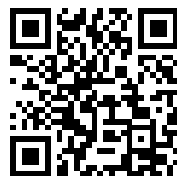

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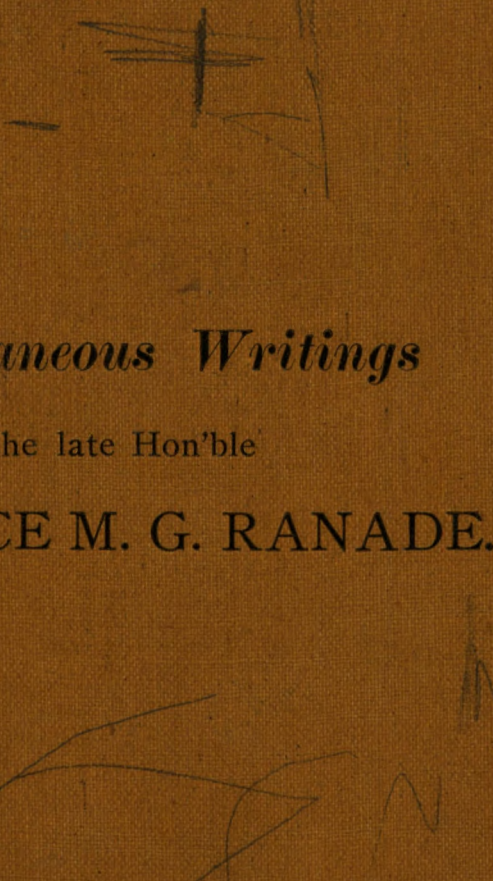
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Miscellaneous Writings

of the late Hon'ble

Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE.

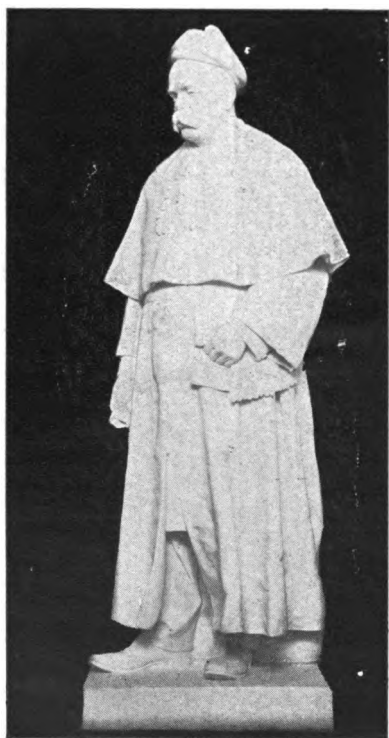


Mrs. RAMABAI RANADE.

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THE LATE HON'BLE
Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE.



Born 1842.

Died 1901.

"It is study that made him an independent thinker, a cautious guide, and a sane philosopher. There was more light than heat in his utterances, more of sweet reasonableness than impulse."

The Indian Spectator,
12, April 1913.

OF THE LATE HON'BLE
MR. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE.

Mrs. RAMABAI RANADE,

BY

Mr. D. E. WACHA.

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THE TIP DAD

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INTRODUCTION.

Some time ago wish was expressed by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade that I should write an introduction to this volume which embodies a well selected collection of papers and articles on public affairs which the late Justice Ranade had, during his lifetime, from time to time contributed to the press and some important organisations. I gladly responded to her request, deeming it a duty that I owed to that good man and true, of such vast and varied erudition, and great versatility who had in his generation strenuously worked, through good report and evil, for the greater moral and material progress of our countrymen with a disinterestedness and sterling patriotism which are the theme of universal admiration and eulogy.

To write a comprehensive introduction which could explain the occasion that called forth Mr. Ranade's literary assiduity, unfeigning and unsurpassed, and to expound and analyse the deep thoughts embodied in the contributions is not possible. Such a stupendous task would need a separate volume by itself for a comprehensive treatment. In the anniversary *address on Mr. Ranade which I delivered in 1908 before the Hindu Union Club, I have, in the briefest of brief outline, attempted to offer my own humble views on his most important writings. But for a complete and exhaustive exposition of Mr. Ranade's voluminous and valuable utterances, there should be found a younger man, of the rising generation, of gifted talents, and great leisure, one who could enter into the true spirit of Ranade, uninterruptedly devote

* This address of appreciation along with others will appear in the volume to follow.—Editor.

Introduction.

his whole time to that quality of work, and render full justice to the ability of that great Teacher.

Meanwhile I am glad that Mr. V. V. Thakur has with infinite toil, conscientious care, and judicious discrimination garnered the rich collection and compiled it in a thorough-going manner which will very well serve the purpose of the general student and the critic. He has, in reality elaborated a syllabus of the writings classified under different heads, (1) Literary, (2) Social, (3) Educational and (4) Historical, which will be found of great utility to the general reader and the ardent publicist. None will dispute the estimate he has formed of the great Guru as a scholar and thinker. Few indeed are the Indians of the present generation who have read so widely and deeply as Mr. Ranade, and fewer still who having digested the pabulum he so voraciously swallowed, assimilated it to his own bent, and reproduced it in form which could be hardly differentiated from that of an original thinker.

Some outstanding features of Mr. Thakur's syllabus may, however, be referred to in passing. The papers on Marathi literature had their genesis in official duty imposed on Mr. Ranade at the very threshold of his career as a Government officer as Marathi Translator. He had to read a mass of publications. These writings are marvels of the ability, industry, discrimination and historical perception.

His two historical papers in the present volume were read before the local branch of the Royal Asiatic Society after the publication of his earlier contributions on the Rise and Progress of the Maratha power. As he himself observed his object was "To present a clear view of the salient features of the history from the *Indian* standpoint, and of removing many misapprehensions which detract much from the moral interest and the political lessons of the story." It is notorious that there is a school of Anglo Indian writers on Indian history whose vocation seems primarily to deprecate, if not altogether run down, all that is valuable politically, socially and morally,

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in the India of the period antecedent to British rule, rather than give a faithful portraiture; and, secondly, to persist in relating the history itself in a distorted fashion, in face of well-known facts, and pervert an impartial judgment by a dissertation on motives which existed in their own imagination. In short, the persistent effort of this vicious school is to debase all Indian history by hyperbolically exalting that of British rule. So far Mr. Ranade has rendered valuable service in placing the Maratha history in its true perspective. Mendacious histories on India are worse than useless.

Mr. Ranade was above all an educational reformer. His love of the vernaculars was great. He wished their study for their own sake and not as a substitute for the English or any other languages. Mr. Ranade has observed "The object which the Government had in view in organizing the Educational Department and the University was expressly stated in the Despatch of 1854." It was "the diffusion of European Knowledge and this was to be accomplished by careful cultivation by the students of our University of the English and Vernacular languages. The cultivation of the Vernacular languages was to be fostered by founding professorships of those languages." The battle of the Vernaculars is not over yet, though it has been fought several times. There are the Goliaths of the Vernaculars and there are Davids of the English. But it is much to be wished that a *via media* may be established which shall solve the controversial problem of the last quarter of a century. The very best way is the one suggested by Mr. Ranade. By all means let there be diffusion of knowledge by means of the English and the other important European languages. But let there be side by side with such diffusion professorships for the purpose of the cultivation of the Vernaculars merely as Vernaculars. The true teaching Indian University shall be that which firmly and broadly takes into its cognisance the importance of this subject.

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Lastly as to Social Reform. On this subject, a veritably thorny one, full of pitfalls and subterranean mines, Mr. Ranade's guiding principle might be quoted in his own words. "National prejudices, national customs and national habits cannot be swept away in a day or a year. We could not break with the past if we would. We must not break with it if we could." To put into a nutshell, the principle which ought to guide those aspiring to be Social Reformers was, according to Mr. Ranade, to go slowly, cautiously and on the lines of the least resistance. Those who would wholly break with the past would certainly find themselves in a quandary. However ardent they may be in their enthusiasm, they will find themselves confronted with chain after chain of Ossas and Pelions. The past could only be gradually modified, and no more, by the conditions of the present on clear and well defined lines. History has many examples where the attempt to break with the whole past fabric of Social order, raised step by step during countless ages, is mid-summer madness. It has only ended in grave discomfiture and something appallingly worse. Caution, moderation, a respect for the past which has in it all the elements of the good and the altruistic, a balance of mind and a consummate statesmanship—all these are essential factors. And they rely on a broken reed who venture to sweep away all the past and raise on it a modern superstructure but without a solid foundation. Well had Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji given the counsel of perfection and so did Principal Wordsworth and Sir William Wedderburn when they observed that Hindu Social Reform was "a Himalaya to cut." Enthusiastic social reformers would do wisely and well to bear firmly in mind this colossal task of cutting the social Himalaya before them. Listen to Mr. Ranade's conception of a Reformer. "The Reformer has to infuse in himself the light and warmth of nature, and he can only do it by purifying and improving himself and his surroundings. He must have his family, village, tribe, and nation recast in another and new mould,

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and that is the reason why social reform becomes our obligatory duty and not a mere pastime." As a French poet has observed, "Let us paint the thoughts that throng the present with the colours of the past." The old, which is valueless, must be slowly put into melting-pot. That which is valuable should be put into the crucible, along with the new which may be equally valuable, so as to form an amalgam which shall be acceptable and which shall endure.

As a Junior class-fellow of Mr. Ranade in Elphinstone College (1858-1861), I well remember the amount of solid reading he went through in the College Library room. Apart from the labour needed to pass the Collegiate term and Scholarship Examinations which to him was child's play, such was his natural talent and power of grasping the meaning of the most difficult text books, his unquenchable thirst for knowledge and great power of assimilation that they led him to devote almost the whole day-time of leisure in running through them time after time. The syllabus of Examination, though difficult, was not so irksome and grinding as exacted for years by our University—a grinding which, it is to be feared, leaves little or no time to read books other than the text books and has no inconsiderable tendency to squeeze out all mental capacity of the average scholar by the time he gets through his graduation. To us Mr. Ranade's juniors, he was the veritable *enfant terrible* of literature. None of us could rival his patience, his endurance and avidity for extensive reading. The patience and endurance were, no doubt, a part and parcel of the Maratha character. The hard soil of the native ghats where most of the men of the Deccan have been nurtured, demands patient labour as we see every day passing by the fields where the agriculturist tills his patch of land. In Mr. Ranade this native endurance was to be discerned at the College in a phenomenal degree. Some of us humorously called him "The infant elephant." His somewhat rugged physique and elephantine stature for an adult of his age ap-

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appropriately called forth this epithet. And we all agreed at the College that Mr. Ranade was destined to be a brilliant scholar in his post-collegiate life. The lineaments which were discerned in him in his public life were all to be noticed in his career as an indefatigable student. Simple in his habits, frank by nature, and above all filled with a spirit of shyness which never left him till the day of his death he was the very idol of his class-fellows. Unconscious himself, and unsophisticated in urban manners, he would sit on one of the benches with his massive legs stretched on the desk opposite, and would, turbanless, go on reading in a loud voice, from noon to dewy eve. He took no breath and no pause. His reading so absorbed him that he did not know what was passing around him. Dress or food never troubled him. His youthful stoicism was such that the veritable stoic of the Hellenic type might have borne him away to his own academic grove with the greatest pride and satisfaction. That this youthful Ranade of my early collegiate days should have blossomed and ripened into the great Ranade as the world of India knew him is no surprise. The stars, in their course had cast his literary horoscope and destined him to be a profound scholar of varied attainments, sobriety of thought, and true literary culture. The muses would have claimed him as their own, in any clime and in any age. He seemed to have been literally cast in the Hellenic mould; and there is, to my mind, no doubt that that great Hellenic scholar of world-wide fame, no other than Sir Alexander Grant, who was the principal of the College and Professor of History and Philosophy, had vastly influenced his scholastic career. In Mr. Ranade there was all through a Socratic spirit of humility and a Socratic bent of mind which always argued in the well-known method of that great Hellenic philosopher. Indeed, I do not hesitate to say that he came near to those lines of Tennyson in which he enjoins us all that "while knowledge in us may grow from more to more, more of reverence should in us dwell." Never aspiring to loom large and grand in

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vulgar eyes, he worked hard but most unostentatiously in the field he had chalked out for himself or was driven to by the exigencies of his life career. Whatever the activity surrounding him, whatever the hum and buzz of the busy world in the midst of which he lived and moved, for himself he seemed to be to have lived the even tenor of his life in his old sequestered vale. If he has been known as a Rishi of our generation, I for one gladly endorse that verdict. In the midst of the life he lived, he really was a recluse, but a genuine one. In Ranade was a Rishi of the ancient, original type, simple in his simplicity, pure of heart, innocent of all worldly varieties, and absorbed in one great thought, in an altruistic ideal, how to render good to his hapless fellow-countrymen, how to restore them to that greatness from which they had fallen. An ever pondering mind but observant, and full of experience from youth to middle age and from middle to ripe manhood, he was incessantly reflecting in how many ways that condition of debasement in which India had fallen, by reason of successive waves of conquest, indigenous and foreign, might be removed, and his countrymen, from stage to stage, be restored to their former pinnacle, but in harmony with the spirit and civilization of the age. Hope was eternal in his breast. He lived, moved and had his being in Hope, Hope divine which one day may make India regain her place in the front rank of the great nations of the world. Inspired by that one thought, the under-current of which can be discerned in almost in all his weighty and important contributions, be they on politics and economics or on history and sociology, his heart was full of hope for his country's regeneration by steady step and slow degree. Living in that hope, so well fortified by his glowing but unobtrusive patriotism his writings have a touch of abiding optimism. He never was depressed, aye, not even when depression was deep all around him and gloom overshadowed the country at different times. His stoic philosophy, but of a practical character, taught him never to be depressed but to

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overcome each depression, so as to go bravely forward, keeping the eye straight to the summit of the goal. To me he appeared, as if to say after the poet, that Indians may have no wings to soar, but have feet to climb, and that those feet, step by step, can march to the summit of our times. It was in this spirit of hope and abiding faith that he worked. It was in the same spirit of reasoned optimism, serene and sober, that he wrote and in the same spirit that he gave his counsel of perfection to those who approached him for advice. Whether he preached from the pulpit of the Prarthana Samaj or from the platform of social, political or educational reform, his theme was full of this inspiring spirit. That was which made him a Teacher, a consummate Teacher, who endeared himself to communities and societies of all castes and creeds in the country. The teaching was sound, wholesome, and above all full of that innate modesty which was one of the eminent traits of his character. Perhaps none knew more than he that the India of his life was just emerging from the sleep of a thousand years and more, the sleep which for the masses was undisturbed while legions of divers Caesars of divers nationalities thundered forth. Steeped for ten centuries in a kind of cimmerian darkness of her own, India was but emerging into the dawn of light, shed by the lustre of the British civilization. The genius of the Anglo-Saxon race, first in arms as it is first in the art of the government of alien races over the wide world where waves the British flag, has been slowly but steadily holding before our countrymen the torch of knowledge, illuminating it from East to West and North to South, galvanising into life the moribund spirit of ages, and holding aloft the standard of British Freedom. Mr. Ranade, with his vast historic erudition and political experience, realised what the genius of that race would accomplish for the regeneration of his country. He thoroughly appreciated its value and understood its potentialities for our greater moral and material progress. Thus appreciating and understanding, he donned the white robe of the Peaceful Teacher

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and strenuously strove, with all the great ability at his command, to enlighten his less enlightened countrymen in their arduous and herculean work of regeneration. As such he was indeed as a beacon light, shedding its light far and wide and shewing his straight path which should, in the fullness of time, bring all to the great goal of national unity and national progress. It is as a Teacher that Mr. Ranade will be best known and his memory cherished by many a generation to come. He was one of those brave but unassuming standard-bearers in the vanguard of the early Indian patriots who held aloft the banner on which is inscribed in letters which are imperishable the motto of Liberty and Progress.

1 st December 1914.

D. E. WACHA.

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THE MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS
OF THE LATE HON'BLE
Mr. Justice M. G. RANADE.

VOLUME I.

PART I.
LITERARY.

Remarks on the Marathi portion of the Catalogue.

[From the "Catalogue of Native Publications in the Bombay Presidency upto 31st December 1864. Prepared under orders of Government by Sir A. Grant, second Edition, 1867."]

The total number of purely Marathi books contained in this catalogue is 661; of these 431 are prose and 230 are verse, that is, nearly two to one—a very large proportion for any but the less cultivated languages of modern times. I have divided the prose books into (1) school books, (2) popular literature, (3) scientific works, and (4) law books: about each of them in their order.

(1) The prose school books number about 98, and may be further subdivided into reading-books, mathematics, history, geography, and grammar. As all these books are either translations, or compilations prepared to order, they are indicative of nothing beyond them, and may be passed by without special remark. Major Candy's series constitutes by far the best portion of the school reading-books.

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(2) The prose popular literature of every cultivated language generally reflects all the real strength and excellence of the national intellect. In order to convey as complete a notion of this department of our published literature as is possible under the circumstances, I have subdivided the total number of works, 333, into no less than eleven heads—(1) history, (2) tales, (3) moral essays, (4) biography, (5) travels, (6) Puranic *bakhars*, (7) philosophy and religion, (8) political tracts, (9) newspapers and magazines, (10) science and miscellaneous: of each of them in their order.

History.—There are twenty-three books of history, large and small. Of these twenty-three, fourteen relate to India, six to England, there are three books on general history, and one on Egypt. Of the fourteen which relate to India, the translations of Elphinstone's and Murray's histories, and of Grant Duff's Maratha history, are the only ones which possess any literary merit. By the side of these and Bal Gangadhar Sastri's compilations, none of the books on English history would appear to possess any standing. The only text book on general history is a translation of Marshman's Brief Survey of History, and even that, I fear, is now nearly out of print. It will be thus seen that there is not a single original historical work of merit besides the several translations, while the large departments of the history of Greece and Rome and of modern Europe and America are entirely neglected.

Tales.—The next subdivision is that of tales and fictions, with a total of 39 works. Of this number fully sixteen are represented by the multiplied editions of the old and popular stories of the *Panchopakhyān*, *Vetāl Panchvīsī*, *Simhasan Battisī*, and *Sukā Bahattarī*. These four constitute the stock of the most popular stories of fiction in the language; they are to be found in every indigenous school, and constitute their whole library. Besides this purely indigenous literature there are about fifteen works, which represent the addition to our stock of fictions as the result of English contact. Of these,

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ten are translations, and five are original efforts on the model of English fictions. Mr. Krishna Shastri's translation of the Arabian Nights stories represents by far the best effort of literary prose in the language. Of the original works, *Muktamala* and *Raja Madan* are the best. Some more recent efforts in this direction have been more successful. One of the most distinctly marked tendencies of the time is towards a multiplication of this class of works.

Moral Essays.—Moral books and essays constitute the third subdivision of popular literature, with a total of about 33 books. None of these possess any great merit, except, of course, the old systems of morality respectively styled *Vidurniti* and *Naradniti*. They represent the highest moral and economical notions of the people on these subjects, and serve the place of more systematic works.

Biography.—There are about ten works on biography—Columbus, Captain Cook, Cyrus, Nana Phadnavis, Socrates, and Catherine of Russia: these constitute nearly all the remarkable persons who have been honoured with a record of their lives. I can see no particular principle at the bottom of this varied choice. As people grow more familiar with the really great characters of history it is to be hoped that this department will in course of time receive large additions.

Travels.—As might be naturally expected among a people so averse to foreign travel, this department is exceptionally poor. There are only four works, of which two relate to the pilgrimages to Gokarn and Benares. The late lamented Daji Saheb Kibe may be said to have set the example of this class of writing when he published an account of his tour through Gujarath and Maharashtra.

Puranic Bakhars.—I have thought it fit to provide a separate division for Puranic prose, for the reason that this tendency to write the old myths in prose indicates a step in advance, and belongs to the advanced age of chronicles. The number of works is about seven, and all relate to the old Purana stories.

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Contemporaneously with the compilation of these Bakhars there arose another class of chronicles, of a more healthy character, brought into being by the political events of the times — I refer, of course, to the historical Bakhars, of which there are several, in the manuscript form, well worth being separately published.

Superstition.—The next subdivision, superstition, may be passed over without remark here. By far the larger portion of these works are in verse, and I shall take them together when I come to speak of that portion of verse literature.

