, and the lion espying him was glad of his approach and remained quiet. The son taking advantage of this cut the throat of the father lion. When the king heard the truth, he gave the promised present but banished the mother and the hybrid family from the kingdom. They were put in different ships and sent to drift at the mercy of the waves. The ship in which was the son reached the Island and he settled there. The Island came to be known as Sinhala—the island of the lion's son. \*

The ship of the daughter went westward and got stranded in Polasse or Persia. There she came into the power of demons and her union with them resulted in a multitude of daughters. The kingdom, says the traveller, is called at present the Kingdom of the Daughters of the West. Knowing as we do the strong belief the people of Malabar have in demons and also the position of importance which women occupy in families there, the name would rather seem applicable to Malabar. Mr. Logan in his Malabar Manual is inclined to identify the place with the Laccadives.

To return to our traveller ; he goes through Konkan and Maharashtra. The Mahrattas, says Hwen-Thsang, hold honour and

---

\* The etymology of Sinhala may be about as correct as the popular etymology of Brasenose College which has caused the affixing of a brass-nose to the front of the College.

duty in high estimation and are not afraid of death. The King is of the race of Kshatriyas. He has martial tastes and puts in the first rank glory in arms. If a general is defeated in battle he is given the dress of woman. So the men prefer death to dishonor.

Hwen-Thsang crosses the Narbada and visits Barouche. From there he travels to Malwa, the inhabitants impressing him as sweet and polished in manners and fond of culture. Vallabhi, the next important town reached by the traveller, is placed by Cunningham in the peninsula of Guzerat and by Fergusson more to the north near Mount Abu. Dhrevapatu, son-in-law of Siladitya, was the reigning Kshatriya King. He used each year to have a religious assembly to which came the most renowned men from various parts of India.

Anandapura identified by M. St. Martin with Barnagor, Sourashtra or Guzerat, Gurjara or West Rajputana, Ujain and Mahesvarapura (now Mandala) next see our traveller. Returning from the last place to Guzerat, Hwen next proceeds northward, visits several places near and about Scinde and reaches Multan. He finds the inhabitants worshipping Aditya or the Sun-God. The temple of the God, says the traveller, is a magnificent building. The statue or idol is of molten gold and ornamented with all sorts of precious stones. The inhabitants of neighbouring kingdoms come in great crowds to address their prayers to the God.

Travelling about 120 miles east of Multan, the Master of the Law reaches the kingdom of Parvata. There he studies under the directions of learned men the *Sastras* for two months in a famous convent adjoining the town. After the two month's stay he returns once more to the monastery of Nalanda (now Baragaon) near Gaya. He makes a diligent study of the *Sastras* for the solution of his doubts.

We next find our Chinaman spending his time as an earnest religious student in the Yatchivana Giri under famous teachers like Jayasena and Cilabhadra. He has a controversial victory over Simharasmi. He has yet another controversy with a Brahmin champion of the Lokayatas. The Brahmin formulated the tenets of the particular sect in forty articles and suspended them at the gate of the convent saying, "If any one should refute the truth of a single article, I shall allow him to cut off my head in token of his

victory." Some days passed without any person responding to the insolent challenge of the Brahmin. Then the Master of the Law sent a monk bidding him take down the writing and tread it under foot. The incensed Brahmin asked the Pilgrim who he was to have the writing treated with such scant courtesy. "I am", said Hwen-Thsang, "the slave of Mahayanadeva" (*i. e.*, follower of the Great Vehicle.) The Brahmin who had known him long by his reputation was filled with confusion and dared not carry on the discussion with him. The Master of the Law would not let him slip out and a discussion was carried on between both under the auspices of Cilabhadra. In the course of the discussion Hwen-Thsang thus described the different sects of heretical Brahmins that existed at the time: "The *Bhutās* rub their bodies with ashes and imagine that they thereby do an act of great merit. Their skin is of a livid white as that of a cat which lay in a chimney. The *Nirgranthās* believe it a great merit to go about naked and fancy it an act of virtue to pull away the hair. Their skins are cut up and their feet hard and cracked, like rotten trees on the banks of rivers. The *Kapalikas* have chaplets of skullbones which they put round their heads or necks. They dwell in caves in the rocks like demons haunting the tombs. As for the *Joutikas* they carry on their backs vestments dirty with ordure and they eat of putrified meat and corrupt viands. They are as infectious and loathsome as hogs wallowing in drains." The last sect seems to be the same as the Aghorapanthis one of which sect Monier Williams saw at Benares. \*

The Master of the Law passed in review the chief points of Sankhya and Vaiseshika systems and demonstrated easily their ridiculousness and absurdity. The Brahmin was thoroughly crushed down by the reasoning and had not a single word to say by way of reply. At last he rose and said: "Now that I have been vanquished in argument you are welcome to take advantage of my agreement and cut off my head." "We, children of Sakya," said the Master of the Law, "we do no evil to men. Now I will content myself with making you a slave bound to obey my will." The Brahmin, it is said, was transported with joy and followed Hwen-Thsang with the greatest respect.

---

\* p. 94 Religious Thought and Life in India.



While in this convent an astrologer of the sect of *Nirgranthas* comes to the convent and is asked by Hwen-Thsang what time it would take for him to return to China and if he would return without any mishap. The *Nirgrantha* takes a piece of chalk and traces different lines on the ground and tells him of a happy future. "I desire to return quickly," says Hwen-Thsang, "but as I carry a great number of books and statues, I do not know if I shall have a happy journey." "Do not you disquiet yourself," replies the astrologer, "the Kings Siladitya and Kumara will send an escort; be sure you will reach home without any accident." "How may that be? I have not seen the two kings up to this moment. How will they deign to do me such a service?" "King Kumara" says the astrologer, "has already sent messengers to get you to his court. They will arrive in two or three days. After seeing King Kumara you will also see King Siladitya."

As the astrologer said, so it came to pass. The Master of the Law wanting to return to China began his preparations for departure and carefully packed his books and statues. As the news spread, the *religiosi* ran to him and exhorted him to stay in the land of Buddha and not to return to China where only *mlechas* ignorant of the Law live. Hwen-Thsang would not stay as the very object of his mission was to spread the truths of Buddhism among his countrymen. Cilabhadra and others could not but admit the reasonableness of the Pilgrim's views and did not stand in the way of his future plans.