Philosophy and Religion.—I have thought it proper to class philosophy with religion, for, as at present circumstanced, the Hindus are not sufficiently liberalised to perceive any distinction between them. The number of books under this head is about twenty, and in my opinion this number is much below the mark. It will interest some to know the variety of the elements which make up this portion of our literature. Philosophy is as yet only a hand-maid to Religion, and occupies a subordinate place. This class of works may be subdivided into the purely missionary works, the purely orthodox works, and, lastly, the works in favour with reformed India, which occupy an intermediate place. The principles of the Hindu religion, the pleasures of the self-enjoying soul, and the *Vedokta Dharma Prakas*, represent the best portion of orthodox thought stated so as to be generally acceptable to all parties. The *commentary on the Purusha Sukta*, thoughts upon caste, the *Paramahams doctrines*, the remarriage of widows, the principles of Brahmanism, and Dr. Haug's translation of a portion of the Vedas, constitute by far the best of the more recent efforts in this time on the part of reformed India. Of course the philosophy, such as it is, is very poor by the side of the Sanskrit or English works on the subject. The philosophy most in vogue is that of the later Vedantism and the *Gita*, with its diffuse commentary the *Dnyanesvari*, constitutes three-fourths of the substance of all that passes as philosophy with those who take up these

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studies in their old age. The fact is there is no taste in the popular mind for the problems discussed in European works on philosophy, while in the case of old Sanskrit works people who take up these studies generally find it infinitely easier to consult the original itself than any modification or adaptation of it into intelligible Marathi. With regard to reform literature, there is at present a strong tendency towards an increase of this class of works, as was fully shown at the time of the recent agitation of the remarriage question. More than five works of a very earnest character published at the time showed the deep interest with which the whole question was regarded by the people; only one of these publications finds its place in the catalogue.

Science.—The next subdivision is that of popular science. Although nearly all the works professing to treat of scientific subjects are remarkable for their want of system, I have thought it proper to provide a separate heading for a class of works which are intended more to excite curiosity than to convey truth or system. Of the eleven works under this head, five are dialogues on astronomy, and the rest are popular descriptions of animals, plants, railways, &c.

Political Tracts.—The next subdivision relates to politics. There are only five works in the catalogue of a political turn. Of these, three relate to the defunct body of the Bombay Association, being petitions to Parliament on Indian subjects: of the other two books under this head, one relates to the Inam Commission, which is said to be *Gairinsaph*, or Injustice, and the other relates to the law of prices, advocating the entire freedom of trade, and intended to persuade people that it would not be in any way to their advantage if Government interfered to fix a *nirakh* scale of prices. Of late years these occasional pamphlets have been on the increase, and are indicative of a new spirit, which in its own time will be our highest privilege under British rule.

The Miscellaneous Writings.

Newspapers and Magazines.—I have provided a separate heading for newspapers and magazines. The catalogue makes mention of ten newspapers and seven magazines in all. While there has been a steady improvement in the quality of the newspapers, and the difference between the best specimens of the papers published in our days compared with those which were published ten years ago is so great as to make no comparison possible, the magazines have greatly fallen off; the *Trimasik*, the old *Dnyanprasarak*, and the *Vicharlahari* had more brilliancy, more earnestness about them than the usual stuff with which the magazines are filled in these days.

The last is the Miscellaneous head, which contains about fifty-five books, calling for no special remark.

(3) To proceed now to the third grand division of science. The total number of works contained under this head is about sixty-eight. As a whole this department is singularly behindhand, for the truths of science, opposed as they are to the traditions of the Puranas have not as yet made their way into the popular mind, and there is no demand for these works outside the school walls. Owing to the difficulty of expressing technical terms and scientific ideas, no serious attempt has been made to publish a series of manuals on the different sciences for the use of the higher classes in the schools. There is not a single text-book, good or bad, on the natural sciences, and the same remark holds good of geology, optics, heat, magnetism, and others without number. Out of a total of sixty-eight there are ten works on higher mathematics, three on astronomy, three on scientific music and singing, four on physics, and three on chemistry; while mechanics, electricity, photography, logic, are each content with a single text, possessed of no great merit either for fullness or accuracy. The only sciences which muster more strength are political economy and medicine; there are six works on political economy, most of them being translations of English texts.

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The works on medicine are about twenty-two in number, embracing translations of the native Sanskrit authors, as also of the more popular English texts. Bapdeva, Madhava, Trimbak, Lolunbraj, Manikbhat, have all been translated, and the *Nighantu Prakas* also has been rendered into Marathi, so as to be available for general use. The English texts translated are about six in number. Of these, three were translated, so far back as 1829, by Dr. Mc Lennan, on materia medica, nosology, and anatomy. Since the institution of the vernacular class in the Grant College the Native teachers there have published texts on medicine, anatomy, and chemistry. The old Sanskrit texts on *Sharir*, and the works of the Muhamadan doctors, are still untranslated, and the want of text-books on physiology and the more advanced subjects of medicine is still felt in this department of study.

There is another subject on which the language possesses a large stock of very valuable works--- I refer to the dictionaries. It has been the singular good fortune of the people of this country that their language early attracted the attention of such distinguished scholars as Captain Molesworth and Major Candy, who reduced it to form and order with a perseverance equalled only by the success of the effort. Besides their great works, the Sastris, under their auspices, published a very valuable dictionary, which, together with the more recently published *Hans-Kos* and others, has proved of great help to the student.

(4) The fourth great division of prose literature is that of law, with a total of forty-one works, of which about twenty-eight are Acts, and the rest are law books. Among the law works the most valuable are the translations of the *Mitakshara* and the *Vyavaharamayukha* published by order of Government. The rest of the law literature is entirely of modern growth, and as yet possesses no great work of merit. Within the last two years, however, very valuable contributions in the shape of texts on evidence and contracts have

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been published by the new class of vakeels. The weekly publication in the Native newspapers of cases decided is also a most promising feature connected with the times.

I have thus passed under review the entire collection of prose literature, in all its different branches, pointing out the special merits, wants, and the tendencies of each, so far as can be ascertained at present.

To proceed now to the verse portion of the Marathi literature. The total number of books is 230. While the prose literature is for the most part the work of our own days, the verse literature of the language admits of two divisions, the old and new; the old being the entire collection of Puranic, devotional, philosophic, superstitious, and moral writings of the poets who lived before the establishment of the British rule, making a total of 197 works; school poetry, histories, translations, selections, these make up the entire contribution of our own times, numbering about 36 works in all: about each of them in their order.

Puranic poetry forms by far the largest aggregate total of poetical works, being no less than 99 books, or fully one-half of the entire collection. I have had the curiosity to analyse this large total, and was not surprised to find that the largest contributor in point of quantity, and first in the order of poetical merit, is Moropant. Shridhar, Vaman Pandit, Tukaram, Muktesvar, follow in the order in which the names are mentioned here. The Mahabharat and its episodes are the most popular subjects with the poets. Moropant has travelled over the whole of the *Mahabharat* story, and his *Ramayanas*, with their fantastic principles of arrangement, are a curiosity in literature. Krishna is the favourite god with this class of poets, the frolics of the god in his infancy, and his less excusable deeds among the women of Gokal, form the subject of all the lyric and impassioned poetry in the language.

Devotional poetry occupies the second place in point of number and merit. There are about 65 works in all, of which

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five books, perhaps the best of their kind, relatè to the biography of the saints and the Sadhu poets. Tukaram's *Manas Puja* and Moropant's *Kekavali* are perhaps the best specimens of their respective writings. The god most in favour with this class of poets is, it need hardly be remarked, Vithoba of Pandharpur. In fact, the theory that salvation can only be worked out, not by works, nor by merits, nor again by knowledge, but by humble devotion and constant prayer, is the peculiar tenet of this class of writings; and with the decay of old learning, and of the more valuable spirit of independent thought, it has succeeded in securing for itself a popularity wholly unauthorised by any merits of its own.

There are about ten works of philosophy; but, as I have previously remarked, they all teach one set of doctrines, those of the Bhagavadgita. In fact, all the works under this head are either translations, paraphrases, or commentaries on the Gita, of which the *Dnyanesvari* takes the first rank. The *Dasabodh* of Ramdas, Vaman Pandit's essays on detached subjects, and Ekanath's great work, make up the whole of our present possessions in this department of literature.

There is much more variety in the next class, of superstitious works, which number about fourteen. Incantations against the bites of serpents, palmistry, the science of prognostics, the good or bad omens attendant upon the touch of the lizard, the sacred influences of the planet Saturn, these and many more make up a large collection of the recognised *pabulum* which the popular mind feeds on with inexpressible delight. They indicate a state of mind which, however one may deprecate it, on account of the consequences, deserves to be studied in all seriousness of heart, for the light it lets in upon the present state of popular thought.

The last subdivision of this portion of our old literature relates to the class of moral works. *Vidurniti* and *Naradniti* belong in the original to this class of works. Our chief moral teacher is Ramdas; his address to the mind is perhaps the

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most solemn teaching on the subject. The more recent efforts in this line possess no great merit.

The second great division of verse literature, which I have classed under the generic term of new poetry, is made up for the most part of translations from Sanskrit works and selections from the old poets. There is not a single original work of any merit which can be named by the side of the higher specimens of the old poetry.

The translations from the Sanskrit works, about twelve in number, are however, the richest treasure of the language in its present state of cultivation. Nearly all the best Sanskrit Natakas have been already translated. This has been the work of the last ten years, and it is to be hoped that the chief of these translators will supplement their good work by translating all the epic Kavyas and the other standard prose and verse works of the parent language. The stream of Sanskrit lore must be diverted into our channel, its choicest productions compelled to do service in these days by enriching the language with their excellence of thought and art.

Besides these translations, much good has resulted from the publication of selections from the mass of ancient poetry, in the different editions of *Navanit* and the *Sarvasangraha*. In course of time entire collections of the writings of Tukaram, Moropant, Muktesvar, Sridhar, and Vaman Pandit will, it is hoped, be published, and when completed it will be the highest claim of this age to be remembered in all future time.

I have thus travelled over the entire ground sketched by me at the outset, taking stock of all our actual possessions in prose and verse. After all, it should always be borne in mind that forty years ago there was not a single printed book in the language. The Native Education Society was organised about 1829, and the first serial works for the schools were published under their auspices. Forty years is but a short span in the life of a nation's literature, which takes many centuries to grow to maturity. The evidence of growth is satis-

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factory, but the interval is too short to admit of anything but a collective impression of the whole in one view. It is not possible to mark out the distinctive tendency of each decade. Besides, the comparison of dates in the eighth column, which are not so much the dates of the first publication of those works as of such recent editions of the same as were accessible, makes it perfectly impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusions on this head. Certain it is that within the last ten years greater work has been done than was accomplished during the thirty years immediately preceding. All our best Sanskrit translations, all the higher original efforts in the direction of novels and dramas, and other works of art, all serious efforts to publish entire collections of the old poets, all our best reading series and our best newspapers, all these have been the work of the last ten years; and the press is daily finding increased employment for its varied activity.

It is true the entire picture thus presented to the view is far from satisfactory if one looks at it absolutely. The stage of advance which the language has at present reached is to be hailed more for the promise it holds out for the future than for any accomplished success of the past. It is only when we look at the short interval of scarce forty years that we feel surprised at the amount of work that has already been done, especially when the comparative poverty of the sister languages of the presidency is taken into account.

I hope I shall not be accused of unduly depreciating the progress that has been achieved, but there can be no mistake that to any one who looks at it from a stranger's standpoint our existing literature will appear for the most part either superstitious or childish. Many centuries of earnest effort are needed before this reproach can be washed away. The present, however, is full of promise, and there is every likelihood that before long the Marathi language will be in a position to take the first rank among the cultivated languages of modern India.

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A Note on the Growth of Marathi Literature, 1898.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1863, the Directors and Vice-Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland addressed a communication to the then Secretary of State for India, drawing his attention to the fact that "of late years the Hindoos had shown great literary activity, partly by editing numerous texts of their ancient Sanskrit literature, partly by translating English and Sanskrit works into their vernacular dialects, and partly by producing original compositions on subjects of a political, scientific and religious character." They added that "though these books were very numerous, and in many respects important, only a small portion of them were accessible to European scholars," and they suggested that "the attention of the Indian authorities should be drawn to the matter, and instructions issued to publish catalogues of such works for the past years, and supplement them by quarterly publications of the titles of all native books and pamphlets that issue from the Indian presses." The Secretary of State thereupon addressed a despatch to the Government of India, and that Government desired the local administrations to undertake the publication of a catalogue of works published up to 1864, and to supplement that catalogue by quarterly lists of new publications. Sir Alexander Grant became the Director of Public Instruction about this time, and it was under his orders that the first catalogue was brought out containing a list of printed works in Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarathi, Canarese, Sindi, Hindustani and Persian, published up to the end of 1864. The writer of these observations was officially entrusted with the preparation of a catalogue of Marathi works, and he submitted at the same time a report reviewing the principal

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features of the progress made in the different departments of Marathi literature during the whole period covered by the catalogue. This report traced the gradual rise of literary activity as tested by its published results almost from the very commencement. This catalogue shows that, during the first ten years of British rule from 1818 to 1827, only three Marathi works were published, and they were all works on Mathematics, translated by Colonel Jervis for the use of the students of the school of which he was placed in charge.

Ten works appear from this catalogue to have been published during the next ten years between 1827 and 1837, two of them being medical works by Dr. McLennan on *Materia Medica* and *Nosology*, six were school books on *Geometry* and *Geography* by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, one *Grammar* by Dadoba Pandurang, two reading books by Major Candy, and one on *Natural Science* by Hari Keshavaji. The most notable works of this period were the *Marathi Dictionary* prepared under English superintendence by Jagannath Shastri and others in the employment of Government, and, later on, Molesworth's *Marathi-into-English Dictionary*.

The catalogue shows that thirty works were published during the third period from 1837 to 1847. Of these, a *History of India* by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, a book on *Astronomy*, and another on *Chemistry* by Hari Keshavaji, a book on *Mensuration* by Colonel Jervis, and several small books of moral lessons were, as in the preceding decade, composed for use in schools. A translation of *Æsop's Fables* and of *Bala Mitra* (Children's Friend), by Sadashiva Kashinath Chhatre, were also published during this decade. A more hopeful feature of the publications of this period appears to be that for the first time private publishers began to bring out editions of the old Marathi poets. *Dnyaneshvari*, as also the original *Gita* with a translation, *Hari-Vijaya* and *Rukmini Svayamvara* (the marriage of Rukmini), and a translation of *Hindu Law* books were for the first time published during this period. Besides these publica-

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tions and translations, the Native Almanac was also first printed during this period, and translations of Natural Theology and Pilgrim's Progress were brought out by private authors unconnected with any Missionary Society. Finally, in 1847, Major Candy's Dictionary, with a smaller Dictionary by Shrikrishna Shastri Talekar, were published. There was thus decided progress over the two preceding decades in this third period.

The next ten years contributed 102 works in the catalogue. As might be expected, the activity of the previous decade in the publication of the works of the old Marathi poets, as also in translations from Sanskrit and English, was kept up, and considerably enlarged. School books were brought out as before, but they bore a smaller proportion to works intended for adult readers. The three *Shatakas* of *Bhartra Hari* were published with translations, the *Hitopadesh* was similarly published, and *Vidura Niti* was translated. As regards translations from English, we have a life of Captain Cook by Ganesha Shastri Lele, a life of Columbus by Mahadeo Shastri Kolhatkar, a life of Socrates by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, a translation of Berthold by Bhavani Vishvanath Kanavinde, of Elphinstone's History of India by Rao Saheb Mandalik, a translation of Grant Duff's History, and of Captain Macdonald's life of Nana Fadnavis by unknown authors, and of Natural Philosophy by Kero Laxman Chhatre. There were also original works on Railways by Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar, on Political Economy by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, an Essay on the Immortality of the Soul by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake, and on Domestic Reform by Rev. Baba Padmanji, a translation of a Persian work of *Sadi* by an unknown author, and a work on Mechanics by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake.

The fourth period extends from 1857 to 1864, and was distinguished by a very great development of literary activity among Marathi authors and translators. The works of this

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period for the eight years from 1857 to 1864 which find place in the catalogue number nearly five hundred and fifty. In respect of the publication of old Marathi poetry, this 5th decade carries the palm, not only over the periods which preceded it, but possibly also over what has been done in this line during the last 30 years. All the 18 Parvas of the *Maha-Bharat* adapted into Marathi Arya metre by the poet Moropant were published by Madhava Chandroba during this period in the *Sarva-Sangraha*. Moropant's *Kekavali*, *Madalasa*, *Saptashati*, *Krishna-Vijaya*, and other works were also published. The same publisher brought out Mukteshvar's adaptation into Ovi metre of the *Sabha Parva* and *Adi Parva*, and of his *Ramayana*. Other publishers brought out editions of Vamana Pandit's works, *Yathartha Dipica*, *Gajendra Moksha*, *Gopi Gita*, *Sita Svayamvara* (marriage of Sita). *Dasa Bodha*, by Ramdas, was published during this period, and Shridhar's popular works, *Rama-Vijaya*, *Nalakhyan*, *Pandava-Pratapa*, *Rukmini-Svayamvara*, *Shiva-Lilamrit*, as also Mahipati's lives of the Saints and Prophets, and Uddhava Chitgan's and Prabhakar's and Amrit-rao's smaller works, were all published about the same time. Parashurampant Godbole also rendered great service to Marathi literature by bringing out an enlarged edition of his selections from old Marathi poetry, accompanied with short biographies of the poets, in his famous collection called *Navanita*, which serves the same purpose as the Golden Treasury, as an introduction to the best specimens of old Marathi poetry.

With regard to the enrichment of Marathi literature by translations from Sanskrit and English authors, this period made considerable progress. *Aparokshanubhuti* was translated by Mahadeva Shastri. A new commentary on the *Gita* was written by Raghunatha Shastri Parvate, for the instruction of his Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur. *Malati Madhava* was translated by Krishna Shastri Rajavade, and *Presanna Ragava* and *Ratnavali* were translated by other Shastris. Parashurampant Godbole

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adapted into Marathi the Sanskrit dramas *Shakuntala*, *Mritchha-Katika*, *Veni-sanhar*, and *Uttara Rama-charitra*. *Meghaduta* was adapted into beautiful Marathi verse by Krishna Shastri Chip-lunkar; Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar translated ancient medical works, such as *Madhava Nidan*, *Trimbaki*, and *Vaidya Jivana*. The Great work on Hindu law, *Mitakshara*, was also translated by Raghunath Shastri Date. As regards translation of English works,—Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar translated the *Beauties of Heaven*, and Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar the *Arabian Nights*. Chambers's *Astronomy* was translated by Krishna Shastri Godbole, and Murray's *History of India* was similarly translated by Narsinha Shastri Oka and Vishnu Shastri Pandit. Apart from the additions represented by the three classes of works named above, this period was also distinguished by the production of original works.

Under travels we have an account of the travels of Shrimant Dajisaheb Kibe, the famous banker of Indore, written by himself, describing his journey into the Deccan. In general prose, we have Mr. Vinayaka Kondadeva Oka's "First Book of Moral Lessons" for the use of children, and Govinda Narayan's *Essays on Intemperance, Truth, Cleanliness*; his description of trees, railways; and an account of Bombay. Rev. Baba Padmanji also published his *Nibandhamala* and *Yamuna Paryatan*. In this period we also find controversial publications on social and religious topics, such as a small work on widow-marriage by Vishnu Parashuram Ranade, a tract, expounding the *Parama-hansa-mata*, or theism, a similar tract on the origin of Bramhanism, and finally the *Vedokta-Dharma-Prakasha*, published by Vishnu Bawa Bramhachari. Under science we may notice Doctor Narayan Daji's work on Chemistry and Medicine, Professor Daji Nilkanth Nagarkar's *Conic Sections*, Dr. Bhikaji Amrit's work on Anatomy, and the new Astronomical tables prepared by Professor Keropant Chhatre. Small works were also published on Electricity by Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar, on Photography by Harichand Chintaman,

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on Physical Geography by Mahadeva Shastri Puranika, on Mechanics by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake, and a bigger work called the "Elements of many Sciences" by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar.

Under novels, three works deserve mention. *Gashiram Kotwal* by the late Rao Bahadur Moroba Kanhoba, *Mukhtamala* by Laxman Shastri Halave, and *Raja Madan* by Baba Gokhale. To these might be added the publications of the old stories of *Vikrama Battisi*, *Vetal Panchavisi*, *Shuka Bahattari*, and *Bakasura Bakhar*.

Under History we have an account of the Sepoy Mutiny, and a History of England by Khanderao Fadake, and Hari Keshavji's English History, a small History of Kolhapore, a History of Egypt, and a History of the Reign of Catherine of Russia.

Under Biography we have the lives of Indian poets by Janardan Ramachandra, a life of Cyrus by Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide, a life of Nana Fadnavis by Vishnu Shastri, and of Raja Ram Mohan Rai by Bhaskar Hari Bhagvat.

A few general remarks on the state of Marathi literature for the whole of this period (1818-64) covered by the catalogue may fitly conclude this introduction to the review we propose to undertake of the further growth of this literature during the next thirty years. The total number of purely Marathi books published down to the end of 1864 was 661. Of these 431 were prose, and 230 were verse. The prose school books numbered about 98, and comprise reading books, and works on Mathematics, History, Geography and Grammar. As all these books were either translations or compilations prepared to order, they indicate nothing beyond them, and may be passed by without any remark except that Colonel Jervis, Major Candy, Sadashiva Kashinath Chhatre, Bal Shastri Jambhekar, Dadoba Pandurang, and Bhaskar Damodar made themselves specially useful in this service of elementary school books,

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Excluding school books, the prose publications were about 325. Taking the different heads of prose literature separately, although there were twenty-three books of History, large and small, published in this first period, and fourteen of them related to India and six to England, the only works with any pretensions to literary merit were, as stated above, translations. There was no movement made to publish the large collections of the Marathi Bakhars, which constitute one of the most distinguishing features of our literature, and no attempt was made to introduce the Marathi reader to the Histories of Greece or Rome, or of Modern Europe or America.

As regards Fiction, the old stock of stories was supplemented by the Arabian Nights. Of Fiction in the modern sense, only a small beginning was made in this first period. The poverty of this class of prose literature is easily accounted for by the fact that the ancient Puranas and Itihasas furnished a large stock of this kind of stories, which satisfied the cravings of the national mind, and left no room therein for modern fiction. As in the case of History and Fiction, Biographies also occupied a much smaller place in the published prose literature than might have been expected. Only a few works of any value were published during this first period. Under Travels there was if possible a still greater paucity of books. The spirit of adventure has never been characteristic of the people of this country, and this department of prose literature will always occupy a very secondary place in our publications. Under Philosophy we have a large number of works, fifty-five in all, published during this period. The prevailing philosophy is that of the Vedanta with the Bhagvat Gita as its foundation. Of religion proper there is no end of books, but they are chiefly devoted to superstitious observances and beliefs. The only work indicative of any healthy departure in this connection is Vishnu Bava Bramhachari's *Vedokta-Dharma-Prakasha*, which attracted considerable notice at the time.

Of Politics there is an entire absence, unless we include in this number the tract exposing the Inam Commission, and

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certain reports of the Bombay Association. As regards works on Science, the number of books under this head was about 73; but they were mostly school books on Astronomy, elementary and higher Mathematics, Geography both Political and Physical, Mensuration, and popular descriptions of animals and plants. Small works on natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Railways, Electricity and Photography complete the list. Under Science proper, medicine appears to have attracted the chief attention. About the Dictionaries mention has already been made of the great service rendered by Major Candy, Captain Molesworth, and the Shastries working under them. Among native scholars, the Rev. Baba Padmanji, Shrikrishna Shastri Talekar and Raghunatha Shastri Godbole may be specially mentioned in this connection. Under Law, though the works are 41 in number, the only productions worth noticing are the translation of *Mayukha* and *Mitakshara* under orders of Government. The others are reports of decided cases, and translations of Acts.

As regards verse literature, it is not necessary to notice it in detail. The new contributions under this head made during this period are of no special importance except the translations and adaptations of Sanskrit works. The rest of the poetical works are all publications of ancient Marathi poetry. Except in the case of Moropant, entire collections of the writings of the poets were not attempted, and no biographical notices of the poets or criticisms on their works were published in this first period. This review of the labours of the first 50 years (1818-64) is not very satisfactory in respect of actual results achieved; but it should be remembered that 50 years is but a short span in the life of a nation, which started its first literary activity in the printing of books in 1829, when the Native Education Society was first established. The most hopeful feature of the review is the fact that the number of works in each decade rose from three to ten, and from ten to thirty, from thirty to one hundred, and from one

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hundred to five hundred and fifty, almost in geometrical progression. All the different channels by which the further growth of Marathi literature was to be effected, had been opened up. Great progress was made in the publication of old poetry, and a good beginning made in the matter of translations from Sanskrit and English works, and the first steps taken to add original works to the existing stock. The stage of advance made was more full of promise for the future, than of success accomplished, and we shall trace in the next part of this Note how far this promise was realised by the labours of the authors and translators during the next thirty years.

PART II.

ANCIENT VERSE AND PROSE LITERATURE.

In tracing the further growth of Marathi literature, we have the advantage of the detailed information supplied by the annual reports furnished to Government by the Registrar of Native publications, which office was created about the year 1867. The last thirty years' period happens to coincide with the full development of the University system of examinations, with the encouragement they held out to the study of the ancient Classics of India by the displacement of the Vernaculars as second languages in the curriculum of studies for the examinations in Arts. This substitution of the Classics for the Vernaculars was sanctioned by the University in December, 1863, and came into force about the year 1867.

The change was advocated by Sir Alexander Grant, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and by Mr. Howard, Director of Public Instruction, on the express ground that the Indian Vernaculars of the Presidency possessed no prose literature at the time, and that their verse literature was only a reflex of the classical Sanskrit, and that the study of the latter would best

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promote the growth of vernacular literature in all its branches. On the other hand, the late Dr. Wilson, Dr. Murray Mitchell, Rao Saheb Mandalik, and Sir Raymond West opposed the change on diverse grounds. The advocates of the vernaculars claimed that both Marathi and Guzerati had a literature and linguistic peculiarities which deserved special study, that without such study their further progress would be neglected, and the students would find little time to study the sciences and other useful subjects by reason of the burden imposed on them of mastering two classics. The experience of the past thirty years will help us to decide how far the hopes and fears to which utterance was given by the advocates of the classics and the vernaculars have been justified by subsequent events.

There are no reports available prior to the report for 1868. There is, however, a list of publications for the previous three years which has been separately printed. These reports and catalogues show the following figures of Marathi publications for the past thirty-two years (1865 to 1897). The figures are suggestive enough, though of course much stress need not be placed upon mere figures such as these:-

Years.	No. of Marathi Books published.	Average, per year.
1865 to 1874.....	1,530	153
1875 to 1884.....	3,143	314
1885 to 1896.....	3,824	320

Total... 8,497

This gives a total of 8,497 books published during the last thirty-two years. Adding 661 books published in the previous fifty years, we have a total of 9,158, or in round figures 9,000 works in all published in Marathi from 1818 to 1896.

The figures given above are exclusive of periodicals, pamphlets, and miscellaneous publications, but they include second editions of 1,200 works, thus leaving a balance of

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7,800 works. A closer study of the works published shows the following proportions for (1) original works, (2) reproductions of old Marathi works, and (3) translations.

	Originals.	Repro.	Trans.	Total.
	4,768	2,109	921	7,798
Percentage...	62	27	11	...

Speaking roughly about 5,000 works in all, excluding pamphlets and periodicals, &c., were original works; while reproductions and translations together make up the remaining 3,000. It may be noted that the reports of recent years show that the proportion of original works is increasing year by year, and that of translations and reproductions diminishing. The activity of our writers and translators, which was represented by an average of 60 works per year between 1857 and 1864, more than doubled itself between 1865 and 1875, and has multiplied more than five times during the next twenty years.

The official reports for the past thirty-two years divide these works into fifteen heads, fourteen of them being divisions of prose literature, and one represents verse literature. The works published under this last head were about 1,500 during the past thirty-two years, while prose publications under all heads would appear to have been more than four times that number during the same period. In the first fifty years, the proportion of prose to verse publications was as 4 to 2, and this proportion rose during the last thirty years as 4 to 1. This is evidently a very satisfactory and healthy development. There is one other peculiarity about verse literature which distinguishes it from prose publications. Not only was its relative proportion to prose literature much smaller during the last thirty years than it was in the first fifty years, but the percentage of original works and translations under the head of verse literature is greatly exceeded by the publications of the works of the old Marathi poets. It appears from the figures for 22 years (1865 to 73 and 1884

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to 96) for which detailed information is available, that out of 950 poetical works published, 560, that is, more than nearly 60 per cent., were reproductions, and original works and translations were 40 per cent only. The general proportion of reproductions to the total publications is, as shown above, only one-fourth, and the great debt we owe to ancient poetry is strikingly illustrated by the fact that it constitutes nearly three-fourths of the whole stock of poetical works. This fact also shows that during the last thirty-two years great progress has been made in the publication of old Marathi poetry, and that modern authors have not shown the same devotion to this department of literature as they have done in the matter of prose literature generally.

Looking to the work done, we notice that the entire works of Tukarama, Moropanta, Dnyaneshvara, Ramadas, Vaman, Mukteshvara, Ekanatha, Shridhara, and Mahipati have been brought out by different publishers, thus completing the work which had been commenced between 1857 and 1864. Great progress has been made in a critical republication with notes of many of the larger and smaller works of Moropanta, Vamana Pandita, Dnyaneshvara, and Ramadas, and in the publication of the works of Mukundaraja, Amritraya, Rama Joshi, Raghunatha Pandita, Ananda Tanaya, Niranjana, Krishnakavi, Narahari, Ranganath Swami, Niloba, Shivadina Kesari, Chintamani, Madhva Muni, Soyaroba, Keshava Swami, Prabhakara, Ananta Fandi, and other poets who composed the Powades and Lavanyas. In all, the list of old Marathi writers of note comes to about forty, commencing with Mukundaraja and Dnyaneshvara, and coming down to the birth of the present century. As a list of the more prominent of these names may prove of some use, we give below the names of the more reputed among them—Mukundaraja, Dnyanadeva, Namadeva, Ekanatha, Amritaraya, Ramadasa, Tukarama, Mahipati, Vamana Pandita, Moropanta, Mukteshvara, Raghunatha Pandita, Shridhara, Rama Joshi, Ananda Tanaya,

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Bhairava Natha, Shivadas, Ranganatha Swami, Prabhakara, Ananta Fandi, Honaji, Sagana Bhau, Parasharama, Janabai, Mirabai, and Venubai. A more brilliant galaxy of names it would be difficult to find in the literature of any other language of India. To seek to minimise the value of this treasure by saying that it is only a reflex of Sanskrit poetry is to confess ignorance of the most characteristic feature of this department of Marathi literature. Only six poets out of the list given above busied themselves with drawing their inspiration from the ancient Puranika or Itihasa literature in Sanskrit. The writings of the other poets were in one sense a continued protest against the old spirit. Many of the poets and saints were ignorant of the Sanskrit language, and did not care to conceal their utter disregard of the old ideals. They did not write for the Pandits, but for the mass of people, and there is more true poetry in many of their compositions than will be found in some of the more reputed and scholarly Brahmin poets. We need only refer to Namadeva, Tukarama, Ekanatha, Ramadasa, Mahipati, Mukundaraja, Mirabai, Janabai, Rama Joshi, Niloba, Prabhakara, Ranganath Swami, and others. They were essentially modern poets, representative of the modern spirit as it was developed in the three reformation centuries, commencing with the dawn of modern India, and the rise of the Maratha power. The writers of the Powades and of the Lavanyas had certainly nothing of the Sanskrit element in their compositions.

By the side of the works of these ancient poets, we can hardly name any of those who have distinguished themselves in this department of Marathi literature since the British conquest of the Deccan. Somehow, the poetic fire has become extinct with the loss of political power. The lights that have been lit are few and far between, and their lustre has been for the most part borrowed, and not spontaneous. In the first generation of our scholars, we can only name

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Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar; but even he seldom attempted original poetry. Both he and Parashurampant Godbole were good translators, and adapted the Sanskrit original into modern Marathi with great ease and some success. Krishna Shastri Rajavade and Ganesha Shastri Lele belong to the same class, though the *Raghuvansha*, translated by the latter author, is a work of superior merit. In the works of the present generation of our writers, we have some very good specimens of poetry. We may cite, for instance, Dr. K. R. Kirtikar's *Indira*, an adaptation of Princess; Mr. Kunte's *Raja Shivaji*, and his sketch of "Mind;" Mr. Sangle's Christian Hymns; Bhaskar Damodar's *Ratna Mala*; *Krishna Kumari* by Juvekar; *Kavya Madhurya* by Vaman Daji Oka; *Daiva Seni* by Bajaba Pradhan; *Ganga Varnana* by Chintamani Pethakar; V. M. Mahajani's *Kusumanjali*; Mr. P. B. Joshi's *Padyasudha*; Vasudeva Shastri Khare's *Yashavanta Mahakavya*. The smaller pieces of Shankar Moro Ranade, V. K. Oka, G. V. Kanitakar, Risbud, Mogare, Londhe, and Nitsure, Lembhe, Bhandare, Damle, and others display considerable power, but none of them have attempted any great work. This remark indeed holds good of all the other modern poets also. The fire, spontaneity, and the keen moral introspection, which is the charm of Tukarama's writings, the didactic sense and wisdom which distinguishes Ramadasa, the thrilling descriptions which move the readers of Shridhara and Mukteshvara, the quaint though very suggestive illustrations of Dnyaneshvara, the sweet flow of Amritaraya, the appeal to the tender feelings so characteristic of Vamana Pandit, the purity of diction, the command over words, and the high purpose of Moropant, the devotion of Namadeva and Mirabai, the inspiring thought of Ekanatha, the abrupt truthfulness of Rama Joshi, the ornate metaphorical surprises of Raghunatha Pandita, all these seem to find but faint echoes in our modern poets some of whom have indeed taken for their models the best English specimens, both in the choice of subjects, and in their treatment of the same.

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This concludes our review of the poetical literature, both ancient and modern, existing in the Marathi language. Taken together, that literature is extensive and varied, and well deserves careful study. The apparent decay of poetical talent may be due to various causes, among others to the diversion of the best minds from a natural development of their powers to an enforced study of two classics, which takes up the whole of the spring-tide of their life, and leaves them innocent of all knowledge of their own national treasures. Anyhow, it is clear that unless our young men study not only classical and English models, but also the works of their own ancient poets, further growth and development in this department of our literature is impossible. No mere foreign graftings can ever thrive and flourish, unless the tender plant on which the grafting is to be made first germinates and sends its roots deep in its own indigenous soil. When the living tree is thus nourished and watered, the foreign manure may add flavour and beauty to it. Poets are born, and not made to order: they are growths, and not manipulations; and there is but little hope of a brighter future in the development of modern Marathi poetry unless the poetical fire is rekindled in the highest places by early contact with the inspiring study of the best minds of their own race.

What has been observed above about ancient poetry and its superiority to most of the modern attempts, holds good for the most part in respect of the reproduction of the old prose literature represented by the Bakhars, Kaifiyats, letters and correspondence which chronicle the great events of Maratha History. During the first fifty years nothing was done to publish any portion of this rich collection. The first fruits of the growth of a healthier pride in the past history of their nation were gathered by Rao Saheb K. N. Sane and the late Mr. J. B. Modak, who started a magazine with the noble object of publishing these chronicles along with the unpublished verse literature.

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The magazine was called *Kavyetihasa-Sangraha* (i. e. collection of ancient Poetry and History), and it was continued with great success for a period of nearly twelve years. The Bakhars so published in parts were printed in separate volumes, and we have now some forty works giving a full and vivid account of the most stirring periods of Maratha History. Some of these Bakhars compare very favourably with the chronicles of modern European History published in the sixteenth century, and a few of them, such as Bhau Saheb's Bakhar, and that of the Battle of Panipat, possess very great literary merits. The example set by some of our graduates inspired the publication of separate histories of particular families, such as the lives of the great Prabhu leaders by Mr. Gupte, and the accounts of the Vinchurkars, Dabhades, Angrias, and of the reigning houses of the Nagpurkar Bhonsles, the Gaekawars, Sindias, and Holkars. In fact, all the best modern histories and biographies, which we shall notice later on, bear witness to this good influence. Mr. Acworth and Mr. Tookaram Shaligram have distinguished themselves by the publication of the Powades, some of which, such as the capture of Sinhgur, display real poetical talent of a very high order. At present this work of publishing old Bakhars and correspondence has been taken up by other writers, who are not graduates, among whom Vasudeva Shastri Khare of Miraj, Mr. Parasnis of Satara, and Messrs. Apte and Rajavade of Poona may be mentioned. Two magazines are exclusively devoted to this work. What has been observed above of ancient poetry applies with equal effect to this department of ancient prose literature. Unless the minds of our young men are disabused of the prejudice they imbibe in early life that the historical sense is wholly absent in India, and until they are trained to appreciate the value of these contemporary narratives and records at their true worth, it is hopeless to expect any real and permanent growth of the true historical and critical spirit which alone can ensure success in the future cultivation of this department of our literature.

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PART III.

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS.

Next to the publication of ancient poetry and prose Bakhars, the most interesting feature of modern Marathi literature is represented by the translations of Sanskrit and English works, which together present a total of about 1,000 works published during the past thirty years. The full details about translated works are available for 22 years, (1865-73, and 1884 to 1896) and they show that out of a total of 700 works translated during this period, there were 17 biographies, 48 dramas, 113 fiction, 26 history, 15 works under language, 120 law books, 30 works on medicine, 8 on politics, 40 on philosophy, 52 on religion, 62 on science, 2 travels, 36 poetry, and 210 miscellaneous. The chief interest in this connection centres in the enquiry whether and how far the English or the Sanskrit element is most predominant in the additions made to Marathi literature by means of translations. Taking only those books, which have been favourably noticed in the reports, it appears that the actual number of such translations from Sanskrit was about 160, while the translations from English were about 120. As might have been anticipated, the Sanskrit translations contain no works of biography, history, or politics. In these departments all the best additions were contributed by translations of English works. On the other hand, the departments of poetry and religion received no help from English translations, and they are exclusively monopolized by Sanskrit works. The department of medicine, it might have been anticipated, would show greater activity in the shape of translations from English works, but Sanskrit and English works have contributed equally to enrich Marathi literature under this head. As a matter of fact, the English translations would themselves never have seen the light but for the establishment of the vernacular medical classes, and the translations made for the use of the students were very useful generally to all classes of

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readers. Unfortunately, these so-called vernacular classes ceased after a few years to employ vernaculars as the media of instruction, with the result that this important channel of developing scientific works in Marathi was closed, and there has been little encouragement since. The strength of the hold of ancient medicine upon the people is represented by the fact that the ancient Hindoo works translated represent twice the number of the English works.

In the department of Law, this position is again repeated, and for the same reason we have a very few books translated into Marathi from English works. Of course in making this statement we do not include translations of acts and decisions, which make by far the largest number of Marathi law books. As long as the pleaders' examinations were held in the vernaculars, there was a strong incentive to the publication of works on law in Marathi. With the substitution of the English language for the vernaculars, this motive ceased to operate, and the paucity of English translations of law books is thus easily accounted for.

The most successful department under this class of works appears to be that of the Drama, to which both English and Sanskrit have contributed largely, and almost in equal numbers. Shakespeare appears to have been the most favourite author. In all 18, if not 20, of his dramas have been translated or adapted into Marathi. In some cases two or three authors have brought out separate translations. The names of these works will interest the reader, and therefore we give them below :—

1, Hamlet. 2, Cymbeline. 3, King Lear. 4, All's well that ends well. 5, A Winter's Tale. 6, A Comedy of Errors. 7, The Taming of the Shrew. 8, Two Gentlemen of Verona. 9, The Merchant of Venice. 10, As you like it. 11, Much ado about nothing. 12, Julius Cæsar. 13, Antony and Cleopatra. 14, Othello. 15, Richard III. 16, The Tempest. 17, Romeo and Juliet. 18, Twelfth Night.

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The only other English dramas translated are Goldsmith's "She stoops to conquer" and "The good-natured man." As regards the Sanskrit dramas, all the best known among them have been translated, some of them, such as the *Shakuntala* by four or five different authors. These works are *Shakuntala*, *Mritchhakatika*, *Uttara Rama Charitra*, *Vikramorvashi*, *Mudra Rakshasa*, *Prabodha Chandrodaya*, *Venisanhar*, *Malati Madhava*, *Malavikagnimitra*, *Ratnavali*, and *Prasanna Raghava*.

The same service has been done by both Sanskrit and English translations in the department of Fiction. The novels of Sir Walter Scott, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Reynolds, and the works of Johnson, Defoe, Swift, and Bunyan, and among foreign authors, Boccaccio, Renan, and Dumas, have been largely drawn upon by translators, and as regards Sanskrit, the *Kadambari*, *Brihat-kathāsara*, *Vishva-gunādarsha*, and many other works have contributed largely to the growth of works of fiction in Marathi literature.