Meanwhile messengers came from Kumara, King of Kamarupa or Assam, with pressing invitations for the Master of the Law. Hwen-Thsang accordingly goes there and is received with every mark of honor. Each day he is offered a banquet to the accompaniment of music. He has flowers spread and sweet-smelling spices burnt before him and he is given all sorts of rich gifts. This brilliant reception lasts for a month.

King Siladitya of Magadha returning from his expedition against the King of Kanyodha hears of Hwen-Thsang's stay at Kamarupa and wishing to see him sends a message to King Kumara to bring the Master of the Law with him to his court. On hearing this, Kumara said he would rather lose his head than comply with the request. A more threatening message from Magadha

brings him to his senses. Then accompanied by Hwen-Thsang he goes to Magadha. On his arrival the Master of the Law is duly honored. Siladitya prostrating himself before him kisses his feet with respect. Then he spreads flowers before him and contemplating the Master with ecstasy heaps praises on him. Hwen-Thsang explains why he was unable to come to him earlier and tells him of the glories of the Emperor of China. The King expresses his admiration for a controversial treatise our Pilgrim had written against the heretics.

In the beginning of winter Siladitya attended by Hwen-Thsang proceeded to Kanoj to attend the religious assembly to be held there. As many as eighteen kings of Central India came to honor the assembly. Three thousand *religiosi* following the Great or the Little Vehicle \*, two thousand Brahmins and Nirgranthas and about a thousand monks of the convent of Nalanda came to witness the religious discussions. There came also to hear the true accents of the Law the great sages renowned as well for their vast knowledge as for their powers of eloquence. They were accompanied by a large number of followers. Some came on elephants others in palanquins and each group had its own banners and standards.

The assembly spread over miles of ground. There were two vast palaces each accommodating a thousand persons. The King's tent was pitched a mile to the west of the assembly hall.

On the morning of the assembly day there was a procession from the King's tent to the hall. Heading the procession was a large image of Buddha of molten gold placed on a dais inlaid with precious stones and mounted on an elephant. King Siladitya with a white *Chamara* came on the right dressed as Indra. Kumara came on the left side of the image carrying a rich silk umbrella and he had the costume of Brahma. Both wore rich crowns worthy of the divine personages they represented and adorned with flowers and precious stones. They were followed by elephants 'endorsed' † with baskets of flowers which they strewed about as they advanced.

The Master of the Law and the officers of the palace mounted also on elephants came immediately after the Kings. Then followed in rows three hundred elephants on which were mounted the

---

\* Different schools of Buddhism.

† Elephants *endorsed* with towers.—Milton.

other kings and their ministers and celebrated religious men from different kingdoms chanting the praises of Buddha.

After the figure was duly installed in the assembly hall, there was a feast for all the men assembled and rich presents were given to Hwen-Thsang and the *religiosi*. After the distribution of gifts, the Master of the Law seated himself at the request of King Siladitya on a richly ornamented chair as president of the solemn conference. Before opening the discussion he caused a small abstract of the doctrine of the Great Vehicle to be suspended at the gate with the challenge: "If a single word in this be shown erroneous and capable of being refuted I forfeit my head to the victor in the argument."

The writing remained suspended till the evening nobody daring to accept the challenge. Then all the men returned to their respective lodgings for the night.

Next day they reassembled and the discussions began and continued for four days. Hwen-Thsang spoke in support of the doctrines of the Great Vehicle and had victory over his opponents. A plot formed against his life by the envious vanquished was promptly crushed by the proclamation of Siladitya. The partisans of error ran away in fright on hearing the proclamation. On the last day of the assembly Hwen-Thsang praised with enthusiasm the merits and virtues of Buddha.

When the assembly breaks up our Pilgrim wants to take leave of Siladitya who requests him to accompany him to a quinquennial assembly he holds at Prayag. They all proceed to Prayag and there is the same magnificence displayed as at Kanoj and the distribution of gifts are if possible more lavish to the *religiosi*, the Brahmins, the poor and the orphans. This assembly lasts for seventy-five days.

Then with the greatest difficulty Hwen-Thsang persuades Siladitya and Kumara to allow him to return to his country. They agree most unwillingly to let him go, accompany him on his way for some miles and take leave of him with tears and sighs. A strong escort is placed at the disposal of the Chinaman to lessen the difficulties of the journey and letters are dispatched to different kings to make them attend to the conveniences of the traveller.

After visiting Kosambi, our hero proceeds through Jalandhar, Sinhapuram (Ketar, according to Cunningham) and Taxila, and crosses the Indus at Utakhanda. This he does in December 643. As he entered India in December 630, his sojourn in India comes exactly to thirteen years. The return route of our traveller from India takes us through Lamghan, Ghazni and Kapisa (where is held a religious assembly which Hwen-Thsang attends), over the Hindu Kush, through the valley of Badakshan, over the Pamir Plateau and across the kingdoms of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan.

Entering China at Cha-Chow, Hwen-Thsang writes from there to the Emperor who was then at Lo-yang. The traveller has a magnificent reception and is treated with great favour by his sovereign. Though entreated by him to assist him in the affairs of the state, Hwen-Thsang remains true to his first love and pleads that the books and the manuscripts he has brought from India need all his attention and that he is busy translating them. His application to this work is so great that his health suffers. The Emperor sends the palace-physician and requests him to take a short respite from his labours. Accordingly Hwen-Thsang takes a holiday and revisits the place of his birth and he learns from his sister, the only surviving member of the family, of the death of his parents and does in honour of the departed all that a pious Chinaman should do.

On his return, the Master of the Law was made to reside by the Emperor at a magnificent convent where he was attended by a number of reverent disciples. He here resumed his literary labours to which death alone put an end. Though not full of years, for he was only fifty-nine at the time of his death, he died full of honours in the year 664.