Under Philosophy we have not much variety. The *Bhagavat Gitā*, with its numerous commentaries, has furnished the chief supply. A number of the Upanishadas have also been translated, the chief being छंदोग्य, नारायण, ऐतरेय, तैत्तिरीय, and the ईशावास्योपनिषद्. The prevailing philosophy belongs to the school of the Vedānta, though Patanjali's *Yoga Sūtras* with commentary have been translated, as also the *Sarva Darshana Sangraha*. Mr. Kunte's षड्दर्शनचिंतनिका may also be mentioned in this connection as a work of great labour. Like the वेदार्थयत्न, or translation of the Rigveda, of Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, the चिंतनिका was not completed by its author but they both represent very valuable additions to the stock of higher literature in Marathi. Among the Purans, the Ramayana, the Bhagwat, the Matsya and the Ganesh Puran have been translated. The credit of the last work belongs to Shrimant Bapu Saheb Patwardhan, Chief of Kurundwad, who is well-known as a Marathi author and poet.

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As regards English translations in this department of philosophy, Spencer occupies the chief place. Professor Max Muller, John Stuart Mill, and Lord Bacon come next in order, and Marcus Aurelius' meditations, and Cicero's treatise on the gods and his other works, have also been translated.

In History, over and above the translations of Elphinstone's "India," and Grant Duff's and Murray's History, which belong to the first period, we have had during the past 30 years, thanks chiefly to the munificent support of H. H. the Maharajah Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda, a series of works, being epitomes of the histories of Greece, Rome, Carthage, Persia, Assyria, Turkey, Russia, the Moors in Spain, Egypt, and China, as also a history of Ceylon.

In Politics Maine's "Village Communities," Machiavelli's "Prince," and Seeley's "Expansion of England" represent some of the best additions to the stock of our literature.

We have thus briefly noticed the more important additions made to Marathi literature by means of translations during the past 30 years. On the whole, a very sensible contribution to the stock of our best works has been made, and the fact that Spencer, Max Muller, Mill, Seeley, Maine, Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Johnson, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Bacon, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Buckle, Defoe, Swift, Bunyan, Smiles, and Lubbock, have furnished the models for these additions, justifies the hope that the national mind is showing signs of a great awakening, which, if it could only meet with encouragement from those who are entrusted with the work of higher education, cannot fail before long to enrich the language with the choicest treasures of modern European thought in all departments of learning. In the absence of this encouragement and guidance, there is a want of system and co-ordination, and an absence of variety in the choice of authors, and in the selection of their works. As none of these additions have been school-books, the industry and enterprise represented by these publications have had to depend for

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their reward solely upon the unaided patronage of the reading public. With proper guidance and encouragement by such a body as the University, the circle of this reading public will be enlarged, and we may soon expect to have all the departments of prose literature properly represented in their due proportions, and the work of development, now indifferently attempted by stray authors, will be pushed on and completed in a systematic manner, so as to enable the national mind to digest the best thought of Western Europe with the same intimate appreciation that it has shown in the assimilation of the old Sanskrit learning.

Having thus noticed at some length the principal contributions to the growth of Marathi literature represented by the publication of ancient Marathi works and translations of Sanskrit and English works, we shall next proceed to the consideration of original works properly so-called. Whatever value might be attached to the publication of ancient prose and verse works, or to translations from other languages, it is quite clear that the only true test of the existence and growth of a genuine literary spirit is furnished by the abundance and variety of new and original works published in the language. These constitute, so to speak, the life and soul of every living language, and this portion of our inquiry has thus the highest claims upon our attention. In all, the number of true original works published during the last 30 years, exclusive of reproductions and translations, would appear to be about 5,000. Detailed information is available for the classification of these works under several heads for 22 years (1865-1873 and 1884-1896), and these details show that original works published in these years were 96 under the head of biography, 336 dramas, 278 fiction, 120 history, 365 language, 43 law, 71 medicine, 26 politics, 37 philosophy, 67 religion, 320 science, 12 travels, 359 poetry, and 1,100 miscellaneous, and about 800 school books. The relative proportions obtained for this term of 22 years presumably hold

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good for the whole period, and they show that our literary activity has been chiefly devoting itself to those departments in which Marathi was most deficient, while it has been comparatively indifferent to the departments in which our ancient collections are most prolific. Excluding miscellaneous and school publications, which number one-fourth of our total number of works, we find that Biography, Science, Drama, and Fiction occupy a very prominent position under the head of original works, while Philosophy, Religion, Politics, Law, Medicine, and Travels represent much smaller figures than might have been expected.

Taking Biographical works first. As has been shown above, we had only five Biographies published in the first 50 years. During the last 30 years this department has shown a very large addition. There was no particular system in the choice of the five works published before 1864. In the collection of Biographies as they now stand, we find that there is more system and variety; the attention of writers seems to have been bestowed in equal proportions upon the worthies of their own country, as also on the great men of Europe and America. Of the better class of works under this head, there are about 30 Biographies of European worthies, commencing with Her Majesty the Queen, and including Shakespeare, William Pitt, Lord Bacon, Jonathan Swift, Sir Isaac Newton, Goldsmith, Cobden, Captain Cook, Dr. Livingstone, Bradlaugh, Annie Besant, and other English celebrities; Lord Clive, and Sir Thomas Munro among Anglo-Indian officers of a past generation; George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Presidents Lincoln and Garfield among the American leaders; Alexander the Great, Socrates, and Demosthenes, among the Greeks; and Napoleon Bonaparte, Peter the Great, Catherine of Russia, and Columbus among the European celebrities. Among Indian celebrities, the saints, poets, and religious leaders occupy the first place. Ramadasa, Ekanatha, Dnyaneshvara, Tukarama, Vamana Pandita,

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Jairama Swami, Namadeva, Buddha, Shankaracharya, and Raja Ram Mohanroy, have all been honoured with separate biographies. Next come the great men of Maratha History. Shivaji and his three successors, and the first two Peshwas, as also Malharrao Holkar, Mahadaji Sinde, Nana Fadnavis, Ahilyabai, Haripanta Fadake, Parashurambhau Patvardhana, and Bapu Gokhale, appear to have found most favour with our writers. Among modern Indian celebrities we have Dadabhai Nowroji, Gavarishankara Udeshankara, Bala Shastri Jambhekar, and the late Rani of Jhansi: and among the Mahomedan sovereigns of India, Akbar and Aurangzeb have each found separate biographers. The lives of some of these celebrities, such as Mahadaji Sinde, Parashurambhau Patvardhana, Nana Fadnavis, and Ekanatha have been written by two or more biographers, and some of these works have been so popular as to have gone through several editions. On the whole, a very useful addition to the literature of the language has been made by the writers of these biographies.

One remark which is suggested by a study of the names of these writers may be made here with advantage. Out of some 70 writers of these biographies, hardly seven names appear to be those of graduates of the University (Messrs. Bhanu, Pavagi, Natu, Kanitkar, Madgaonkar, Laxman Krishna Chiplunkar, and Gunjekar). The remaining 63 are either pre-University or non-University men. The graduates show to better advantage in matters of translations. Out of some 76 authors who have translated English and Sanskrit works into Marathi, we find 25 names of our most distinguished graduates. We need only allude to Mr. Pandit, the two Kunte brothers, Mr. K. T. Telang, Mr. Mahajani, Mr. Agarkar, Mr. J. S. Gadgil, the two Aptes, Mr. Agashe, Mr. Bhanu, Mr. Pavagi, Mr. Ranade, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. Kolhatkar, Mr. Bodas, Mr. Fadke, Mr. Kanitkar, Drs. Garde, Sakharam Arjun, Pandurang Gopal, Shirvalkar, Bhikaji

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Amrit, and Bhatavadekar. While the proportion of graduates to non-graduates in this department of translation is one-third (25 out of 75), they appear to have taken very little interest in the composition of biographies, their proportion being one to ten as shown above. These varying proportions suggest their own moral, and no further remark seems to be necessary.

From Biography to History is an easy transition, for history is the biography of nations. The only histories published in the first 50 years were Bala Shastri Jambhekar's " History of India," a translation of Murray's History, and of Elphinstone's "India," and a short account of the History of England by Hari Keshavaji. During the last 30 years most of the ancient prose Bakhars, as has been shown above, have been published, and they constitute a very rich collection. In addition to these publications, we have a History of Central India, translated from Malcolm's original work by Mr. Kirtane, late Divan at Indore; a History of the Turko-Russian War; short Histories of the French Revolution and of the Franco-German War, Histories of Greece, Rome, France, Germany, Persia, Egypt, Carthage, Assyria, Turkey, Russia, and Spain, chiefly based upon the " Story of the Nations " series. We have besides separate histories of Goa, Ceylon, Coorg, Bhopal, Bundelkhand, Kolhapore, and the States of the Southern Maratha Country, and a History of the Sepoy War, a History of the Christian Church, and detailed histories of the houses of Vinchurkar, Dabhade, Angre, and Sinde. These represent the most prominent works under this department. The others are chiefly intended for schools. Out of some 25 authors whose names can be traced as the writers of these histories, five are graduates, which again confirms the remark we have made above in respect of biographical works.

From History to Politics is the next stage. There was no work published on politics before 1864. Since then a percepti-

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ble activity has been displayed, both in translations and original compositions. Excluding mere Congress reports, about 20 works under this head may be mentioned as showing considerable merits. They include a translation of an English work called the "India and the Colonies" by Mr. Natekar, the "Elements of Politics" by Professor Karve and Mr. Patvardhan, "Local Self-Government" by Mr. K. T. Telang, Machiavelli's "Prince," the translation of Maine's "Village Communities," De Lolme's "Constitution of England" translated by Mr. Wagle, "The Principles of Taxation," "The Land Tenure of Bengal," by Mr. Mahajani, "The Statistics of British Indian Administration," by Mr. Soman, "The Poverty of India," Pandita Ramabai's work on "America and her People," a translation of Mr. Morley's work on "Compromise," pamphlets on "Corn Law" and "Free Trade," "A History of the Native States in their relation to the Government," Mill's "Liberty," and Mr. Seeley's "Expansion of England." These constitute some of the best works which have been recently published for the promotion of the political education of the people.

As regards Law Books, we need not add much to our remarks made on the subject of translated law works. There has been no really original work on the subject, and the translations of the Law of Torts and Contracts, of Hindoo and Mahomedan Law, as also the translations of Sanskrit works, cannot claim the merit either of originality or great labour. The demand for such works is decreasing with the growing spread of the English language, and its use in our courts and offices.

Medical works show a much larger proportion of useful translations and original books than the corresponding department of law. They also display a greater activity among the graduate authors of that faculty than can be observed among the lawyers. Out of 71 works specially noticed by the Registrar of Native Publications, there were about 20

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works brought out by our medical graduates, among whom we may mention the names of the late Drs. Kunte, Gopal Shivaram, Gokhale, Narayan Daji, Shirvalkar, Sakharam Arjun, and Bullel, and Drs. Bhikaji Amrit and Bhalchandra K. Bhatavadekar, and Dr. Garde. The subjects treated of in these medical works are "Practice of Medicine," "Anatomy," "Midwifery," "Medical Jurisprudence," "Surgery," "Materia Medica," "Physiology," "Diseases of Women," and they practically cover the whole course of medical teaching. There are, besides, works on Homœopathy, Cholera, Small-pox, and "The Virtues of Indian Drugs." Drs. Kunte and Garde have done a great service, the first by publishing *Vag-bhata*, and the second by translating this most exhaustive work on old Hindoo medicine.

The remaining 50 books, included under medical works, were all written by native Vaidyas, and their numbers, if not their contents, show what firm hold the ancient system still has on the minds of our people.

The works on Philosophy and Science are mostly translations or adaptations. Thanks to the labours of Messrs. Marathe, Gole, Sahasrabuddhe, Sardesai, Dharapa, Kane, Apte, and Kelkar, and Dr. Chhatre, we have manuals, chiefly based on the Science Primer series, on "Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Physiology, and Logic," by Mr. Marathe, on "Air" by Mr. Gole, on "Water" by Mr. Sardesai, on "Natural Philosophy and Chemistry" by Professor Modak, on the "Solar System" by Mr. Dharap, on "Light and Sound" by Professor Modak, on "Geology" by Mr. Kane, on "Agriculture and Chemistry" by Mr. B. A. Gupte, on "Physical Geography" by Mr. Sahasrabuddhe. There are also works on Electricity, Magnetism, Heat, and Coal. Of these works, those on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy by Professor Modak are more than simple primers, being standard works on the subject. In respect of Astronomy, besides the primer texts, we have special works by Messrs. Dikshit, Kelkar, and Chitnis. Mr. Dikshit's

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ज्योतिर्विलास is a very readable and interesting work. He is also the author of a very elaborate treatise on the history of "Hindu Astronomy." The late Mr. J. B. Modak translated the astronomical portion of Bhaskaracharya's work, and also the *Vedanga Jotisha* (वेदांग ज्योतिष). Messrs. Dikshit and Modak spent the whole of their lives in the advocacy of a reform of the native calendar, by the adoption of the Sayana, in place of the Nirayana method in astronomical calculation. In the Mental and Moral Sciences, we have translations from Spencer's works on the Data of Ethics, and on Justice by Professor Bhanu; Mr. Sahasrabuddhe has translated Spencer's Education, and Mr. Fadke has translated the "Aphorisms on Evolution" and "the Elements of Morals." Mr. Bodas' अद्वैत मीमांसा, and Mr. Kanitkar's translation of Max Muller's Hibbert Lectures deserve mention in this place. The best work on Political Economy is by Mr. G. J. Agashe. Mr. Mule and Mr. Gupte have made themselves useful by publishing works respectively on the industrial wealth and the arts of India. In this department of literature, as remarked above, the graduates of the University have shown more interest than in any others. All the best works have been written by them, and both in point of merit and numbers, they represent a very large proportion. There are some useful works on the arts, among which we may notice a treatise on Agriculture by Messrs. Gupte and Raje, on "Instrumental and Vocal Music" by Mr. Gharpure, on "Cookery" by Parvatibai, and on the art of "Sewing" by Rukminibai. There are also special works on Drawing, Gymnastics, Telegraphy, Locomotives, Glass Manufacturing, Fireworks, and Dyeing.

This concludes our review of the present condition of the stock of works on biography, history, politics, law, medicine, philosophy, science and art. In the next chapter we shall notice the three remaining heads—dramas, novels, and prose essays, &c.

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PART IV.

DRAMAS, NOVELS, AND PROSE ESSAYS.

In all the departments of Marathi Literature which we have noticed above, namely, Biography, History, Politics, Law, Medicine, Philosophy and Science and Arts, the inspiration to originality chiefly comes from a study of English Literature or Science; and though the works are not formal translations, many of them are still imbued with the spirit of this new culture, and, therefore, bear the traces of their foreign models or originals of which they have been the adaptations. This is to some extent unavoidable. These departments represent the points of contact between the ancient and the modern, the East and the West; and, naturally, the modern and the Western spirit dominates over the ancient and the national elements. True original work, which represents the genius of the nation, must, under these circumstances, be looked for in the branches of Drama, Fiction, and general Prose Literature. Here the national elements have more freedom to display their own characteristic features, and the translated inspiration is less predominant than in other departments.

As regards the Drama, it has been already seen that there were not any original ancient dramatic works in the language, for the simple reason that the stage, as a means of popular education and amusement, had no place in the past history of Maharashtra. In the first fifty years, the only progress made was in the form of some ten works translated into Marathi by Mr. Parashurampant Godbole, and a few other Shastrees, from Sanskrit. During the last thirty years the number of translated dramas has been not very numerous, being in fact less than thirty. These, however, include translations of the plays of Shakespeare and Goldsmith, and of a few select Sanskrit dramas. The original works vastly outnumber the translations, being over three hundred; and this affords distinct proof that, in this department, the literary

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spirit has found a very favourable soil ; and the seed sown has multiplied in a most prolific manner. People still living well remember the sensation created about the year 1853, when the first dramatic company, formed at Sangli, visited Poona and Bombay, and presumed to cater to public amusement by stage representation. The enterprise of the promoters was handsomely rewarded by the public who found in it greater intellectual pleasure than they had experienced in witnessing the performances of the old (दशावतार) Dashavatar players, who used to come from the South Karnatic at great public festivals and *Jatras*. The encouragement, given to the company formed at Sangli, produced many imitators, and regular theatres began to be built in all large towns ; till now there is not a single large city which has not one or more theatres of its own. The promoter of the Sangli Company was one Mr. Vishnupant Bhawe, and his success has induced many others to follow his example, among whom we may mention Messrs. Kirloskar, Dongre, Patankar, Sathe, and others. Naturally this new-born taste encouraged the growth of Dramatic literature. At first there was no division of labour between the writers of dramas and the stage-managers of theatrical companies ; but, of late, these functions are not combined in one and the same person. The subjects of the earlier dramas were chiefly suggested by the stories of the Mahabharat and the Ramayan, and the Puranic myths ; and, even now, these form the chief bulk of the dramatic works in the language.

There has, however, been distinct improvement effected in three directions during the last thirty years. The addition of high class music and singing was made a speciality by some of the companies. The credit of this Sangit movement is solely due to Mr. Anna Kirloskar ; and the success which attended his efforts has encouraged a host of imitators. Out of a total number of two hundred and fifty works specially noticed by the Registrar of native publications, some fifty-three are Sangit-dramas ; and the best of them represent what may

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be styled as substitutes for the opera-performances on the native stage. A vast number of the so-called Sangit-works are of no literary value. Mr. Kirloskar's three plays, *Shakuntala*, *Soubhadra*, and *Ramrajyaviyoga*, however, still retain their pre-eminence in the esteem of the theatre-going public.

The second feature is the introduction of comic farces at the end of the old tiresome performances. These farces are called **प्रहसन** (*Prahasans*); and there are some thirty works named in the list, composed by persons who earn their living by writing such comedies. The third feature is closely allied to the last. Just as the farces superseded the interest in the old Puranic dramas, they have been in their turn succeeded by dramas which refer to social and political subjects. Out of the two hundred and fifty books specially noted in the list, nearly a hundred are devoted to non-mythic subjects. Many of them are translations from Shakespeare, some of which have been acted on the stage with success. Others represent the stirring events of Maratha History, such as the deaths of Afzulkhan, Narayen Rao Peshwa, and the self-immolation of the wife of the first Madhav Rao Peshwa, who died a *sati*. The greater part, however, refer to the present times with the struggle between the reformers and the orthodox people, on questions of infant, unequal and widow marriages, and female education. As might be expected, the majority of them cry down the reforms and the reformers.

It will thus be seen from this that in this department during the past thirty years great progress has been made. The improvement of the stage has been effected by the addition of high-class singing, by the gradual introduction of social, political, and moral topics, and the addition of farces. The entire movement is one full of promise for the future. It has certainly done much to elevate and refine the public taste, and to provide room for the cultivation of the higher sentiments. The only disappointing feature in what is, on the whole, a very satisfactory growth, is the fact that out of some

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hundred and fifty authors, whose names can be traced from the published lists, there are only eleven names of graduates of the University. Some of them are, no doubt, distinguished names, such as those of Messrs. Kanitkar, Agarkar, Ranade, Mahajani, Kolhatkar, Rajadhyaksh, Wagle, Kelkar, Chitale, Samant, and Kale; but these have, with the exception of Mr. S. M. Ranade, mostly devoted themselves to translations. The translations of Mr. Parashurampant Godbole, of Mr. V. J. Kirtane, Deval, Khare, Kanitkar, Kelkar, and Ranade are highly appreciated by the public. Among the writers of original dramas, the first rank is deservedly given to the elder Kirtane, who was late Diwan at Indore and Naib-Diwan at Baroda. Messrs. Ranade, Deval, Kirloskar, and Kanitkar may be mentioned as also occupying a very high level. Of course, judging by English standards, our best performances must occupy a subordinate place; but it is not fair to judge by this high standard the development of a branch of literature which has had as many decades to grow here as it has taken centuries to grow in England. At the same time, it is quite clear that the divorce between University education and the growth of original dramatic work is a matter which must cause serious anxiety to everyone interested in the promotion of our national literature.