Thus imperfectly have I tried to give an account of the life of a religious student who was actuated by an idea and remained true to it to the end. The tenets of his religion may not commend itself to us. We actually find that the religion of Buddha had come to resemble perilously near the Hindu religion it came to protest against. The worship paid to the idols of the Hindu Trinity and the other gods of the Hindu Pantheon was transferred to the relics of Buddha. To say that Hwen-Thsang could see nothing wrong in this is merely to say that he was not above the influence of his

surroundings. But we can admire the enthusiasm which animated the man, the faith which—if it did not exactly move mountains—at least enabled him to climb them under circumstances of unusual difficulties, the singlemindedness of purpose which made him return to China to give his countrymen the beneficent knowledge he had gained from his travels for all the pressing invitations of the Indian princes to make him stay in India, and above all the absolute faithfulness with which he followed the ideal of life he had formed for himself in early life.

RAMANATHA IYER, M. A.

*Pachaiyappa's College.*

---

## INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN MODERN INDIA.

PERHAPS the greatest reproach cast against our English educated men of the present day is, that they are not original. In convocation addresses, in public speeches and in the columns of the Native and Anglo-Indian press, we often hear the complaint, that our B. A's and M. A's who are year after year turned out by the Universities in large numbers have not discovered any new machinery for the furtherance of human comforts and have made no original contributions to literature, philosophy and science. Sir Monstuart Grant Duff in his address to the graduates of the Madras University greatly deplored that our graduates do not engage themselves in any original researches. He paid very little compliment to what is called the system of higher education when he remarked in plain language. "You show us your machinery, your University, your schools and much else; you are obviously spending a great deal of money upon what you describe as the 'Higher Education,' but where are your results? If you tell us that you get better government officials and that you have even taught some young men to abuse, in fair English, in the newspapers, we reply, that is all very well if it assists or amuses you, but how does it help *us*, how does it add to the stock of the world's knowledge? We freely grant that your English orientalists and other men of science have done much, but there must be something wrong in the turn you have given to your higher education if you have not created even a desire on the part of South India to learn and to tell more about themselves and the country in which they live." A few years back, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his address to the Graduates of the University of Bombay greatly lamented that our educated men showed no zeal or ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. Sir Lepel Griffin, in the pages of the Asiatic Quarterly speaking on this subject, remarked in his usual pungent style.

"The profound and extensive learning of the man who takes first rank in the scientific and literary world of England, is as far as the Sirius above the culture of the University student of India. His learning is superficial to an extraordinary degree and although

many naturally clever men have passed through the educational mill, I do not remember in the last quarter of a century, a single work written by a native of India on any subject of general, literary political or scientific interest which could fairly take rank with productions of the second or even the third class in England. In poetry, natural science, political economy logic, philosophy, history, fiction, medicine, the intellectual field is barren," and he went on to add that "potential depths of originality may be concealed in the Indian people, but so far they have had no external expression."

It will thus be seen that this complaint of the absence of originality in us is by no means confined to a single Presidency, but is heard throughout India. Now the gist of all these complaints is that at present there is no intellectual life in this country ; that amongst educated Indians, "that constant preference for higher thoughts over lower thoughts," which is characteristic of intellectual life is entirely absent ; that "that virtue which delights in vigorous and beautiful thinking," is almost nowhere to be found ; that the Indian mind is not in that condition in which it once was, in which it seeks earnestly for the highest and purest truth, that very few of our educated men love knowledge for its own sake, that they look upon University honors only in a sordid light, that they value the University titles only for their commercial value, that as a matter of fact our graduates have introduced into the temple of learning the spirit of the market and the Exchange ! ! We are told that of very few of our graduates can it be said.

The purpose of his life—its end and aim  
 The search of hidden truth, careless of fame,  
 Of empty dignities, and dirty pelf.  
 Learning he loved, and sought her for herself.

Now at the outset we feel bound to remark that this complaint of the absence of intellectual life has been to a great extent overdone. To say, for instance, that the Indian intellect is utterly barren and that within the last quarter of a century no single work has been written which could fairly rank with productions of the second or even third class in England is nothing but a piece of exaggeration—perhaps in some cases wilful. For within the last quarter of this century many original works have been written by Indians which have called forth the admiration of many western

thinkers and scholars of repute. We can proudly point to the poems, of the late lamented Toru Dutt. Speaking of this lady Mr. Edmond Gosse remarks. "It is difficult to estimate what we have lost in the premature death of Toru Dutt. Literature has no honours which need have been beyond the grasp of a girl who at the age of 21 and in languages separated from her own by so deep a chasm had produced so much of lasting worth..... When the history of the literature of our country comes to be written, there is sure to be a page in it dedicated to this fragile, exotic blossom of song." Professor DeMorgan the great mathematician refers to the "Maxima and Minima" of the late Professor Ramachendra as "the work of an original genius of a remarkable order." Pandit Divivedi of Benares has completely established his reputation by his "Differential Calculus," speaking of which the Academy remarked: "It is the first step India has made in independent scientific research in modern times; and the author deserves the highest praise for the masterly manner in which he has dealt with his difficult subject."

In the field of fiction, besides many works in the vernacular languages especially in Bengali, we can refer with pride to the 'Saguna' and 'Kamala' two excellent English novels which in vivid representation of human life and in picturesque description of nature can well compare with the writings of Austen and Bronte. In the field of History, one can with legitimate pride point to the 'History of ancient civilization in India' by Mr. Dutt of the Bengal Civil Service. The recent scientific researches of Professor T. C. Bose of the Presidency College of Calcutta evoked the admiration of the scientific world. When Professor Bose read his paper 'on a complete apparatus for the study of the properties of electric waves,' and exhibited his apparatus before the meeting of the British Association, we are told the exhibition of the apparatus and the explanation of the various devices by which the different problems were successively attacked, were greeted with enthusiastic applause. So interesting, we are told, the demonstration proved that Lord Kelvin, left his seat and stood all the time by the lecturer, watching his manipulation of the apparatus, and expressed with enthusiasm his admiration of the novel experiments that could be carried out with its aid. I have referred to the original works of many of these



Indians to show how utterly one-sided, nay often prejudiced are the statements of critics of Indian education who tell us glibly that the Indian intellect is sterile. While demurring to the exaggerated and one sided nature of these criticisms, it must be admitted that the many talented authors we have referred to are mere exceptions. We must confess that at present, there is nothing like a widespread desire amongst our so-called educated men for intellectual pursuits of any kind. It is interesting though melancholy to trace and reflect on the causes which have contributed to this sorry state of affairs.