Novels.—What has been observed above about dramatic works holds equally good of fiction, with this difference that fiction was not altogether unrepresented in our ancient literature. Fiction, of the sort represented by fairy tales, was known in the stories of the Vetāl-panchavishi, Vikrambattishi, Shukabhattari, and others. In the first instance, the additions made were of a kindred character. The Arabian Night's Tales, Hatim Tai, and the Persian tales are instances of these additions. In the first fifty years, modern Marathi fiction had made just a commencement with four or five works. During the last thirty years a very large addition has been made representing over three hundred works, and of these, some

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hundred and eighty-two have been specially noticed in the catalogues and reports of the Registrar of native publications. In the department of Fiction, translations have played a more important part than in the case of the Drama. The Sanskrit as well as the Urdu and the Persian languages have contributed several interesting models, but the works of English authors, such as Sir Walter Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Reynolds, Johnson, Swift, Defoe, and even some Italian and French authors, Boccaccio, and Dumas, have inspired many of our writers; but, after all, the Marathi works of fiction have a character of their own. Like the dramatic works, they may be divided into two classes: one being pure fiction, untrammelled by time, place, or circumstances, and appealing to our common human nature through the passion of love; and the other class is of the nature of the historical novels, limited by time and circumstances, and being intended to represent the modern conditions of life in all their variety and confusion. Of the first kind the best specimens are Praimabandhan, Vichitrapuri, Manjughosh, Muktamala, Mochangad, Veshdhari Panjabi, Anath Pandurang, Narayen Rao and Godavari; the best specimens of the second class are furnished by the writings of Nagesh Rao Bapat, Hari Narayen Apte. We may specially notice Apte's पण लक्षांत कोण वेतो and आजकालच्या गोष्टी, and Bapat's Bajirao Peshwa and पानपतची मोहीम. As in the case of dramatic works, the department of fiction has also not attracted much attention from our graduates. The names of about hundred and twenty authors can be traced in the official lists; and out of them, only about six or seven appear to be University graduates:—Messrs. Ranade, Kanitkar, Agashe, Bhide, Krishnarao Madhav, and Gunjkar. The best writers are those that are either non-University or pre-University men. Mr. Hari Narayen Apte and Nageshrao Bapat are our most popular and most distinguished novelists. Messrs. Halave, Risbud, Yogee, Kanitkar, and others, rank high in their own places. There is no par-

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ticular reason why when so many complaints about the want of suitable employment for graduates are heard on all sides, there should be so few from among them who devote themselves to literary pursuits which, in their own way, provide occupation or substantial remuneration to so many of their presumably less educated fellow-countrymen. Speaking roughly, the number of those who have edited ancient works, or brought out translations, or composed original works in all branches of literature, cannot be short of seven hundred; and out of this number the graduates are about sixty or seventy in all, that is, one to ten. The fault does not lie with the individuals so much as with the system under which they are brought up. Their education is so exclusively foreign that all incentives to study, and to add to, the stock of national literature is, for the most part, entirely wanting; and year after year this indifference and neglect are becoming more pronounced. This is the mournful conclusion taught by the figures which have been given above.

General Prose Literature.—Prose works shown in the reports under the head of Language make up a large number, about one hundred and fifty, exclusive of school-books. Out of these, about fifty books deserve a high place for their literary and other merits. Among these, we might mention in this place three works of travel, one by Pandita Ramabai, another by Mr. Pavagi, and Mr. Bhagwat's translation of Karsandas Mulajee's account of England and its people. These three works are, in fact, the only books which deserve notice under the head of travels in the language.

Mr. Bapat's *Sadvartana* (सद्वर्तन), Mr. Oka's *Madhumakshika* (मधुमक्षिका) and *Shirastedar* (शिरस्तेदार), Mr. Nagesh-rao Bapat's *Dadoji Kondadev* (दादोजी कोंडदेव), Mr. Agarkar's *Essays* published by him in the *Kesari* and select essays in the *Sudharak* and in other papers, Mr. Gole's *Brahmins and their learning*, Mr. C. V. Vaidya's series on social reform and early-marriage, Mr. Nana Pavagee's *Bharatiya-Samraja*

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(भारतीय साम्राज्य), the late Mr. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar's Nibandhmala (निबंधमाला) and the lives of Sanskrit poets, Mr. Barve's Confessions of a Thug, Pandita Ramabai's Streedharmaniti (स्त्रीधर्म नीति), Mr. Wagle's Bacon's Essays, Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat's Thoughts on Maratha History and Maharastradharma (महाराष्ट्र धर्म), Account of Dhoom Mahabaleshwar, by Mr. Udas, Mr. Gadgil's translation of the Pleasures of Life, Mr. Balasaheb Deva's translation of Cicero, and Reverend Baba Padamji's Sahitya-Shataka and Yamuna-paryatana, these and others may be mentioned as constituting a very good selection of prose-works for the general reader. The only heads that remain to be mentioned are Religion, and Travels. Besides the works on travels noticed above, there is a blank in our literature on the subject which has not been filled up during the last thirty years. The only other works which are classed under this head are accounts of pilgrimages to Benares, Rameshwar, and Gokarn Mahabaleshwar, &c., which possess no literary merits. As regards books on religion no remark seems to be necessary. Their number, no doubt, is considerable, but they are fleeting productions of no literary value and full of superstition. Miscellaneous works are one-fourth of the whole number and call for no remark. They include a large number of school books.

The periodicals and the newspapers deserve a passing notice in this place. As regards the periodicals, we have a large number, about 15 in all, at present courting public support. The most notable and the best conducted are विविध-ज्ञानविस्तार, ग्रन्थमाला, भाषान्तर, भारतवर्ष, ऐतिहासिक लेखसंग्रह, केळ कोकिळ, and बाळबोध. ग्रन्थमाला is edited by Professor Beejapurkar, भारतवर्ष edited by Messrs. Apte and Parasnis, ऐतिहासिक लेखसंग्रह by Vasudeo Shastri Khare and भाषान्तर by Mr. Rajwade. These are very useful in giving encouragement to young authors, but their circulation is very limited.

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As regards newspapers at present we have a large number, about 100, three of them are daily, and the rest are mostly weekly. Every zilla town, and in some districts every taluka town, has one or more newspapers. Compared with the state of things as it obtained thirty years ago, no department of literary activity has made more sensible progress than the newspapers of this country. We are here concerned only with the literary character of the native Press, and it may safely be said that the progress made is very encouraging. The best newspapers, some 16 in all, count their subscribers by thousands, whereas thirty years ago it was difficult to secure as many hundreds. On the staff of some of the best newspapers literary talent of a very high order is engaged, and in some cases the editors are well-paid for their labour. Still it must be remarked that most of these mofussil newspapers are enterprises carried on for finding work for the press hands which cannot be fully engaged otherwise in their own proper work, and the so-called editors are insufficiently educated and poorly paid.

We may conclude this review with a brief mention of a few female authors. Pandita Ramabai naturally takes the lead; Mrs. Kasibai Kanitkar, who has written a life of Anandibai Joshi ranks next; Miss Bhor, the author of पुष्पकरंडक, Mrs. Sawaskar, Godawaribai Pandit, Kashibai, Parwatibai, and Rukminibai may also be mentioned. One lady writer conducted a journal called the *Aryabhagini* for many years.

It may, indeed, be urged that while this review gives a fairly full view of the volume and variety of our literature, the further question still remains about the quality and excellence of the works of ancient prose and poetry and the translations and the original productions published during the last thirty years. We have given our own opinion of the quality and excellence of the works noticed by us under different heads. That opinion, however, may well appear to those who are not practically familiar with the subject to be only an individual esti-

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mate and, therefore, not entitled to special regard. With a view to anticipate this objection, we requested certain well-known Marathi authors and critics, both graduates and non-graduates, to send us lists of one hundred selected Marathi books, which, in their opinion, as far as circumstances permitted such a comparison, are fairly equivalent, in standard, to the text books in English and the second languages prescribed by the University. Nine such lists have been received by us from the following gentlemen:—

(1) Rao Bahadur K. M. Marathe, M. A., LL. B., author of many science primers.

(2) Rao Saheb G. V. Kanitkar, B. A., LL. B.—A translator of Max Muller's lectures and Mill's works and an author of many good poems.

(3) Professor C. G. Bhanu, B. A.—A translator of Spencer and an author of many other works.

(4) Professor Beejapurkar, M. A., Sanskrit teacher of Rajaram College, conducts a literary magazine.

(5) Mr. G. J. Agashe, B. A., Head Master, High School, Dhulia, an author of a work on Political Economy and a good critic.

These five were graduates. The other five were:—

(1) Mr. V. K. Oke, retired Deputy Inspector, and a well-known author of many works.

(2) Mr. Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat, Principal, Maratha High School, Bombay, a good Sanskrit scholar and an author of many historical works.

(3) Vasudeo Shastri Khare, author of "Nana Faranawis" and "Yeshwant Mahakavya," conducts a historical magazine.

(4) Mr. A. K. Kher and (5) H. K. Damale, the first author of a very good Marathi Grammar, and the second a translator of Gulliver's travels and other Marathi works.

These gentlemen settled their lists in consultation with other friends.

The late Mr. Krishnaji Parsharam Gadgil had, in his adaptation of Lubbock's "Pleasures of Life," already given such a list. The ten lists were carefully collated and compared, and the opinion of the ten gentlemen with regard to each work was noted down. It appears from this statement that there are about forty works of poetry, thirty ancient works

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and about ten modern works, about thirty biographies, the same number of histories and *Bakhars*, thirty novels, and the same number of dramas, about twenty-five essays and about twelve works on science—making in all two hundred books which, in the opinion of two or more of the gentlemen consulted, fulfilled the conditions of standard works. If we only include those approved by three or more, the number of books are about hundred and fifty; and those which are approved by five or more of the gentlemen consulted are about sixty in number, of which twenty are poems and forty works of prose.

PART V.

CONCLUSION.

The sixty books specially recommended as standard books by five or more of the expert authors and critics consulted, to which reference was made in the last part of this note, are as follows:—

POETRY.

1. Nalopakhyan (Raghunath Pandit).
2. Ram Vijaya } (Shridhar).
3. Hari Vijaya }
4. Mahabharat (Mukteshwar).
5. Kekawali } (Moropant).
6. Mahabharat }
7. Yatharthdeepika (Waman).
8. Dnyaneshwary (Dnyandeva).
9. Bhagvat (Eknath).
10. Amrutanubhava (Dnyandeva).
11. Lavanya (Rama Joshi).
12. Dasa Bodha } (Ramadas).
13. Advice to the Mind }
14. Gatha of Abhangs (Tukaram).
15. Raja Shivaji (Kunte).
16. The Pawades, or Ballads (Shaligram, publisher).
17. Ganga Varnan (Chintamani Pethkar).

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BIOGRAPHY.

18. Eknath (Sahasrabudhe).
19. Sambhaji and Rajaram (Bhagvat).
20. Rani Laxmibai (Parasnis).
21. Anandibai Joshi (Mrs. Kanitkar).
22. Socrates (Chiplunkar).
23. Nana Faranavis (Khare).
24. Parashram Bhau Patwardhan (Nigudkar).
25. George Washington (V. P. Ranade).
26. Mahadji Shinde (Natu).
27. Prithwiraj Chavan (G. H. Deshmukh).

HISTORY.

28. The United States (Pandita Ramabai).
29. Peshvyanchi Bakhar (Sohoni).
30. Bhausahabachi Bakhar.
31. Mahratta History (Grant Duff, Translation).

NOVELS.

32. Mee
33. Ajakalachya Goshti
34. Pan Lakshyat Kon Ghetto. } (Apte).
35. Anath Pandurang.
36. Prem Bandhan (Yogi).
37. Confessions of a Thug (Barve).
38. Bajirao Peshwa
39. Panpatchi Mohim } (N. Bapat).
40. Muktamala (Halve).
41. Mochangad (Gunjekar).

DRAMAS.

42. Kadambari (Deval).
43. Jaipal
44. The Elder Madhaorao Peshwa } (V. G. Kirtane).
45. Vikara Vilasit (Agarkar).
46. Mrichakatika
47. Vikramorvashiya
48. Venisamhar
49. Uttara Ramcharitra } (P. Godbole).
50. Tratika (Kelkar).
51. Shakuntal (Kirloskar).

SCIENCE.

52. Jyotirvilas (Dixit).
53. Anek Vidya Mula Tatwe (Chiplunkar).

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ESSAYS AND TRAVELS.

54. Bacon's Essays (Wagle).
55. Nibandha Mala (Chiplunkar).
56. Rasselas (G. Bapat).
57. Bharatiya Samrajya (N. Pavgi).
58. Vilayatcha Prawas (R. Pavgi).
59. Dhom Mahableshwar (Udas).
60. Kesaritul Nibandha (Agarkar).

The above list shows only seventeen works of poetry, but three out of the dramas are in the main poetry, and should be classed as such. Moropant's Mahabharat, though shown as a single work, is really a most voluminous production, as it includes all the eighteen Parvas. The same remark applies in part to Mukteshwar. It will be noted that the works are selected as standards for their general literary merits, and not as special books useful in particular departments. We hope the well considered opinions of the experts will remove any apprehensions that might be entertained about the quality and excellence of these works, as standards in prose and verse, every way fitted to take their place with many of the books in the second languages at present prescribed, and with some of the English works also.

This completes our review of the Growth of Marathi Literature during the past thirty-two years.

The conclusions to which this enquiry points may be briefly summed up as follows:—

(1) At the time when the University substituted classics for the vernaculars in the higher Arts examinations, there were very few prose publications worth mentioning, and the total number of works was small. The verse literature was both better in kind and large in quantity, and the advocates of the change then made were mistaken in their view that Marathi poetry was only a reflex of old Sanskrit models. The poverty of prose Marathi literature partly justified the change then made.

(2) The last thirty years have greatly altered this state of things. Instead of having about five or six hundred

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prose and poetical works of all kinds, excluding school-books which were published down to 1864, the number of works, excluding pamphlets, periodicals, and miscellaneous, now stands at about 8,000, out of which more than 7,000 were published during the past thirty years. The number of works has thus multiplied more than fifteen times what it was thirty years ago.

(3) Not only has the number increased enormously, but the proportion of verse to prose literature, as also the proportion of original works to reproduction and translations, and the proportion of school books to general literature, have all improved in a way to furnish satisfactory evidence of a genuine growth of the literary spirit among the people.

(4) As regards reproductions of ancient works of prose and verse, it may now be safely said that the 1,200 works falling under this head represent all that is most valuable in ancient poetry and historical Bakhars.

(5) As regards translations, their number is about 1,000. The contributions of Sanskrit and English literature of the better sort are nearly equal—Sanskrit having slightly the advantage. More than twenty first-class English authors, and all the best dramatic and novel literature in Sanskrit have been led under contribution to enrich the language.

(6) The departments of Biography, History, Politics, Law, Medicine, and Science, which were nearly blank prior to 1864, have now a large number of works which possess considerable literary merits. And as regards dramas, novels, and essays the progress made has been still more satisfactory.

(7) There can be no doubt that as things at present stand Marathi works of general literature, both prose and verse, can easily be found in considerable number required for the purpose which, in the opinion of experts, are fully equal in their standard of excellence to the general course of books prescribed by the University in second languages at least, if not to many of the books in English.

(8) In this remarkable development of literature the only weak points are—first, that it is not properly co-ordinated.

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There is a want of system in its growth due entirely to the absence of proper guidance.

(9) The other disappointing feature is that, except in the matter of translations and adaptations of scientific works and of Shakespeare's dramas, the graduates of the University are, with a few bright exceptions, conspicuous by their absence, and the whole credit of having enriched the language belongs to either non-University or pre-University authors. The writers of the best novels, the best dramas, the best biographies, the best histories, the best poets, and the best essayists are, as stated above, with some exceptions, outside the ranks of those whom the University honours with its distinction.

(10) Not only is this want of interest a general defect, but the indifference is growing every year. As a rule our boys cease to study the vernaculars as soon as they enter English schools, about the twelfth year of their age, if not earlier. They thus practically lose touch with their people, and by the time they obtain their degrees, too many among them find that they are unable either to talk or to write or read their current vernacular language. This want of familiarity breeds contempt for their mother-tongue, and people find it difficult to sympathise with a system which produces the unnatural results of so-called educated men being unable to speak or to write their own mother-tongue fluently and correctly.

The object which the Government had in view in organising the Educational Department and the University was expressly stated in the despatch of 1854 to be the diffusion of European knowledge, and this was to be accomplished by a careful cultivation by the students of our Universities of the English and vernacular languages. The cultivation of the vernacular languages was to be encouraged by the foundation of professorships in those languages, and if possible of Sanskrit and other classics. The students of our colleges were to be encouraged to learn English, not with a view to its

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substitution for the vernacular dialects, but with a view to enable the students to gradually enrich their own vernaculars with translations or original compositions imbued with the spirit of European advancement. Judged by this test it is plainly evident from the figures given above that the University system has failed to a large extent in accomplishing its main purpose.

Whatever difference of opinion there might exist upon other issues, there is no room for two opinions on this point. The divorce of Indian Universities and of their graduates from all interest in the development of the Indian vernaculars is an evil of the first magnitude. Various remedies have been suggested which it is not necessary to examine here. The question has come before the University on several occasions. It may be noticed that the real issue at present is not of rivalry between the classics and the vernaculars. The classics have their place just as much as the English; the study of both languages—English and Sanskrit—is necessary to one who seriously seeks to promote the literary cultivation of his own vernacular. The question now is how, while retaining the classics and the English in their places, students might be made to take interest in the study of their own vernaculars. Viewed in this light the discussions of 1862 and 1863 lose much of their practical interest. In 1888, when the question was again revived, the proposal was to enforce translation and original composition from the students in the examinations for the degrees in Arts. The committee appointed by the University accepted the proposal in their scheme, and the late Mr. Justice Telang undertook to propose the reform. By some tactical mistake the matter was allowed to fall through; and Mr. Modak's motion to add one vernacular book in the books for second language was negatived by a small majority. A further attempt was made by the author of this note in 1894, but though the proposal was accepted by the Faculty and the Syndicate, the Senate refused to proceed to vote

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about it on the alleged ground that the burden of translation and composition would be too heavy to bear, that it would operate unequally on those who had no vernaculars of their own, and finally that the proposal did not promote the literary study of the vernaculars. A fresh proposal is now before the University approved by some 54 Fellows, which suggests that the vernaculars should find a place in the optional second languages at the B. A. and the M. A. examinations. We publish the letter which has been addressed to the Vice-Chancellor as an appendix to this part.

It will be seen on a reference to it that it steers clear of the rocks of the previous controversies. The change proposed leaves the classics and English in their places, it makes no compulsory addition to any one's burden, it will leave the fullest liberty equally to all, and will promote a taste among some of the graduates for the study of the vernacular literature without in any way diverting the attention given to English and the classics. The present note has been written in fulfilment of an undertaking to place before the Fellows of the University suitable materials for forming a proper judgment by all who come to study the question without bias and prejudice, as to how the Marathi language in its present stage can safely be allowed to be studied as an optional second language, and the writer hopes that when the question becomes ripe for decision the Fellows will deal with it on its merits.

APPENDIX.

To the Honourable E. T. CANDY, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.

Sir,—We beg to submit herewith for the consideration of the Syndicate, and ultimately of the Senate, a proposal we desire to make with a view to encourage the study of the vernacular languages and literature in connection with the higher examinations of the University. The subject, as you are well aware, attracted the attention of the Secretary of State for India, and, at his suggestion, the Bombay Government recommended it to the consideration of the University some years ago. Various proposals were made accordingly to give effect to this suggestion. Ultimately the proposal took the

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form of a recommendation by the Syndicate that the candidates should be required to write an essay and to translate passages into their vernaculars in each of the higher examinations of the Arts Course. The motion was, however, rejected by the Senate by a small majority, thirty-four voting for it and forty-two voting against it. The particular grounds on which this proposal was rejected appear from the report of the discussion that took place to have been, first, that it would add to the burden of studies which was already heavy enough; secondly, that this burden would be unequally distributed, as there were some students who had not for their mother-tongue any of the vernaculars of this Presidency; thirdly, that essays and translations did not test scholarship and would not encourage the study of the higher vernacular literature of these languages.

2. The subject is one in which many Fellows of this University feel deep interest, and we think that the time has now come for again considering how far the objections noted above can be avoided, and encouragement given to the study of vernacular literature in connection with the higher Arts Examinations of the University. The proposal we have now to make for the consideration of the Syndicate is—(1) that candidates, who take up languages as their optional subject at the B. A. Examination, should be allowed the option of taking up either Marathi, Gujarathi, Canarese, or Hindustani as an alternative to the other second languages from which they are already permitted to make a choice. No change will have to be made in the existing rules except the addition of these vernaculars to the list of other languages specified in rule 31, clause 2, page 46. (2) We also submit that the same choice should be allowed in respect of the optional second language in the languages course for the M. A. Examination by a similar change in rule 57, clause 1, page 64.

3. This double or alternative proposal will impose no compulsory addition to the existing course, as it will allow an option to every student to take up what language he pleases for his second language. Secondly, the proposal is not open to the objection of inequality in the distribution of subjects. Those who have no vernaculars, or do not care for them, may take up the old classics or the modern French or Persian, if they so choose. Thirdly, the proposal, if sanctioned, will test real scholarship, and encourage the study of the higher literature to be found in these vernaculars. Fourthly, it will not interfere with the claims of the classics because in the B. A. course the student will have to study these classics amongst the compulsory subjects. It will thus be seen that our present proposal steers clear of the old objections and possesses some special advantages, which should recommend it to the Syndicate and the Senate.

4. It might indeed occur to some that many students will not take advantage of this alternative choice allowed to them, and that the practical results will be inappreciable. Our reply to this objection is that there are no materials to justify any such apprehension. Further, even if a few students were found to devote themselves to the higher study of their own

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vernaculars, these few students will be real scholars, and will be of incalculable service in developing in after life still further the resources of their mother-tongues, and thus bring honour to the University. Moreover, the University will have done its duty in this matter, and the blame will then rest on the people themselves. The objection that there is no provision at present in any of the Colleges for the teaching of higher vernacular literature need not be considered, because such recognition alone will create a demand which will surely in due time be easily supplied by special endowments and other agencies. Further, this objection applies equally well to many of the other languages already recognised by the University.

With these remarks we beg to submit to the Syndicate the proposal made above and request that it will recommend the proposal to the Senate for its favourable consideration. A beginning might be made with Marathi, Gujarathi, Kanarese, and Hindustani and the proposal is elastic enough to adapt itself to such a restricted experiment.—We beg to remain, &c.,

M. G. Ranade.
Vasudev J. Kirtikar.
K. R. Kirtikar.
Chimanlal H. Setalvad.
Jamiyram Nanabhai.
Bhalchandra Krishna.
N. G. Chandavarkar.
Gokuldas K. Parekh.
Kaikhosru N. Kabraji.
Narayan Vishnu Gokhale.
Kalabhai Lallubhai.
Nilkant V. Chhatre.
G. B. Prabhakar.
Kallandas Keshavdas Modi.
R. M. Sayani.
Abdulla M. Dharamsi.
R. D. Sethna.
Ratiram D. Dave.
Dosabhai Framji.
Shamrao Vithal.
Krishnarao A. Chemburkar.
Manekshaw J. Taleyarkhan.
Shivram V. Bhandarkar.
Ghanasham N. Nadkarni.
F. R. Vicajee.
Shantaram V. Kantak.
Pundlic Ganesh,

M. H. Hakim.
M. G. Deshmukh.
Premchand Roychand.
G. M. Tripathi.
Shantaram Vithal.
Nanabhai R. Ranina.
Dhanjibhai Navroji.
Purushottam B. Joshi.
Nagindas T. Marphatia.
Ibrahim Ahmadi.
Shaikh F. L. Mulla.
Harkisondas Narottamdas.
G. K. Gokhale.
T. K. Gajjar.
Mansukhram S. Tripathi.
Ismael Jan Mahomad.
N. A. F. Moos.
V. N. Nene.
Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.
Ganpat S. Rao.
Atmaram Pandurang.
Badrudin Tyabji.
Daji Abaji Khare.
Narayan Ballal Limaye.
V. N. Pathak,
G. A. Mankar.
Datu G. Sabnis.

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R. B. DADoba PANDURANG AND THE SWEDENBORG SCHOOL.

(*Poona Sarvajanic S. Quarterly*. Vol. I, No. 2, Oct. 1878.)

[This and the following two articles appeared in "Current Literature" of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabbha Quarterly.]

"A Hindu gentleman's reflections respecting the works of Swedenborg and the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church" by R. B. Dadoba Pandurang is a very interesting publication, and in the present state of our religious movements its perusal cannot fail to be suggestive of most salutary instruction to the more thoughtfully disposed among us. R. B. Dadoba Pandurang deservedly occupies a foremost place in the ranks of thoughtful inquirers after religious truth, and the fact that his letter to the Swedenborgian or New Church has been published by that body in London is a great compliment. It is a great relief to us to find that, as the result of fifty years' study, Dadoba, though he reveres the Holy Bible, and has made Christianity the favourite study of his life, has failed to accept the current doctrines of the Christian religion as a satisfactory solution of the problems of life and death. To judge from his letter under review, there is not a single point among the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Churches to which Dadoba has been able to subscribe his unqualified adhesion; nay more, he has expressed his dissent from the philosophy and rationale of these doctrines with unmistakable freedom, and the general impression left on the reader's mind from the perusal of his letter is that both Dadoba and the Swedenborgian Church have more affinities and points of agreement with the philosophy and mysticism of the old Hindu religion than with Christianity as it is professed and taught in the present day.

We shall briefly enumerate the points of these affinities and divergences. (1) Dadoba admits without reserve that

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the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, i. e. of three persons in the Godhead, appears to him to be paradoxical, and the arguments usually advanced in its support are characterized as mere cobwebs and stultiloquence. Dadoba would rather accept the Trayamurti of the Hindus as far more rational. The Swedenborgian solution of the question, namely that the father is the divine essence, the son is the personal manifestation of that essence, and the holy spirit is its sanctifying energy and influence, is a creed which Unitarians and Hindu theists may well subscribe, except that it is weak in the important point noticed by Dadoba that, by regarding the incarnate Christ as the only personal manifestation of the essence, it affects God's character in its infinity and omnipresence, and as the ruler not of the earth only, but of myriads of worlds besides. Dadoba's suggestion that Christ represents a personal manifestation of only a very small drop of the great unbounded ocean of the divine essence reconciles his views with the Hindu philosophy of incarnation. (2) On the question of the origin of evil, the creed taught by the Christians of the fall of Adam and Eve, and the consequences it has entailed upon mankind, appears monstrous and unjust to Dadoba, and the Swedenborgian solution that every man and woman are so many Adams and Eves, whose tempting serpent is their evil nature, which leads them astray in the false pride of knowledge and power, and the Eden tree of life is the growth of Godliness, the union of the man in the Lord and the Lord in the man, is the present Hindu theistic account of the great mystery, and has its foundations deep in the old Hindu philosophy. (3) With regard to the eternity of future rewards and punishments, and the final day of judgment, both Dadoba and the Swedenborgians repudiate the ordinary Christian notions as inconsistent with the divine character, and they subscribe to the Hindu theory that the soul is judged immediately after its separation from the body, and is relegated to other worlds, corresponding with the Swargs, Patals, Naraks and Lōks

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which Swedenborg professes to have seen in his visit to those parts in a state of absent or (Turiya) consciousness, and where he found Heathens and Christians indiscriminately mixing with one another. (4) With regard to the doctrine of the resurrection, the Christian view that the resurrection is to be of the material body of flesh and bones is so puerile that Dadoba regards it as a wonder how people ever come to believe in it. Dadoba with good reason recommends Christians to accept the Hindu and also the Swedenborgian solution of this question, namely, that the Sukshama or Ling Deha survives the separation from the body, and suffices to give effect to the powers of the soul, being endowed with respiratory and heart functions of its own. (5) According to the Christians, the descent of the Lord on the day of Judgment is to be on earth. Dadoba thinks that the Hindu belief on this head accords with the Swedenborgian creed, that there is to be no descent on earth which will be all burnt up at the appointed time. The human souls after their escape from the bodily coil live in spiritual worlds, and each soul has its own day of Judgment, not once, but at repeated stages of its advance. (6) With regard to the doctrine of salvation through the sacrificial atonement made by Jesus Christ's passion on the cross, Dadoba regards the Christian view to be similarly irreconcilable with God's character and man's reason. Vicarious sacrifice can never atone for the sins of men. Each soul must offer its own sacrifice on the cross, must become a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God. This is the modern theistic and the old Hindu solution, and the Swedenborgians and a section of the Unitarians have alone among Christian countries recognized this great spiritual truth. We have said enough on this subject to convey a general idea of the contents of the letter under review. The reception which Dadoba's letter has received, as also the change which has come upon an important section of the American spiritualists who have learned to revere the mysteries of the old Hindu theosophics, are only a few among many signs that the

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Church of the future will find as in times past its congenial home in India, and that it will here receive its full nourishment, and learn to strike its roots deep, and spread its branches throughout the civilized world.

THE RULERS OF BARODA.

(Poona Sarvajanic S. Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 4, April 1881.)

Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, the able tutor to His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, has compiled from original English and Native materials a very readable and instructive history of the former rulers of the Gaykawada family at Baroda. We do not know how far the learned author of this narrative has found it impossible to maintain the judicial independence of the historian in his criticism of men and measures. It is, however, an open secret that Mr. Elliot was obliged from official pressure to re-cast many portions of his history, and tone down the censures he had passed upon Native and British officials who were concerned as actors in the complex events of the past history of this State. The book, as it has been published, bears evident traces of such tinkering with the free course of the narrative, and the independence of an honest historian. Notwithstanding this fault, we feel convinced that every reader of this history will give the palm to it over all previous attempts of the kind. Its importance as a manual in the hands of H. H. the young Maharaja, for whose instruction it seems to have been specially intended, is simply invaluable. Passing over briefly the early Hindoo and Mussulman periods as being more of antiquarian than living interest, the author enlarges more at length upon the early invasions of Guzarath by the Maratha leaders. With the true instinct of an historian, he perceives clearly the strength and weakness of the Maratha power, and states fully how the ground was prepared for the substitution of native for alien rule about the time that these invasions commenced. He

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does full justice to the main spring of action in those days, we refer to the religious motive, which led the Hindoo Desais of Padra, Wasai, Chani, Bhayale and other places, as also the semi-Rajaput Chiefs of Bhils and Kolis to welcome the Maratha invasion as an escape from the personal misrule and fanaticism of the Mahomedan Emperors and Viceroys. The great Shiwaje's invasions in Guzaratha were confined to the sacking of Surat on three occasions, which however seem to have made no permanent impression. The foundations of the Maratha ascendancy were laid in the closing years of Aurangzeb's rule, when the great Dhanaji Jadhawa with the representatives of the Dabhade, Gaykawad, Kadambande, and Pawar families serving their apprenticeship under him, defeated the Mogul Viceroys at Ratanpoor and Babapiarah, followed shortly after by the still more decisive victories of Bharanpoor and Balapoor, in which last battle the first founder of the Gaykawad family won his spurs with the title of Samsher Bahadur in 1719. During the next ten years, the Maratha leaders played alternately with the Nizam's governors against the Emperor's viceroys, and in this confusion obtained a legitimate basis for the foundation of their rule by the concession of the right to levy Choutha and Sardeshmukhi in Guzaratha and Mahikatha in 1724. The most noticeable feature in the early history of the Gaykawad family was their jealousy of the Peshwa's power. This jealousy brought on three different struggles, in the first of which Dabhade's power was crushed at Dabhai, and Pilaji, the second Gaykawad became both Mutalika and Senakhaskela in 1731, and a tributary of the Peshwas. Damaji, the third Gaykawad, the greatest of the family, waged another struggle twenty years after with Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, which ended in the Gaykawad's defeat, and the division of Guzaratha between the Gaykawad and the Peshwas. The third struggle was brought on by Damaji's alliance with Raghoba Dada and the English, and it ended in 1768 with the defeat at Dhodapa. This defeat threatened the utter extinction of the Gaykawad's house as a

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reigning family, but the Peshwa's Darbar showed considerations for the ancient renown of Damaji and his ancestors, and after Damaji's death in 1768, recognized Fattesing as the regent of his son Sayaji, who was an imbecile. It was about this time that the Gaykawads removed from Sonagad to Baroda, which they made their capital in 1766. It was under Fatesing's rule that the Gaykawads threw off their allegiance, and tried to maintain their power against the Peshwas by an alliance with the English, which alliance alone saved the Gaykawad's Kingdom from the general collapse of the Maratha power at the beginning of this century. The first treaty between the British and the Gaykawad was formed in 1772, followed shortly after by the treaty of 1775, when the British and the Gaykawad's Government openly took up Raghoba Dada's side against the Peshwas. For thirty years this alliance continued till it ended in the virtual independence of the Gaykawad from the Peshwa's power, and his final subordination to the British Government. No moral interest attaches to this struggle, which had always the character of a scramble for power between rival claimants of the Gaykawad family. It was during these struggles that mercenary Arab and Abyssinian forces were first employed in Baroda by the rival claimants. The help of these mercenaries was found so useful that private subjects, especially the great banking houses, engaged their services to guarantee the payment of the monies due to them from the state. The British Government took advantage of the disorderly condition of the Gaykawad's finances to out-bid, and at last to oust, the foreign mercenary forces from Baroda. The first permanent interference of the British took place in 1802, when Major Walker was deputed by the Bombay Government to arbitrate between Raoji Appaji, the upstart Prabhu Dewan of Govindrao Gaykawad, and a rival claimant to the throne, Malharrao Gaykawad, the Jahagirdar of Kadi. Major Walker formed his first subsidiary treaty with the Gaykawad in 1802, and succeeded in buying off the Arab mercenaries in 1805, and

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accepted the responsibility for all the *Bahadoori* or guarantee engagements into which these mercenaries had entered for the protection of private subjects. From 1802-12, Major Walker had the charge of the whole Baroda administration, and with the help of the great Gangadhar Shastri Patwardhan, effected great reductions in the cost of administration, till the state was almost entirely freed from its debts to the private Sowcars. The debt due to the Peshwa on account of the tribute remained unpaid, and it was to effect a settlement of this debt, that Gangadhar Shastri went on his fatal mission to Poona. Bajirao sided with the Baroda party which was opposed to the English interest, and Gangadhar Shastri's murder was brought about by the principal agent of this party, Sitaram, the son of the Prabhu Dewan Raoji Appaji, who had been relieved of his duties by Major Walker. Gangadhar Shastri's murder led to the downfall of the Peshwa's power, and the final consolidation of the Gaykawad's kingdom, as it exists at present, was brought about by the treaties of exchange between Fattesing, the regent, and the British Government. We have no space to dilate upon the events of the great and unfortunate Sayaji and the alterations of fortune which happened to that ruler under the successive administrations of Mr. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, the Earl of Clare and Sir James Carnac the first four governors of this presidency. Mr. Elliot has done full justice in his narrative to the point of view from which Sayaji maintained his fight with the British authorities, who at one time proceeded under one pretence or another to sequester three-fourths of the Gaykawad's territories with a view to enforce his submission to his rebellious subjects. The full justification for Sayaji's conduct is afforded by the fact that the policy pursued towards him was finally condemned by the authorities in England, and his rebellious subjects, who had been taken under protection, were referred back to him for the settlement of their claims, and his sequestered territory was restored back to his rule. The imposition of

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the Guzaratha Contingent force in addition to the subsidiary force provided by the treaty of 1802 remained the only blot of disgrace. This unjust levy was not abolished till 1857, when the British Government gave up this claim in recognition of Khanderao Maharaja's loyalty during the Mutiny. The events of the reigns of Sayaji's three sons are matters of contemporary history, and Mr. Elliot has done well to avoid going into details upon subjects which are still subjects of burning controversy. By far the most important portion of this narrative is the account he gives from original sources of the revenue, judicial, and financial machinery of administration at Baroda under Khanderao's rule. These details, as also his connected narrative of the Mulukhagiri system in Kathiawad, the account of State Banks, and of the Potdar system of annual loans, and the gradual growth of Civil and Criminal Courts with the Codes of laws, cannot fail to be of interest to the young Maharaja and those scions of Baroda families who will be called upon shortly to assist the Maharaja in his government. Mr. Elliot has taken particular pains to expose the weak side of the old order of things. The gradual growth of absolute power in the hands of the reigning Gaykawad, the removal of all the old checks on this power caused by the weakening of the military classes, the entire dependence of the nobles on his pleasure by reason of their being disconnected with the possession of land, the peaceful character of the people subject to his rule,—these and many other points are well brought out in many portions of this history for the edification of the Royal Student. We can only hope that the young Maharaja will profit by the lessons his teacher has taught him, and that he will justify the favourable opinion pronounced by Mr. Elliot who expects to find the virtues of industry, determination, self-command and the law-abiding mood in this Farzand-i-Khas-i-Dowlat-i-Engli-shia, own favoured son of the British Empire. It is not unreasonably expected that the present native administration will prepare the way for a constitutional rule which will,

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while conserving all that is national in the past, secure the checks on arbitrary power which the future demands. It has been remarked that for the last eighty years there has not been a Dewan at Baroda who has not suffered a violent termination to his power, and in many cases to his life. During the same period there have been three interventions on the part of the British Government. These memorials of past misrule must cease, if Baroda is to turn a new leaf in history.

BUTLER'S METHOD OF ETHICS.

(*Poona Sarvajanic S. Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 3, January 1882.*)

Professor Selby of the Deccan College has published his notes of lectures on Butler's Analogy and Sermons in a pamphlet form, and while we admire the independence of spirit shown by the learned author, we cannot but regret that the young students of the Deccan College are fed on such sceptical pabulum in the most plastic period of their life. Professor Selby evidently belongs to the most advanced school of English speculation on moral philosophy, and it goes without saying that in such hands Butler's Sermons and Analogy are entirely misplaced. Professor Selby, from his points of advanced thought, looks down upon those who believe in immutable principles of right and wrong, as labouring under a delusion. There are according to him no such principles. He goes further, and proceeds to lay down that our conscience is a varying quantity, and is the result of inherited experiences of what makes or does not make for happiness. The next step to this, and Professor Selby makes no secret of his views, is to deny that God, as revealed in nature and man, is a perfectly good, wise, and Almighty Being, as Hindus and Christians, Musalmans and Parsis, have for thousands of years believed him to be. The moral government of the world by a system of rewards and punishments in the present and future states of existence is of course also a hallucination of

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faith. Mr. Mill's dilemma of God being either deficient in goodness or power is accepted by Professor Selby as unanswerable, and equally unanswerable is the conflict between human freedom and divine goodness in the explanation of the origin of evil and sin. There is no ground to hope that our souls do not perish with the body. Man is not made in the image of God, and while it is a fallacy to argue about the divine nature from human analogies, Professor Selby throws out a suggestion that human knowledge must in its nature be relative, and can have no absolute standard of correctness. We are thus landed on the dreary alternative of agnosticism, which the young students are taught to accept as the final word of science on the grave mysteries of life and thought, and man's hopes of personal communion with God are laughed away to make room for an inane faith in evolution, and the law of collective development and progress.

We do not feel disposed to question Professor Selby's right to his own honest convictions, but it is certainly a matter of regret with us that his position as teacher in one of our leading institutions should give him unusual opportunities to sap the foundations of his students' faith in matters of such grave import. Neither in his *Analogy* nor in his *Sermons* did Butler announce a complete theory of morals and theology. His object was to demonstrate the unreasonableness of a certain class of thinkers, who were satisfied with a certain measure of certitude in practical life, and were disposed to be more fastidious in exacting greater certitude in respect of the foundations of religion and morals. Butler argued not so much from his own positive stand-point, as from the stand-point of his opponents, and showed that on their own principles, theism and absolute morality were matters of reasonable certainty, sufficient for the purposes of the understanding and for practical conduct. With this limitation Butler's position is unassailable. To seek to assail it on the ground that Butler did not possess the historic sense, and that his know-

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ledge of physiology was not so complete as that of Professor Bains, appears to us to be an entire misapprehension of the purpose and scheme of Butler's writings. The empirical school of moral philosophy seems to us to take no account of the fact that the moral sense in men was a living fact long before society in its most rudimentary form existed; and even if by some conceivable mischance mankind were ever reduced in numbers to such an extent as to leave only two intelligent human beings on earth, morality would have as absolute a scope as it is allowed to have in the present day. On the theory of the greatest happiness school morality would have no place in a society composed of two members only, for if the loss of one was exactly balanced by the gain of the other, the distinction between virtue and vice would have no foundation. The fact appears to us to be that both the absolute and the empirical schools of moralists represent half the truth, and that while, on the one hand the moral sense is a rudimentary germ with which man is endowed as a part of his social nature, on the other hand its peculiar development is dependent on historic conditions. Transmission by heredity and accumulated experience is admitted even by the empirical school to have made the moral sense an intuitive and absolute guide for conduct, which was the great purpose Butler had in view. This concession furnishes a sufficient foundation for his system. Whatever the origin or the historic explanation of it may be, conscience is admitted by both the schools to be an authoritative monitor and arbiter in matters of duty, and there is no exaggeration in saying that it is the divine voice in man's heart. Even Mr. Mill has been compelled to admit that there are differences of kind, and not of degree only, between selfish and unselfish satisfaction, between the pleasures of the sense and the pleasures of virtuous conduct. Belief in the moral government of a perfect Being, and in the immortality of the soul, have made civilized man what he is at present found to be, and whatever may be the case with a few great thinkers, mankind generally can only be saved by this saving faith.