#### LONG POLITICAL SERVITUDE.

Any one who is conversant with the political history of this country, of the strange vicissitudes it has undergone, will know how long it has been a prey to the fitful and tyrannical rule of conquerors. Security of life and property has been the chief concern of the people for nearly a thousand years. As says, the late Professor Suley, in his Lectures in the expansion of England: "Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration." And in no other department of man's activity has political servitude exercised a more deteriorating influence than on the intellectual side. Compare the intellectual activity of India a thousand years ago with that at the present day and you see at once the force of the remark. The essential conditions which further the progress of original thinking and intellectual activity of a high order have been entirely absent in India for a long period extending over two centuries. It has been truly remarked that genial climate, domestic peace, tolerant rule, competent fortune, healthy mind, and freedom from such disturbances, social and political as are destructive of a peaceful life and of the very possibility of scientific thought, are among the most important conditions that largely minister to the storing up of ideas which are the material of original thought. A candid critic must confess that for many centuries past, these conditions have been all most entirely absent. In accounting therefore for the poor intellectual results of the present day, we should take into consideration the fact of our long political servitude.

#### OUR SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

One is tired of pointing out the pernicious effects of many of our social customs and manners. It will be enough for the purpose

of this paper to make a passing allusion to the position of our women and to the system of early marriages. Any thoughtful man must admit that the future of a race depends a great deal upon the training the children receive at the hands of their mothers and yet who will make bold to say for a moment that our women can lay claim to the slightest pretensions for affording an intellectual training to their children?

The system of early marriages, so largely prevalent especially among the Brahmin population exercises a most disastrous influence on the health and intellect of the students. Many of the Hindu boys in schools and colleges are married at a very early age and so many of them becoming fathers in their student career are called upon to bear the burden of family responsibility. With the troubles and anxieties of the family ever before him, the young student, or perhaps the youthful father—has no inclination and if he has any inclination at all—has neither the time nor the means to devote himself to sustained intellectual effort of any kind. Alas! what originality and devotion to literary pursuits can be expected of young men, who at a time when their minds should be free from cares and anxieties of any kind, at a time when all their intelligence and energy ought to be devoted solely to the acquisition of knowledge their sole aim as are pestered with the cares and anxieties that are naturally the result of a married life?

#### POVERTY.

The general poverty of many of our English educated young men prevent them a great deal from devoting themselves to scientific and literary pursuits. The Hindu father, especially the Brahmin, is solicitous of giving his son a good education. In his eyes a good education is the education which will enable his son to earn as much as possible and give him a status in society. With this, as his sole aim, he mortgages his few acres of land, pledges, nay often sells his wife's most cherished jewels, and himself and his wife eking out a life denying the ordinary comforts of human life, amidst poverty of the most abject kind, maintains his son at school and college, surmounting all kinds of difficulties. Having spent all his property on the education of the son, the father looks to him, his only hope, for the future support and maintenance of the family. The

consequence is that our student as soon as he takes his degree has necessarily to take upon himself the responsibility of maintaining a large family. He has no other go but to secure a footing and he has to spend himself night and day to earn a decent livelihood. However loudly and emphatically we may declaim against what may be termed the commercial way of looking at education, still it must be admitted that in these days of keen competition and struggle for existence in its acutest form, one has to look to his stomach, above everything else. In the hurly-burly of modern life, with competition so keen in every line, that a man who is not on the alert is apt to lose his chance of making a living altogether, with a striving after wealth as the one desirable object, it is indeed highly difficult for a student of poor means to be devoting himself to intellectual pursuits. And so, it has come to pass that all the time and energy of many of our young graduates, is being spent in a feverish, it may be unwholesome excitement to this money-making business "that he has no time for aught else, no time even to think of matters of the highest importance, to all men," the greatest human interests are to be neglected and our graduates become practically an automatan ever doing only one kind of work.

#### NO ENCOURAGEMENT TO RESEARCH.

In India we cannot boast of a leisured class who can devote their time solely to intellectual pursuits; nor have the wealthy people of the country founded any scholarships or made any endowments to enable the poor and promising student to devote his whole time to learning and research without being any the least anxious of supporting his family. In the English and Continental Universities the student who has a taste for learning, has provision made for him to devote himself to the pursuit of knowledge. Germany at the present day, is acknowledgedly, the only country in Europe, which is most forward in original researches. It is due to her having provided innumerable professorships, fellowships and studentships. And what encouragement and hope is given to poor students in this country who have a taste for knowledge and who, if placed in life in better circumstances, would perhaps work wonders in the field of science and literature?

---

 THE PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE.

We come now to the most important question, how far the University and our educational system is responsible for the present poor intellectual results. It seems to me that they are responsible in no small degree. In blaming our Universities, I am not unmindful of the fact that they have been in existence, only for a period of about forty years and that even in England where the Universities date their origin many centuries ago, the same complaint of the absence of original research is heard. It is not uncommon, even at the present day for Oxford and Cambridge to be called "boarding schools for bigger boys." With this apology for our Indian Universities, we will proceed to our question, how far our Universities fulfil their functions. It will not be out of place to ask, what is a University and what are its real functions. Here one cannot but quote Cardinal Newman.

"A University is the place to which a thousand schools make contributions; in which the intellect may safely range and speculate. It is a place where inquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries are verified and perfected, and rashness rendered innocuous and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge. It is the place where the professor becomes eloquent, and is a missionary and a preacher, displaying his science in its most complete and most winning form, pouring it forth with the zeal of enthusiasm, and lighting up his own love of it in the breast of his hearers. It is the place where the catechist makes good his ground as he goes, treading in the truth day by day into the ready memory and wedging it and tightening it into the expanding reason. It is a place which wins the admiration of the young by its celebrity, kindles the affections of the middle-aged by its beauty, and rivets the fidelity of the old by its associations. It is a seat of wisdom, a light of the world, a minister of the faith, an *alma mater* of the rising generation."

Such is the great Cardinal's idea of what a University ought to aim at. The late Professor Huxley tells us in his usual eloquent and enthusiastic style:—

"In an ideal University a man should be able to obtain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all the methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a University, the force of living example should fire the student with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men, and to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of new fields of knowledge. And the very air he breathes should be charged

---

with that enthusiasm for truth, that fanaticism for veracity, which is a greater possession than much learning; a nobler gift than the power of increasing knowledge; by so much greater and nobler than these, as the moral nature of man is greater than the intellectual; for veracity is the heart of morality."

The mournful fact must be confessed that in this country there is not even a lofty conception of the University and its real functions. At present, we look upon the University as primarily an institution for conferring degrees, for placing a sort of trade-mark on educated wares, and to classify and label them according to their qualities so that people may know to what class they belong and Government may be able to find out a convenient commodity for their consumption. Our Indian Universities have become something like huge arsenals, with a perennial supply of graduates with which the Government and the Law Courts carry on their operations. The great function of a University, we are reminded, "is to hand on the torch and keep alive the pure flame of devotion to knowledge for its own sake." In our Indian Universities this object is sorely missing. At present our Universities are identified with the examinations which it holds year after year and these examinations by the way in which they are conducted do nothing more than destroy all the finer elements of education. Examinations instituted by those who teach in order to see whether their teaching is assimilated, will be of immense value. Examinations may be a necessary evil. But the series of examinations instituted by our University, nay the cast-iron machinery of the examination statue is to a great extent useless if not positively obstructive to the promotion of sound knowledge. As Professor Huxley has well remarked "examination, like fire is a good servant, but a bad master" and the danger in our country is that it has become our master. Professors and conscientious Fellows of the Senate in our Universities who belong to the teaching profession cannot for a moment deny that many a student whose career they have watched has become deteriorated by the constant effort to pass this or that examination, just as we hear of men's brains becoming effected by the daily necessity of catching a tram or a train. The students in our schools and colleges work to pass, not to know; "and outraged science takes her revenge. They do pass and they don't know." The examinations, so constantly

held here have had and do have even at the present day a most demoralising influence both on the teacher and the taught. We may well say with Professor Froude, "under our present system teaching becomes cramming; an enormous accumulation of propositions of all sorts and kinds is thrust down the students' throats to be poured out again, I might say vomitted into examiner's laps, and this when it is notorious that the sole condition of making progress in any branch of art or knowledge is to leave on one side everything irrelevant to it and throw your undivided energy on the special thing you have in hand." Such a system leads to cramming of the worst kind. Of late a good deal has been said about cram. But there is cramming and cramming. The majority, I had almost said all our students, who are day by day pestered with examinations resort to cram subjects which they do not understand and about which they do not think at all. Cramming of this kind is nothing but a mechanical operation.

DELIBERATE ENCOURAGEMENT TO CRAM.

Almost all the work of our schools and colleges consists in encouraging, I would gladly say without hesitation aiding and abetting, this most demoralising system of cramming. But they are not to be blamed. Our Universities in their wisdom, encourage this kind of cram, a glance at the Literature papers given for the B. A. degree examination year after year will at once confirm this statement. According to the English Curriculum, laid down by the Senate of the Madras University, the student has to answer a literature paper covering all the periods of English Literature. Now, the Senate knows, the Syndicate knows, the Board of English examiners know and the talented gentleman who has the unenviable honor of setting the paper on English literature is fully aware of the fact that in the present state of things, it is utterly impossible for a student going up for the Bachelor of Arts Degree Examination, to have even a superficial idea of the general periods of English literature. Yet what happens?

The student who has no other go but to cram, takes to Brooke's immortal literature primer or if he has a little more time to spare to literature, he takes Shaw or Arnold and mugs it up. When he takes up the question paper in the examination hall he finds he has to answer such questions as,—give a short account of Tennyson's

In Memoriam, Pope's Essay on man, Milton's Paradise Lost, George Eliot's Adam Bede, a tale of Chaucer, a work of Spencer, an obscure drama of the restoration period, and such worthless pieces as Gannorgerton's Needle and a thousand and other pieces which never in his life he has read. But our student does not and cannot afford to shrink from answering. He takes his answer paper and you find him writing eloquently of the loftiness of Tennyson's poetry, of the moral purpose and grandeur of his poems, and so on. Now the examiner knows that the candidate has not studied Tennyson's In Memoriam. He knows that it is all wind and yet he gives him marks, makes him pass. The candidate who heads the list and who gets the Literature medal is no exception to this. I make bold to ask whether a more ridiculous state of things can be imagined? I ask is it possible to conceive of a more deliberate encouragement to cram? May I ask how many of our Professors have not suffered, in moral tone and enthusiasm, for "being compelled to be such hucksters of intellectual wares." What originality can be expected of students who spend their whole time in cramming all sorts of names and dates, who have no depth of knowledge, and who are being mercilessly ground down by the examination mill? Suffice it to say that the way in which examinations are at present being conducted have contributed not a little to the destruction of original thinking.

#### THE DEMORALISING INFLUENCE ON THE TEACHER.

The position of the Teacher in India is exceedingly pitiable. By force of circumstances he has to adopt a method of teaching which he knows does not promote culture, does not stimulate thought, on the other hand creates a positive distaste for real knowledge. But still like a dull lifeless machine he has to follow the routine of the day. Everything that he has to teach his pupils is laid down in educational codes and University syllabuses. If he sometimes begins to teach a subject in a new mode calculated to widen the mental horizon of the students he very often finds that his students display no enthusiasm, nay often grumble, because it does not *pay* them in their examinations. This has been and still is the sad experience of professors and students. Not long ago in addressing the members of a Government College Literary Society, a Professor, holding a high office in the educational department, and holding an

honorable distinction in the local University, confessed, that to a great extent he had to encourage cram and that if he did not he will be called upon to account by the Director for the shabby results in the subjects he taught. What exaggeration therefore can there be when I say that the teacher in India at the present day is by force of circumstances compelled to be a huckster of intellectual wares, instead of enjoying the honorable function of being "a missionary and a preacher, displaying his science in his most complete and most winning form, pouring it forth with the zeal of enthusiasm and lighting up his own love of it in the breast of his hearers." The late Mr. W. A. Porter, the most honoured distinguished educationist of Southern India, in his Convocation address, in accounting for the mental indolence of Indian students very truly remarks :—