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Professor Selby's second lecture is devoted to the consideration of Butler's theory of Life according to Nature, and is to a large extent merely an abstract of Mr. Mill's Essays on Nature. We have little fault to find with this discussion of the fallacy involved in the use of a misleading phrase. At the same time, both Mr. Mill and Professor Selby appear to us to overlook the fact that nature, as here understood, is not the inert mass of matter, nor the animal propensities in man. It is the higher nature which makes man human, that is, his social nature, which is the rule of conduct prescribed for guidance by Butler and those who think with him on this point. It is the human part of man's nature, which, in its highest development, constitutes his conscience, as understood, by Butler. This is the key to the whole series of Butler's Sermons, and is the foundation of what he has rightly called the constitutional government of the heart. Brutal appetites, enlightened selfishness, generous benevolence, and lastly the sense of duty, all these form so many gradations of power, each weaker in strength, but higher in authority, in the order mentioned above. It is their harmonious action, not in proportion to their strength, but in proportion to their authority, which constitutes the essence of moral conduct. Historically, all these gradations of power may possibly be traced to the same simple feeling of self-defence. But this simple explanation, however valuable in theory, fails as a guide in determining the practical conduct of a fully developed social man, and the guidance of practical conduct was the great end and aim of Butler's system. Man may have been developed from the ape or the baboon by a principle of natural selection and the survival of the strongest, but for our present practical purposes, the two varieties of ape and man are essentially distinct. We cannot crawl on our bellies, nor hop like birds, nor wag our tails, nor can bird, reptile, or beast, speak or laugh or think as we do. We have lost some powers, and others have become our natural birth-right. In the same way, absolute morality may be a development or evolution dependent for its growth upon the social environ-

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ment, but, the growth of conscience being accomplished, it must be recognised as a fact of our nature, and dealt with accordingly. Hindu students especially need the strengthening influence which faith in God, and in conscience as His voice in the human heart, alone can give. The national mind can not rest in agnosticism. The experiment was tried once on a large scale by the greatest moral teacher of this or any other age. The failure of Buddhism is a warning that such teaching can have no hold on the national thought. At least young men in their school and College days are not fit subjects for such an experiment. Agnostic and atheistic teaching is certainly out of time at the most plastic period of youth, and can only result in a perversion of the understanding and the decay of all moral earnestness. The keen perception of this national danger is our only excuse for reviewing these lectures in a political periodical. The young men of each generation have in their hands the making of their country's future. Our Colleges are already cried down as places of godless education, and if the neutrality of the Government system of instruction is turned to account for the propagation of agnostic teaching, this charge will be to a great extent substantiated. We trust both professors and students will bear this view of the matter in their mind, and avoid all overt occasions for such an outcry.

PART II.

SOCIAL.

INTRODUCTION to "A collection by Mr. Vaidya containing the proceedings which led to the passing of Act XV of 1856."

The book was published in 1885.

The past twelve months have been notably distinguished for the warmth and freshness of light thrown upon many of our most cherished social institutions by free discussion. As is usual in the case of all discussions on social evils, much declamation and invective have been employed on both sides, to supply the place of calm and critical investigation, and the merits of the questions really at issue have been obscured by clouds of words and figures, and empty boasts of self-satisfied complacency. These questions really reduce themselves to two points of inquiry, first, whether or not the institutions assailed produce on the whole more of evil than good, and secondly, whether the evil that is in them admits of a speedier and more effective remedy than is implied in the advice of those who would let things alone, and would drift along with the stream of events, but neither exert themselves, nor permit others to make an effort, to regulate the current and make it run steadier and stronger in the desired direction. On the first point, taking the general sense of those who have spoken out on both sides, there appears to be a general agreement. The dispute here is confined to the alleged extent of the evils, which are freely admitted to be so. On the second point, the difference of views is radical, and there does not appear to be any great likelihood of an agreement ever being arrived at which will satisfy both parties. When one sees how men, who had grown grey in the denunciation of these evils, turned round immediately a suggestion was made for practical action, and joined the orthodox majority in their praise of the existing

Introduction to Mr. Vaidya's Book.

arrangements, the Political Rishi's warning about the defects of Hindu character seems to be more than justified. There appears to be no ground for hope, under such circumstances, of seeing any genuine reform movement springing up from within the heart of the nation, unless that heart is regenerated, not by cold calculations of utility, but by the cleansing fire of a religious revival. However, there is really nothing strange in all this outcry. There will always be, and there always have been, as Lord Ripon in another connection observed, a clean and an unclean party in small municipal, as well as in large social, arrangements. If the population of our cities were entirely left to themselves, and each man's or woman's vote was as good as another's, the good sense of the men of light and leading would no doubt prevail in the end, but, in the earlier stage of discussion and argument, we should doubtless hear many an appeal to the glory of our ancestors, their long life and vigour maintained, it might be proudly observed, in spite of, or in the absence of, municipal conservancy. Even in European countries, there are anti-vaccination doctors, Shakers, who take no medicine, but leave the body to cure itself, physical science pedants who still question the truth of the motion of the earth round its sun centre, and its motion round its own axis. A love of paradox is a weakness which clings to many great minds, grows with their other excellences like a parasitic excrescence. Leaving these unnatural developments aside, it is clear that there is a chance of producing a reasonable conviction among not the vast majority of those who do not think, but among the considerable minority who in every country lead opinion by informing it and setting it in proper form before the community in general.

Viewed in this light, there is abundant reason for hope that an historical study of these institutions will dispel many a false conception of the antiquity and sanctity of the existing arrangements.

The early celebration of child marriages, the forcible disfigurement of widows and absolute prohibition of remarriage

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In the higher castes, the occasional and local practices of polyandry and polygamy, are all admittedly corruptions of recent growth unknown to the best days of our country's history. The Hon. Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, who speaks with an authority which few will dispute, has freely admitted that the Hindu girl's marriageable age is 12, and that the corresponding age for boys has been reduced from time to time as the period of Brahmacharya studies was more and more curtailed. Taking the most narrow acceptance of the Grihya Sutra rules, this period could not well be legally curtailed below 12 years, thus making the marriageable age for boys 20 years. In regard to the question of widow marriage, it is admitted by the orthodox leaders of the opposition that the prohibition forms part of the Kali Nisheda, or prohibitions intended for the Kali Yug. The writings of Manu and Yajñavalkya show, what the Itihasas and Purans confirm, that monogamy is the natural condition of Aryan life, and that both polygamy and polyandry are disreputable excrescences. Nobody can, under these circumstances, contend that, on the strictest interpretation of the texts, the local usages which obtain at present agree with our best traditions of the past. Those who advocate a return to the old order of things are thus in good company, and are not foreign imitators.

We have to consider, next, how it came to pass that the Aryan population in course of time departed from the vigorous and healthy usages of their ancestors. Such an enquiry alone will enable us, who now aspire after a higher life, to trace our way back without risk of failure or disappointment. The Hindu community has always been self-contained, if not original, in its grasp of social matters, and no analogies drawn from Christian or mahomedan nations can have any convincing force, unless they are supported by reasons and associations of our own venerable past.

The rise and fall of female rights and status in Hindu Aryan Society has a history of its own, at once interesting

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and suggestive in its analogies to the corresponding developments in the institutions of another kindred stock, the Roman Aryans, who have so largely influenced European ideas. Both began by a complete subordination of the women in the family to the men, and of the men themselves to the head of the family. In early Vedic times, the woman was, like the deformed or the sickly member of a family, devoid of rights, and, being incapable of self-protection, was disentitled to share the inheritance. The succession in a united family after the death of its chief went to the surviving male members, his sons and brothers, and in their default to the more distant agnate males.

The earlier Sutrakars, Baudhayana and Apasthamba, clearly re-affirmed this exclusion from inheritance and asserted the perpetual subjection of every woman to her father, her husband, and her son. Gradually, however, as the Aryans settled in the land, and the necessities of war gave place to the gentler virtues and victories of peace, the earlier Smritis found admission by express texts for the wife, the mother, the grand-mother, the daughter, and the sister, and finally to the female relations of the male Gotraja Sapinda. It is hardly necessary to follow this growth step by step. Corresponding with this recognition of the claims of family affection, a chivalrous regard for women, and for their personal comfort and liberty, was asserted in other ways. The women took equal part with the husbands in solemn religious rites, and as queens took their places in great religious sacrifices and the deliberations of State on occasions of display and power. They were permitted at their choice to remain single and unmarried, and neither the father nor the mother would interfere by exercising their power of choosing husbands for them. They were poets, philosophers, and Rishis, and composed hymns and wrote works, and studied and argued with men on equal terms. This went on for many centuries, and the proofs of it are too numerous in all our Purans and Itihasas to admit

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of any hesitation on the part of even the most hostile critic. Marriage was optional with man as well as with woman. The text of the Marriage ritual, the rule for selecting brides or rather bridegrooms, the practice of Swayamwar in mature age, the liberty to be married again on the death, or absence, or incurable impotency, of the first husband, both before and after consummation, the strictness of the monogamous tie, all these privileges were conceded to women in the natural growth of things.

Thus far there was no break of continuity, and all was smooth sailing. The analogies between the Roman and Hindu developments were complete so far. In course of time, the Aryans like the Romans, having overcome their enemies, fell to fighting among themselves, and long and murderous wars between Brahmins and Kshatriyas devastated the land. Under the pressure of these complicated difficulties, the strong love of the active virtues of fighting and hunting, chivalrous regard for women, and the enjoyment of the pleasures of life generally, gave way to a philosophy which regarded life and being itself as a pain and a calamity, the bustle of the arts of peace and war as unrelieved weeping and lamentation. And naturally weak woman, from being the soul of chastity and virtue, came to be described as a snare and a burden. The gods who had cheered the conquering and militant Aryans with their countenance, retired with the Rishis to the Himalayas and beyond. They could no longer be seen, and gave way to a fatalistic belief that man was the slave of his own miserable *karma*, and must bear it patiently till he learned how best to throw off this mortal coil. The great excess of bad passions which had deluged the land with fratricidal blood demoralized society, and lowered the status of women in the family, the state, and in the social arrangements generally. The Aryan ideals lost their charm, and a lower type of character and morality asserted its predominance as the down-trodden races, which had been driven to the hills, issued from their haunts, and fell upon the demoralized and disunited Aryan kingdoms on all sides. At

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the same time, a new race of invaders from Central Asia, partly Scythian and partly Mongolian in stock, entered India by the north-west, drove before them the old Aryans, and established their power and colonies in the Panjab, in Sind, in Rajputana, and Central India, Guzerat, and even parts of Maharastra. This process of the upheaval of non-Aryan races, and the invasion and settlement of barbarian Scythian conquerors, was in active development for many centuries, and these ethnic and political forces have profoundly modified the institutions and usages of modern India. They brought to the surface races of men with a lower civilization, more patriarchal, and therefore less chivalrous, ideals of life. Polyandry has always been a normal institution of the non-Aryan or Scythian races. It derived new dignity from the rise to power of these backward races. The woman's lot has always been one of dependence and misery in barbarous countries. It could not be otherwise here. Women in these ruder races were bartered in marriage as chattels moveable or slaves. They were burned with their deceased lords, with his bows and arrows, his horse and weapons, to provide for his comfort in another world. When these races rose to power, the better minds were driven to seek shelter in asceticism and abandonment of the world which had for them no charms, and only misery, life-long and unrelieved, and instead of being the deity of peace and good will in the family, women became the symbol of corruption and vice. Optional celibacy and Swayamvar were out of the question. The old state of pupilage and dependence was re-affirmed. Late marriages, and the liberty of second marriage to widows, were denounced, though here and there they were allowed to associate with their husband's surviving brother for the purpose of procreating children for him. The well-marked four-fold divisions of life lost their meaning and their sanctity, and baby and child espousals could not but come into fashion, and bring in their train polygamy and concubinage. Things thus settled themselves on this lower level of barbarous usages.

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Gradually the better and the Aryan portion of the community recovered from the surprise and discomfiture, and the dark clouds of the Middle Ages of Indian History, the dreaded Kali Yug of the Purans, began to clear up. The Aryan Religion, social polity, and marriage institutions were reformed on a footing of compromise, and those who guided the course of events tried their best to re-assert the dominion of the Vedas and of the Brahmins, who represented in their persons the highest civilization of the olden days. This form of restoration and renaissance was again interrupted by the Mahomedan invasions, which repeated for some centuries all the horrors of the previous dark period. Before the license of Mahomedan outrage, women shrank from public gaze, and it became necessary for their safety to secrete them within the dark recesses of the house. Polygamy and illicit concubinage became once more fashionable.

It will be clear from this review that internal dissensions, the upheaval of non-Aryan races, and the predominance acquired by barbarous Scythian and Mahomedan conquerors, degraded the condition of the female sex, deprived them of their rights of inheritance and freedom, and made woman dependent on man's caprice, instead of being his equal and honored help-mate. Political and ethnic agencies of great power have wrought the evil, and we cannot afford to lose sight of this fact in our attempts to elevate the status of the female sex. Fortunately, the causes which brought on this degradation have been counteracted by Providential guidance, and we have now, with a living example before us of how pure Aryan customs, unaffected by barbarous laws and patriarchal notions, resemble our own ancient usages, to take up the thread where we dropped it under foreign and barbarous pressure, and restore the old healthy practices, rendered so dear by their association with our best days, and justified by that higher reason which is the sanction of God in man's bosom.

The next question is, as stated above, a more difficult one to deal with. How is this gentle revolution to be effected

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without breaking with the past, is a problem which admits of difference of views. There are two schools of thinkers among those who have discussed this subject. One set would utilize all the active and passive agencies which tend to encourage and vitalize reform ; the other set would leave things to take their own course, firm in the confidence that the passive agencies at work would secure all our ends just as we desire, slowly but surely. Those who feel the full force of the ethnical and political causes mentioned above, and also feel how necessary it is, at certain stages of man's progress to secure the assertion of right ideas by the highest sanctions, advocate to some extent the help of State regulation, as representing the highest and most disinterested wisdom of the times, working to give effect to the other tendencies, concentrating and popularizing them. Those who are not sufficiently alive to these considerations would trust to education and the gradual development of better ideas by their own internal force, to achieve all that we desire. It is needless to state that the publication to which these remarks are pre-faced is intended to strengthen the hands of the first set of thinkers, and to show, by the example of what occurred in the past, that timely State regulation is not attended with the mischiefs which people attribute to it, and that it co-ordinates and vivifies the healthy action of the other agencies. It becomes, in this connection, necessary to consider briefly the several objections urged by the advocates of the let-alone school in their order of relative importance.

The first objection urged on this head is that these are social questions, which it is not the duty of the State to regulate. We answer that this argument is not open to those who welcome, as the vast majority of this class of opponents freely acknowledge, State regulation of *sati* and widow marriage, of infanticide, the self-murder of jogees on the Ganges, and hook-swinging before idol shrines, or to those who propose compulsory education, and compulsory vaccination, and sa-

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nitary precautions generally. Individual liberty of action is no doubt a great force, but this liberty has its limitations imposed by the fact that no man's liberty should encroach upon the liberty of those who surround him. Whenever there is a large amount of unredressed evil suffered by people who cannot adopt their own remedy, the State has a function to regulate and minimize the evil, if by so regulating it, the evil can be minimized better than by individual effort and without leading to other worse abuses. The State in its collective capacity represents the power, the wisdom, the mercy and charity, of its best citizens. What a single man, or a combination of men, can best do on their own account, that the State may not do, but it cannot shirk its duty if it sees its way to remedy evils, which no private combination of men can check adequately or which it can deal with more speedily and effectively than any private combination of men can do. In these latter cases, the State's regulating action has its sphere of duty marked out clearly. On this, and on this principle alone, can State action be justified in many important departments of its activity, such as the enforcement of education, sanitation, of State undertakings like the Postal service, or subsidizing private effort in Railway extension and commercial development. The regulation of marriageable age has in all countries, like the regulation of minority, or the fit age for contracts, been a part of its national jurisprudence, and it cannot be said with justice that this question lies out of its sphere. The same observation holds true of the condition of the widow rendered miserable in early life, and thrown helpless on the world. More legitimately than minors, the widows are the wards of the nation's humanity, and to the extent that the evil they suffer is remediable by man, it cannot be said that this remedy may not be considered by the State as fully within its proper function.

The next argument urged on the other side is that the evil is not so great as some people think, and that it really needs

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no State action. There can be no doubt that, to some extent, Mr. Malabari has laid himself open to this side attack. The evils of child-marriage, and enforced widowhood, and unrestricted polygamy, are not quantitatively, and calculating them by statistical returns, so great as Mr. Malabari described them to be. But this does not go to show that, after making due allowance for all exaggerations, the residue of unredressed wrong which calls for remedy is not sufficiently great to justify action. Much the same thing was said when it was proposed to prohibit Sati or Infanticide. Wherever there is undeserved misery endured in a large number of cases, there is a ground for State interference, always supposing that the interference will lead to the redress of the wrong, better than any individual effort can accomplish.

A third way of stating the same objection is that the parties who suffer do not complain of it, and strangers have therefore no business to intervene. This is a very old line of defence. It was urged as an argument against the abolition of slavery, as well as against the laws which rendered Sati and Infanticide crimes, and validated widow marriages. Perhaps the worst effect of injustice is that it depresses the down-trodden victims to such an extent that they lick the hand of the oppressor. The slaves fought on the side of the Southern planters against their Northern liberators. No wonder then, if the helpless women and widows side with the orthodox majority. If the State contemplated forcible action in spite of the wishes of the victims, the argument might be urged with some effect. But nobody in his senses can, or does, contemplate any such method of procedure. Widows and children are not the proper persons who can seek their own relief under the wrong that is done to them, and to society, and this argument therefore falls to the ground.

Fourthly, it is urged that admitting the fact that such regulation falls within the province of State action, and that these evils, after making all allowances for exaggeration, and

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the apathy of the victims, are still sufficient to justify State action, if such action can remedy the wrong without leading to other and greater abuses, and that it is not proper to wait till the victims rebel—it is urged that a foreign Government cannot be trusted with this power. This jealousy of foreign interference in social matters is not altogether a bad sign, and if the interference was of foreign initiation, the force of this argument would be irresistible. In this case, however, the foreign rulers have no interest to move of their own accord. If they consulted their selfish interests only, they would rather let us remain as we are, disorganized and demoralized, stunted and deformed, with the curse of folly and wickedness paralyzing all the healthy activities and vital energies of our social body. The initiation is to be our own, and based chiefly upon the example of our venerated past, and dictated by the sense of the most representative and enlightened men in the community, and all that is sought at the hands of the foreigners is to give to this responsible sense, as embodied in the practices and usages of the respectable classes, the force and the sanction of law. These considerations weighed with our leaders in the past when they welcomed this co-operation in the abolition of Sati and Infanticide, and in the recognition of the validity of widow marriages. If we are to abjure such help under all circumstances, we must perforce fall back behind the Parsis, Mahomedans, and Christians, who have freely availed themselves of the help in recasting their social arrangements. Further, as it is likely that foreign rule will last over us for an indefinite length of time, we reduce ourselves, by accepting this policy, to the extreme absurdity of shutting out a very useful help for many centuries to come. In such matters, the distinction of foreign and domestic rulers is a distinction without difference. It has a meaning and significance when foreign interests override native interests, but when the foreigners have no interest to serve, and the initiative is to be all our own, the recognition of State help is not open to the stock objection urged by those who think that we forfeit our

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independence by seeking such regulation on lines approved by us.

Fifthly—It is further urged in deprecation of State action that in this matter we must not lose sight of the fact that institutions, like constitutions, must grow, and cannot be made to conform with foreign ideals to order. There is a great force in this observation, and it would be a fatal objection if the argument for change were based on the ground that we must copy the foreign exemplar. The remarks which have been made above are, however, a sufficient answer to this allegation. The change is sought not as an innovation, but as a return and restoration to the days of our past history. Those who advocate it justify it on the authority of texts revered, and admitted to be binding to this day. The intermediate corruption and degradation was not of the nation's seeking. It was forced upon it by the predominance of barbarous influences, and by the intolerance of ruthless conquerors. That force having ceased to be operative, we must now return to the old order of things, if we are to grow to our old proportions. The history of the suppression of Infanticide and of Sati shows that these institutions, which had grown as excrescences upon the healthy system of ancient Hindu Society, were checked, and could be checked, only by the strong arm of Law, and once they were denounced as crimes, they disappeared from the face of the country. Before Government made up its mind to deal finally with these evils, the usual arguments that Institutions grow, and cannot be made to order, were urged, and the duty of religious neutrality was held up *in terrorem* to frighten the timid and arouse the passions of the ignorant and the prejudiced. The diseased corruptions of the body cannot, and should not, be dealt with in the same way as its normal and healthy developments. The sharp surgical operation, and not the homœopathic infinitesimally small pill, is the proper remedy for the first class of disorders, and the analogy holds good in the diseases of the body politic,

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as well as the material body as also in dealing with the parasitical growths of social degeneration.