"We act as if his brain were an empty hull into which each professor in his turn was to tumble a science. By this system of overteaching, we deprive our students of the pleasures of search and leave them none of the spontaniety in the pursuit of their studies which springs from being left to themselves," and he ridiculed the present system of teaching by saying. "A certain Greek writer tells us of some man who to save his bees a troublesome flight to Hymettus cut their wings and placed before them the finest flowers he could select. The poor bees made no honey." "I think," said he, "that by our system we imitate this foolish man. We cut the wings of our students and give them the flowers they should find for themselves."

Mr. Porter might well have added, that in India at the present day, the lot of the school master is cast, to use the words of the poet,

Among a people of children,  
Who thronged me in their cities,  
And asked not wisdom,  
But charms to charm with,  
But spells to mutter.

The neglect of the education of the senses is another serious defect in the present educational system. The saying of Lord Bacon that physics is the mother of sciences, has not yet had a meaning in our education. "The education of the senses is neglected, all



after-education partakes of a drowsiness, a haziness, an insufficiency, which it is impossible to cure."

It is an accepted principle that education should begin from the concrete to the abstract, yet in how many of our schools, I had almost said colleges, this principle is not followed. Even at the present day, in many of our educational institutions, sciences like, Chemistry, Physics and Physiology, which are not possible to be grasped without experiments, are being taught in a parrot-like fashion like history and grammar. Under this wretched system of teaching, truly, the acquisition of knowledge instead of being made pleasurable is made nauseously painful.

#### NEGLECT OF SCIENCE.

This brings us again to another serious defect in our educational system. In his book on Education, Mr. Spencer after an interesting and lengthy treatment of the subject has conclusively shown that the knowledge which is of most worth is scientific knowledge. For, it is science alone, of all other branches of knowledge, that insists on precision, that sets the mind thinking, that gives us a store of ideas.

The neglect of science is a serious defect and educationists and politicians should look to it soon. At the present moment in England the neglect of scientific education is severely commented upon by competent authorities. Only a few weeks back, the London Times pointed out that in Germany, the advancement of scientific knowledge has considerably increased her material wealth and that in England, the absence of proper scientific teaching is telling upon her commerce greatly.

#### CONCLUSION.

It is time now to bring this paper to a close. It has been pointed out that at present there is nothing like a wide-spread intellectual life in India, that there have been and there are even now several forces at work which hinder the growth of a healthy intellectual life. It may well be to ask what about the future? Is the out-look gloomy? There is no reason to be pessimistic. The success of Chatterji at the Civil Service Examination, the remarkable exploits of Prince Ranjit Singh in the cricket field, the scientific researches of Professor Bose, who is now on the threshold of

a great European fame, all these indicate that, in the physical and intellectual field we are by no means inferior to the westerns and this coupled with the intellectual greatness of this historic land, ought to inspire us with hope and courage. We are as the poet says,

“The sons of ancient fame,  
Those starry lights of virtue, that diffuse  
Through the dark depths of time, their vivid flame.”  
Let us therefore,  
Take up, the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson.

PIONEERS: O PIONEERS:

Let us hope that the “coming centuries will see its lesson learnt, its task being accomplished, and the intellectual brilliancy of its long vanished youth renewed.”

G. A. NATESAN.

---

## MARRIAGE LEGISLATION IN TRAVANCORE.

IT has always been an extremely delicate task for the British Government to interfere with the Hindu Social laws and it has been with much hesitation and great reluctance that they interfered with certain practices which prevailed amongst the Hindus and were supposed to have the sanction of their religion, when they happened to be repugnant to the notions which were generally entertained by the Western Nations. During the time of the East India Company non-interference with such practices was an article of faith but when some of them appeared to be opposed to the clear rights of humanity they were compelled to interfere. Infanticide was by some supposed to have a religious sanction. But its abolition was not resented very much on account of its extreme repugnance, to all sentiments of morality. Similarly capital punishment of Brahmins was unknown to Hindu law and such punishment was undoubtedly an attack upon the Hindu religion and was in variance with the general feelings of the Hindus but the English Criminal law in India refused to make any distinction between Brahmins and other classes of people. The course of the British Government in these respects was clear and their action was not opposed by the Hindus, in a form so as to cause much uneasiness ; it was not sufficient to incite the people to any general revolt, and constitutional agitation was in those days unknown, but it became different when the English interfered and abolished Sati or the burning of the widows. If any case called for interference such was the case of Sati. It was only possible in a society where females were degraded and female life was of no value. It was a senseless and brutal sacrifice and very often involuntary. The woman was often forced to the funeral pile. All precautions taken by previous Governments had proved ineffectual. And yet when Lord William Bentick attempted to put a stop to the hedious practice the usual cry that their religion was in danger was raised by the orthodox Hindus, though it is true that a few eminent leaders of native opinion like Rama Mohun Roy and Dwarakanath Tagore were found to support the Government. But matters had advanced to such a

stage that the opponents were enabled to carry their agitation to England, and they brought the matter before the Privy Council. The Privy Council naturally declined to interfere as the Viceroy had acted strictly within his rights, and opposition to the movement was fruitless. More difficult was the case of widow re-marriage. Here the case for interference was not so plain as in those referred to and the outcry naturally was greater and the opposition more skilful and determined than in the earlier days; the question was brought before the notice of Parliament but fortunately without any success. In all the cases that we have referred to, the injustice was apparent. But now we begin to deal with another class of cases which is far more difficult and required far more careful handling. All the previous instances had reference to the liberty of the subject. But in the instances that we propose to refer to, the interference was with reference to laws relating to marriage and family life. The statesmanlike attempt of Sir John Lawrence and Sir Henry Mayne in 1870 to introduce a marriage law on non-religious lines was bitterly opposed by the orthodox section of the Hindu community and we have now in the statute book what is called the Brama Samaj marriage act which only applies to those who do not belong to any of the recognised religions that prevail in India. The Bill that was originally framed would have enabled any two persons to have contracted marriage without regard to their religion, and it would have been a great help to the cause of Social progress. The declaration that is required by the present act by persons who wish to marry under it that they are are not Hindus greatly impedes its general acceptance.

The next step in Social Reform is the age of consent act and it is too recent to need any detailed reference at our hands. It is only necessary to note that the opposition of the orthodox Hindus had in the meantime increased in volume and in weight, and though fortunately there was a party amongst the Hindus themselves who were strongly advocating that reform and thus enabled the Government to maintain that Hindu opinion in itself was not unanimous and that the array of great names in support of the Government was sufficient to justify its attitude, yet it was plain that it was only the determined attitude which was taken up by the English Government that enabled it to carry the measure through the Legislative

Council. By investing the Courts of Justice with power to administer Hindu laws to the Hindus, the Government are practically compelling obedience to the old Shastras even though there may be a large section of people who are willing to renounce their adherence to it. The only available course therefore is legislation which will have the effect of either practically repealing those parts of the Hindu law which are repugnant to social reform or by enacting fresh laws which would free social reformers from those penalties which are enjoined by our Hindu law. But the Legislative Councils till very recently were more or less composed of members nominated by Government and those who were desirous of effecting any reform were always under the disadvantage of being taunted with calling in the help of the strangers to interfere with their social customs; and the Government was under the disadvantage of appearing to interfere in matters with which they were not particularly competent to deal. When we have Legislative Councils more largely composed of elected members they will then be in a far better position to deal with questions of this complicated nature. Success at the polls or re-election may apparently be regarded as a test of popular approval of any measure of social reform of which the candidate may be an acknowledged advocate and his failure would be an indication to Government that such measure has not received the support of a majority of the electors. The support which the candidate receives in the election will be a measure of the support which that particular measure of social reform is accorded to by the public. The course of Government will then be comparatively smooth; when public opinion has been sufficiently educated by the social reformers, it will be a comparatively easy matter for the Legislative Councils to interfere. At present there is no such means of education. People generally do not interest themselves in discussions which are more or less of a merely academical nature, but when such discussions usually effect a measure which is pending discussion in the Legislative Council and which if passed will affect their Social family life, far greater interest is naturally taken and the matter is pretty well discussed. Apathy gives way to a pretty keen interest and a really beneficial measure is likely to have in course of time that support which it really deserves. But till that day comes when practically the

Government will have to comply with the wishes of the National Congress, when the Legislative Councils will have a sufficiently large number of non-official members, representing public opinion, we have to work with the Councils now in existence though under the disadvantages which we have pointed out. While the Legislative Councils are such that it is not easy for Social reformers to get a measure through the Councils, there is at least a safeguard that no measure which has not been approved by the English Government and which is opposed to British feelings of humanity is likely to become law. English officials of whom there are generally a large number in the Council are not likely to give their assent to a measure which is opposed to their own ideas of justice. The case becomes different however in the case of Legislative Councils where such western influence does not exercise a prevailing influence. In some of the Native States for instance, Legislative Councils have been recently introduced with power to frame laws for the state without those safeguards which exist in the case of such Councils in British India. And they are powerful for good or evil, in matters of Social Reform. With these remarks we proceed to the consideration of a bill which is now pending before the Legislative Council of the Native State of Travancore.

The ruling family of that state as well as a great portion of its inhabitants is governed by a peculiar usage affecting succession and inheritance. According to it marriage is not a legal institution. Kinship is recognised only in the female line and property descends in the same line and not to wives and children whose existence as such is, in fact, not recognised by law. A large community governed by the same laws occupies a district in the Madras Presidency for which laws are framed by the Legislative Councils of British India; and we propose briefly to contrast and compare a bill now before the Travancore Council with the act passed by the Madras Council. It must be remembered that this peculiar custom recognised polygamy and polyandry, did not regard marriage as a legal institution, and did not recognise any rights in the wife and children. Family life as understood in the west was not recognised at all for a long time. Various English administrators who had to deal with these communities had felt the necessity of introducing certain Social Reforms. But as a matter involving family life it had not been

interfered with. In 1882 the question was brought into prominence by a special commissioner who advocated a reform in such laws. The Government of Madras declined to interfere, as such demands did not proceed from the community itself. A few years afterwards in 1884, a commission with such a statesman as Sir T. Madhava Rao as chairman again advocated a change in such laws, that recommendation having the support of two of the members of that Commission who belonged to such community. The Government again felt themselves unable to interfere ; eventually however when a member of that community who was also a member of the Legislative Council introduced a measure into the Council, the Government felt itself bound to consider the question and appointed a commission of which such a conservative Brahmin as Sir T. Muthusawmi Iyer was President to report on the whole question. The report of the commission at once disclosed the conflict of opinion that existed with reference to the reforms proposed ; though there was a general feeling that some change was necessary, great difficulty existed with reference to the lines on which such changes were to be undertaken. We shall now explain how the difficulties then raised were solved by the Madras Government and compare it with the attitude now adopted by the Travancore Legislative Council.

In interfering with the customs which regulated the sexual union of the members of a community it was necessary that there should be as little interference as possible with those who wised to adhere to the existing custom. The main feature therefore of the law as adopted by the Madras Government was, that it was permissive. It enabled those members of the community who wish to contract a marriage which would be recognised by law, to do the same. They had only to register their customary marriage before a Public Officer. Then the law recognized it as a valid marriage. Those who wish to remain under the old system were not interfered with. They were allowed to enter into matrimonial unions as before and such sexual unions will continue to be held in society with the same respect after this law as before. No legal consequences were attached to the customary union if the parties did not wish it and no obligations were attached to that union unless the parties desired the same. The result therefore was that the law

did not interfere with anybody who did not wish to avail himself of its provisions.

According to the custom of the community sexual unions were prohibited between persons who were in any way related to one another in the female line,—that is who were descended from the same female ancestress. There was of course nothing in reason to recommend it and the promoters of the law felt themselves unable to legalise such a custom as being vexatious. The sentiments of the community on the other hand insisted upon a due recognition of their customary prohibition, and the views of both the parties found expression in the report which was submitted to the Madras Government by the commission above referred to.

A far greater difficulty was, the question of caste and inter-marriage between the various sub-divisions of the same caste. It was objected on the one hand that the caste and other customary restrictions on marriage ought to be recognised, that caste is a religious institution and therefore any interference with the same is inadvisable. Now according to such custom no male or female may marry below and outside his or her own caste, and no female may marry into certain sub-divisions of her caste. Generally it was insisted that such customs must be recognised. But those who originated the movement contended that by recognising such caste and other social restrictions we would simply fossilize them and bar any social progress. Such were the divergent views generally entertained by the various sections of the community themselves and if the community had been left to solve the problem for itself, the chances are that probably that nothing would have been done; but the Madras Government suggested a solution which was accepted as a fair compromise by both the parties. The government recognised the force of the objection that caste and other restrictions must be recognised, they felt that it would be unfair to the other members of the joint families of which the bride and bridegroom are members to allow such persons to contract a marriage opposed to the whole views of the members of the Family as the issue of such marriage would be entitled to succeed to their property. But the government also felt on the other hand that it would be most inadvisable to give vitality to such customs by according to them the sanction of law, and therefore they suggested that it should be open to the



members of these Families who are interested in the marriage to object to the registration of such marriage which alone would give it validity in the eye of law on the ground that it is opposed to their caste; but they also declared that if such objection is not raised, by individuals so interested, before such registration, then the validity of such marriage cannot afterwards be impeached on the ground that it is opposed to any caste restriction. While therefore no marriage which has been actually performed can at any time be objected to, on the ground that it is opposed to the caste rules of either of the parties, a right is recognised in a member of the family to which either of the individuals belong to prevent the registration of such marriage on such ground. An opportunity is thus given to discarding all caste restrictions if the parties and their relatives are willing to discard them, and eventually for a gradual extinction of all such restrictions. For the first time perhaps in Indian Legislation the Government has declared by this act that a marriage performed against the rules of caste is not on that ground invalid. While therefore those who are anxious to uphold caste rules cannot complain against the law with any reason, since, in order to prevent any caste violation, the members of the family if they felt aggrieved have only to take proper steps in proper time, those who were anxious for social reform have no reason to be dissatisfied either as they have no right to insist on liberty being given to a person to marry against the rules of the caste of the family to which he belongs and in the property of which he is interested when the members of his own family so strenuously object to the consummation of such a marriage. He must sever his connection with his family or he must conform to their wishes. The result is that if the family raises no objection the law does not recognise the caste as an impediment to marriage and for the first time perhaps in Indian Legislation as we have already pointed out we have an act which allows the Hindus to marry against the rules of their caste.

The difficulty about the relationship has been similarly got over. The Government felt that it is obviously impossible wholly to ignore the orthodox opposition that no marriages are to take place which the society regards as incestuous, while they also felt that it would be unreasonable to give validity to all those restrictions. They therefore suggested the compromise which also was

accepted, by which a power of interdiction was recognised in the members of the family and power was given to them to prevent such marriages which were opposed to their caste rules, but in case any such marriage is registered, such marriage is to remain valid though they may be opposed to any custom. It would be invalid only if the parties are related within certain degrees which are recognised in what is usually known as Bramho Samaj Marriage act as being a bar to marriages.

Now it is remarkable in the case of the bill pending before the Legislative Council of Travancore all the rigorous provisions of the Malabar Marriage Act have been reproduced into them without any of those safe-guards which have been suggested by the Government of Madras.

Instead of being a permissive law it is a compulsory measure. As we have already pointed out the Malabar Marriage Act does not interfere with the sexual alliance of the parties who do not desire to be interfered with, who may contract their sexual alliances as usual and the law has nothing whatever to do with them. No rights and liabilities are attached to such union and the Penal Code of the country does not recognise that union. Whereas in the Marriage bill of Travancore it is enacted that the customary alliance which hitherto has not entailed obligations or conferred rights shall be deemed a good and valid marriage. The result therefore is that all sexual alliances contracted in future after the passing of the act will be brought within the operations and the provisions of the bill, and anybody who goes through the customary form of marriage will find himself subject to the liabilities under the bill though he may not wish to bring himself under the provisions thereof.

Under the custom of the country free divorce is permitted ; a man and a woman may separate when either of them desires it, but under the Travancore bill, after the divorce a man becomes liable to maintain his divorced wife. Under the customary law the wife and children are entitled to be maintained only by the family to which they belong ; under the new law they became entitled to be maintained by the husband. While according to custom divorce is free; under the Travancore bill such divorces are to be regulated by a Judicial officer. To all these provisions a man has to render

himself subject though he may have been simply following the old custom.

While *the Malabar marriage bill is permissive* the new Travancore-marriage bill is compulsory and it is a violent interference with the marriage customs and habits which have been followed by people for over 2000 years and which have been regarded to have the sanction of religion against their will.

Similarly in the case of caste and customary restrictions the Travancore Marriage Bill declares that these sexual alliances can take place only in accordance with the caste and other customary rules. Our readers are scarcely aware perhaps of the great subdivisions that prevail among the community. There are not less than 200 sub-divisions; and this bill will have the effect of fossilizing all these restrictions and preventing inter-marriages between all these various sub-divisions till this law is repealed. At present the people are gradually beginning to discard these restrictions and it is possible that in the absence of any marriage law and while no rights and duties attached to any of the sexual unions, that inter-marriages may freely take place between the various sub-divisions and all these vexacious restrictions may be abolished. We already see indications of great progress in this direction and we have not the slightest doubt that this bill will seriously interfere with the progress of such social reform. It will recognise caste and sub-caste restriction as legal and binding, will place tremendous power in the hands of priests and others who will have to decide the caste and sub-caste questions, and will prove most pernicious to social progress, without those safeguards which have been adopted in the Malabar Marriage Act. We would rather see this bill dropped rather than it should be passed into law with provisions so abnoxious to progress.