Sixthly—The apprehensions against State legislation expressed in some quarters might have been most reasonable if, as a fact, Hindu society was really not governed by any law, and it was proposed for the first time to regulate these matters by subjecting them to the regulating action of the State. The fact, however, is that a law, a written law, and a very stringent one too, does regulate these matters, and it is enforced much in the same way as other laws. The courts are bound to give effect to that law, and decree personal rights and disabilities in strict accordance with it. What is now proposed is to substitute the more ancient and righteous law for a later corruption, cancel a law which is condemned by a law more reasonable, at least more amenable to reason, utilize the force of State sanction as a final support. No private understanding can prevail against the coercive power of this corrupt law. The new law proposed is itself not a foreign importation, but is only a revival of the ancient law of the country as laid down in the texts, and all that the Government is called on to do is to revert from the times of corruption to the times when Hindu Society was more healthy and vigorous.

There is another incidental and an important advantage likely to accrue in consequence of the change proposed. All progress in social liberation tends to be a change from the law of status to the law of contract, from the restraints of family and caste customs to the self-imposed restraints of the free will of the individual. Nay more, the present confusion of judicial authorities on ancient Hindu Law and custom furnishes the strongest argument for a definite pronouncement on the subject by the legislature. There is not a custom however absurd which cannot be defended by some strong text of law. The usual practice of reconciling texts intended for different ages and countries, and the loss of the spirit of true criticism, have benumbed the power of judgment. The libe-

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ration from superstitious thralldom, which will result from the changes proposed, is not likely to be the least of its benefits. It will be necessary to be very circumspect in graduating the change desired to meet exactly the extent of the evil crying for redress. The past century or half a century has effected a change in national sentiment, which, if not recognized to the extent it has gone, will only lead to a catastrophe and revulsion of feeling that will be simply irresistible, and may involve the ruin of many interests dear to the nation's heart.

There is only one more objection which we think deserves a passing notice. It is said that all previous legislation was directed against positive crimes, or was only of a permissive nature, while the evils now sought to be remedied are not crimes, and the remedies proposed are not of a permissive character. On the first point, we must urge that the practices now complained of are in some respects far more criminal than those which State action has checked. Sati was committed under temporary insanity caused by grief, while infanticide was in too many cases dictated by a similar mad impulse. They were both offences not committed in cold blood, and their effects spent themselves in a single act of violence, which inflicted the greatest shock on the perpetrator himself or herself. In most cases, enforced widowhood and disfigurement, the destruction of home sanctity by polygamous connections, the stupidity of baby marriages, are not impulsive acts, they are done in cold blood, and they inflict lifelong and undeserved misery on helpless victims, while the offenders suffer but little. So far as their moral heinousness is concerned, they are inflictions of injustice without any redeeming features, and the criminal responsibility of the nation is beyond all reprove.

As regards the question of permissive *versus* compulsory legislation, we have no patience with those who can find consolation in empty words. The remedies proposed are in their nature permissive, and need give offence to nobody. If

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the law lays down strictly that no polygamous connections shall be entered into except for reasons specially permitted by the ancient law of Manu, we fail to see how such legislation is more compulsory than permissive. When the law lays down that no widow may disfigure herself except of deliberate choice, and at a fit time of life, say after she is 25 years old, where indeed is the compulsion? When the law lays down that marriages shall not be celebrated below a certain age, 12 for girls and 18 for boys, under penalty that earlier celebrations will not meet with the recognition of the Civil Courts in cases of disputes, where again is the compulsion.

We have thus noticed and answered all the usual objections urged by those who honestly support the continuance of the existing order of things. The question of principle is one which must first be argued out in all its bearings. Once the principle is recognized, the details of legislation may safely be left to the common sense of the community. It is with this view that the compiler of this publication has addressed himself to the task of placing before the public, in an accessible form, the literature of the subject in the shape of the debates that took place when the Widow Marriage Bill was just introduced in the Legislative Council 30 years ago. The arguments then urged and refuted have a curious family likeness to those we hear at present, and just as the apprehensions then entertained were disappointed, so surely we trust to see that all our ignorant prophecies will be falsified. The directions in which the marriage law needs reform have been already briefly indicated. Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao has already sketched out a draft Bill in which some of the reforms urgently required are set forth in full detail. The late Maharaja of Burdwan submitted 30 years ago a scheme for abolishing polygamy, which will be found in the Appendix to these papers. The views of those who have given thought to the subject on this side of India may be briefly thus summarized.

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(1) We would fix 12 and 18 as the minimum ages of marriage for girls and boys. These periods are in full keeping with the most approved practice, and the more respectable orthodox sentiment of the present day. Even Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik has stated 12 years for females as a permissible limit, and for boys we do not think he will regard 18 years as an unreasonable limit.

(2) Marriages contracted before this age should be discouraged not by pains and penalties of the criminal law, but by the attendant risk of making them liable to be ignored in case of disputes in the Civil and Criminal Courts.

(3) Marriage, unless consummated by actual cohabitation, should not be recognized as a perfect union before the limits laid down above are reached. Before such consummation, the girl should not be recognized as having become one with the husband in Gotra, Pinda, and Sutaka. This is the ancient law, and our reversion to it will do away with the superstition which paralyses the action of parents in dealing with the misery of child widows.

(4) We would on no account permit disfigurement except after 25 years, when the female is really alive to the circumstances of her position, and can choose deliberately the celibate course of life.

(5) Under no circumstances should one wife be superseded by a second connection, except under the safeguards, recognized by Manu and other writers.

(6) The widow's forfeiture of her husband's estate as a consequence of her second marriage should be done away with, and her life interest in her husband's inheritance should remain intact, whatever her choice of life might be.

These are the several reforms we advocate. We are fully aware that the details of legislation will not be easily settled, without suggesting many difficulties and doubts which will have to be provided against. The time, however, for suggesting these details has yet to come. We think the discussion

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has now reached a stage when all sides may well agree in asking for a Commission of Inquiry. Such a Commission, composed of representative Natives and Europeans, on the model of the Education Commission, will pave the way for practical suggestions. Its inquiries will give point to the discussion, and tend to preserve the interest that has been aroused in all quarters.

The Second Social Conference-Allahabad 1888.

"THE SCOPE & POSITION OF THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE."

Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade said :—With the permission of the President, I have taken upon myself the duty of giving to the gentlemen assembled in this Conference, a general idea of what it is proposed to do at this meeting. In the first place, I am glad to see that so many friends from all parts of the country have come together to take part in the work of the Conference. You are all aware that we meet here to-day, in accordance with the resolution adopted at Madras last year, when we held our first Social Conference there. Though the President, Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao, and the General Secretary, Dewan Bahadur R. Ragunatha Rao have been prevented by illness from coming to Allahabad, it is very satisfactory to see that we have on the platform here to-day so many men of light and leading from Bengal, the N. W. Provinces, the Punjab, Madras, and Bombay. What is more satisfactory still is the fact that everybody seems to be in earnest, and recognizes the necessity of seriously considering the many questions of social reform which press for solution at our hands. When I watch the growth of public feeling on this subject, as it has manifested itself in our successive meetings during the last four years at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and now here at Allahabad, I feel that a great and welcome change has taken

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place in the attitude of the public mind in its relation towards the work of this Conference.

This change of feeling was clearly seen at the preliminary meeting of delegates and visitors interested in social reform, which was held in the drawing-room on Friday last. Though we had no time to advertise the meeting properly, about 200 gentlemen assembled on that occasion, and many friends from different parts of the country gave us an account of what was being done in the way of social reform in the various provinces of India. I was glad to see that Mr. Kashi Prashad gave a very interesting account of the work of the influential Hindu Association of which he is the Secretary, and Munshi Har-govind Dayal from Lucknow gave us an account of the great Kayastha Conference held here about two months ago. The members of the Jain Reform Association of Guzarat have sent their delegates to the Conference, and similar delegates have been sent by the Madras meeting which was held there a few weeks ago for this express purpose. It was settled at that preliminary meeting that we should meet here to-day, and give our serious consideration to the subjects which have agitated the minds of the Hindu community all over India.

Before proceeding to lay before you the programme of subjects which we have to deliberate upon to-day, it will be as well, if I make a few remarks as to the exact scope and position of the Conference. I need hardly tell you that the Conference is not intended to be a new association aiming at superseding or controlling the local societies which are doing, each in its sphere, good and, as I believe, honest work. The conditions of Hindu society and of the various castes and divisions of which it is composed preclude the idea of our meeting together in a common association, in the same way as we meet together in the political Congress. In the Congress, we meet as citizens of one empire, subjects of one sovereign—obeying the same laws, liable to pay the same taxes, claiming the same privileges, and complaining of the

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same grievances. This common character makes the deliberations of the Congress a matter of common anxiety to all, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians, Europeans, without distinction of colour or creed. There are, no doubt, even in political matters, subjects which interest the several provinces locally ; and these we have to relegate to the provincial meetings.

In social matters this difference of interest makes itself still more manifest ; and apart from distinctions of creed and race, among the Hindu community itself, the customs of one province do not obtain in another, and the caste organization is based on different principles in different provinces. Polygamy prevails in one province, while it is almost unknown in others. The widow's unhappy disabilities affect different castes in different ways. Infant marriages are unknown in many castes and communities, while they represent a great evil in other classes. The prohibitions against foreign travel are operative in one place, while they are practically not of much moment elsewhere. These circumstances have to be borne in mind, and they naturally prevent a common effort by a single association being made for the achievement of a common purpose. The Conference, however, has a very important function of its own. While not superseding the local associations, it is intended to strengthen their local efforts, by focussing together the information of what is being done in these matters in the several communities and provinces and castes, and thus stimulating mutual co-operation by extending sympathy and help. Each local body must grapple with its own evils ; but in this struggle it is very necessary that it should know what are the common principles on which the struggle is to be maintained, what are the methods to be followed, and the conditions and limitations to be observed. It is in respect of these principles and methods and limitations, that the work of the local associations presents common features, and it is in respect of this common element that our

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deliberations in this Social Conference are likely to be very helpful to us all. The difficulties, referred to above, make it impossible, to some extent, for us all to adopt, as in the political Congress, definite resolutions on particular subjects. Meeting as we do here to-day, as members subject to different caste jurisdictions in social matters, it will be hopeless to expect that our resolutions will carry the weight which the resolutions of the Congress are in a position to secure for themselves. It is on this account, that we have to confine ourselves to recommendations from the general body to local and caste associations, which these latter are to take into their consideration and give effect to, within their own sphere, in such directions as they deem convenient or necessary.

I hope that I have clearly distinguished the particular work of the Conference. The Conference is intended to strengthen the hands of the local associations, and to furnish information to each association, province or caste as to what is being done by others similarly situated in the same province or other provinces or castes, and to stimulate active interest by mutual sympathy and co-operation. I do not wish to be understood as if there are no common features in our social organization. If that had been the case, we should never have come together. We are in a sense as strictly national socially, as we are politically. Though the differences are great for purposes of immediate and practical reform, yet there is a background of common traditions, common religion, common laws and institutions and customs and perversions of such customs, which make it possible for us to deliberate together in spite of our differences. In dealing with these differences, it would not do to forget the common background any more than by reason of the common background, it would be wisdom to forget the differences. We have to eliminate the differences, and correct the perversions, which have sprung up, and obscured the nobility of our common stock and ancient origin. It is a fortunate thing that most of the social evils complained

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of in these days, were unknown in the days of our highest glory, and in seeking their reform, we are not imitating any foreign models, but restoring its ancient freedom and dignity in place of subsequent corruptions.

I have dwelt long on this subject, because there are many misapprehensions entertained about it, which interfere with the work of the Conference. Having said this much upon the common principles underlying the deliberations at this Conference, I will only take a few minutes more to sketch the work we mean to do. You would, in the first instance, be called upon to reaffirm the work done in Madras by appointing Mr. R. Ragunatha Rao to be your General Secretary. With a view to secure local co-operation, it will be necessary to name gentlemen who will volunteer to act as Secretaries in different circles. In making these appointments, I would desire that the existing local associations should be recognized by their Secretaries being appointed to report their work to this Conference, and to correspond with each other. After these appointments of volunteer Secretaries have been made for the several circles, the President would call upon the local Associations represented here to affiliate themselves to the Conference, and to send their reports through delegates each year. After this work is over, a resolution will be proposed for your adoption, explaining the methods to be followed in the work of successfully carrying out reform in social matters. The last resolution would refer to the subjects on which attention should be chiefly directed for the present, and the limitations suggested by the conditions of our society in respect of desirable and practicable reforms. This is the programme of the day's work, and I will now request you to give effect to it in the way you deem most convenient.

One more general remark, before concluding these observations, may be permitted to me in regard to the existing condition of things. The chief event of the year in this connection is, no doubt, the great meeting at Ajmere in March last.

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The representatives of twenty large and small states met at Ajmere, and agreed to certain proposals for reforms in marriage and death expenses, and to certain limitations about the age of marriage, both of boys and girls. This indicates a great change of feeling in a most orthodox province, and in the most orthodox class of the people of that province. This change of feeling is not due to the adverse criticism provoked by the activity of the Congress. I would never have welcomed the change, if it had been the result of such adverse criticism. I have closely watched public feeling during the last four years, and though when we met in Bombay nothing great was done or thought of beyond a discourse by one or two friends, and in Calcutta we absolutely did nothing, we were able to put up the scaffolding at Madras, and we now hope to lay the foundations at Allahabad. Only one explanation can be given of this change of feeling and that is, that people have come to see that, if they mean real work, that work must be on all the lines of their activities. Even a citizen's virtue is not the highest ideal to which we can aspire. There is a higher life still, and that is represented by our family and social obligations. The Rajputana people have set us a noble example, and a Conference such as this, consisting as it does of men who represent all that is best in each province, may well be expected to take a leaf out of the history of the Ajmere gathering.

The Third Social Conference—Bombay 1889.

THE AGE OF CONSENT.

In moving the first proposition Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Resolution I desire to place before this great meeting relates to a subject of considerable importance, and one which was very hotly discussed in the public newspapers in the early part of the year. It was at first expected that Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, who

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originally started this discussion by the publication of a small pamphlet, would have been able to attend to-day, and move the Resolution himself. Unfortunately he has been unable to attend the meeting, and I have been asked by him to supply his place. The resolution is to the following effect:—

‘ That, in the opinion of this Conference, the distinction made by the Penal Code between the general age of consent (12 years) laid down in Section 90, and the special age prescribed in clause 5 and the Exception in Section 375 is both unnecessary and indefensible, and that with a view to prevent early completion of marriages, which leads to the impairment of physical health of both husband and wife, and to the growth of a weakly progeny, cohabitation before the wife is twelve years old should be punishable as a criminal offence, and that every effort should be made by awakening public conscience to the grave dangers incurred to postpone the completion of marriage till the age of 14 at least, as being in accordance with the dictates of our ancient medical works and modern science, and countenanced by the approved sentiment and practice of the country.’

The question to be considered is a simple one. All men are aware that, under the law as it now stands, connection by a husband with his wife or by a stranger with any woman is punishable as rape, if the wife's or woman's age is below 10 years. If the wife is above 10 years, the law has ruled that connection with her by her husband is not rape. In the case of strangers, connection with a woman with her consent is not an offence relating to the body under the Section, unless consent has been extorted or given under misimpression, while in the case of the husband, connection with or without consent is not regarded as an offence at all. The age of consent in this section is fixed at 10. The general age of consent as laid down by Section 90 of the Penal Code is, however, 12, even in the case of assault (Section 350), while in the case of certain offences it is as high as 14 or 16 (Sections 361 and 373). These limits of age mean that the consent given

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by a child, who is less than 12 or 14 or 16 years, to certain offences being committed does not take away the criminal character of these offences ; while in the case of rape the consent is of no avail only where the child is less than 10 years old. This is clearly an anomaly of the law which requires an explanation. If in the case of more venial offences against the person and property of a child the age limit should be so high, it does not stand to reason that it should be so low in the case of the offences described under Section 375. Mr. Dayaram's pamphlet, it must be admitted, raised side issues which provoked controversy. He compared the English with the Indian Law, and dwelt upon the contrast as one unfavourable to the Indian Code. Of course, there was some point in these observations, but too much stress should not be laid upon these differences, as the laws of different countries are intended to suit the different conditions of life and the habits of the people affected thereby, and it cannot be urged as a sufficient reason to modify the law of one country that in some other country the law is different. On another point also, Mr. Dayaram took up a position which was not likely to pass unquestioned. He maintained that as the law now stood, connection with a woman above 10 and below 12 years by a stranger with her consent was not punishable at all as an offence. This position was questioned by Professor Tilak of Poona in a reply he published to Mr. Dayaram's pamphlet, and in which it was urged that up to the age of 12 such consent would not avail the offender. I do not wish to enter into these controversial points. They are not necessary for the purpose of recommending the Resolution I wish to move, in which particular care has been taken to steer clear of controversy. I take my stand on the Penal Code of the country, and on the gravity or otherwise of the several classes of offences, and on this basis I contend that if the consent of a girl does not avail a man who assaults her or robs her or cheats her or kidnaps her, if she is below 12 in some cases, and below 14 or 16 years in age in other cases, *pari passu*, it should not equally avail

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a stranger, or even a husband, when the offence is rape, and the girl is less than 12 years old. The thing has only to be stated in this clear way to make the anomaly appear a very invidious and unjust reflection on our national character. It might indeed be said, where is the practical evil which needs relief? Has anybody complained against the existing state of the law? The answer is not far to seek. If the law protects the husband or a stranger in the matter, when the victim happens to be not less than 10 years old, how could you expect complaints in regard to it? And yet there have been cases of such offences, and in certain parts of the country it is almost an institution to bring the child husband and wife together, notably in Guzarath and Bengal. The fact that the legislature, in deference to what it regarded as our national weakness fixed the limit so low, itself serves to blind men's consciousness on the point, and blunts the moral sense of indignation and resentment. It is urged that the practice in all respectable families is superior to the law as it stands, and that therefore no change in the law is necessary. My own feeling is that it is very desirable to bring up the law to the limit of this respectable practice, and to direct general attention to the necessity of slowly raising the age of consummation. Even the limit of 12 years is too low; but as that age has been laid down generally in the Code, I do not seek to raise the limit above that age. Of course it is very desirable on medical grounds that every effort should be made to put off the connection at least till 14, and the resolution is worded accordingly. While it seeks a change of the law by substituting 12 for 10 years as the age of consent, it requires us all to put forth our best efforts to enlighten public conscience, and in this way to raise the limit to 14. Private effort will thus supplement the work of legislative reform, and it will only seek legislative help in respect of removing an anomaly, which the law itself has created, and which no private effort can by itself remove. A change of the kind suggested would in its consequence produce a very healthy reaction on public feeling, and stimu-

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late and strengthen private effort. I hope you will all accept the resolution as a very reasonable proposal. You will see that it is not a matter in which we go out of our way to seek the help of the law, where the law has hitherto not interfered. It relates to a matter in which the law has interfered to our prejudice, and we seek a change to establish a desirable harmony between the law and our most approved practice.

LEGAL ENFORCEMENT OF VOLUNTARY PLEDGES IN MATTERS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

In moving the second proposition, Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade said:—The second proposition relates to a subject which intimately concerns the future of all organised attempts at social reform. Whatever difference of opinion there might be as regards the general question of compulsory legislative interference for the prevention of great social evils, it is clear that no serious objection can be taken to a proposal to empower a certain body of persons, who voluntarily take solemn pledges in matters of social reform for their own guidance, to associate together with other similarly pledged members who consent to be bound by penalties enforceable by the society to which they belong, in case of a breach of these pledges. Every legally constituted society has this power. It may have no occasion to use it, but the power must exist as a last resource. Caste organisations have this power, and they enforce it on occasions. They enforce it against the wishes and consent of their members, while under the plan proposed, consent, free and voluntary, is an essential condition of enforcement, and this circumstance differentiates the proposal from a law of the State, or a caste rule. Certainly no individual can claim power to dictate to others how they should act, but all conceptions of natural justice and civil polity imply that any one individual, or a number of individuals, can, in respect of matters not

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prohibited by law, prescribe the rule of conduct for his own or their guidance, and be in fact a law to himself or themselves. When the idea of compulsory prohibition by law of certain social abuses had to be given up as impracticable for various reasons, it became clear that for the success and solidarity of all organized efforts at self-help, it was necessary that this permissive protection and authorization by law should be secured to give effect to the pledges which might have been accepted as rules of conduct. The want of such binding and empowering law was seriously felt by a Social Reform Society in Sind, and it asked the help of the Government of India about three years ago. That Government, however, referred the applicants to the Companies Act VI of 1882, in which Section 26 provides for the Registration of Associations not carried on for profit. The suggestion was adopted, and the Society registered itself as an Association after obtaining a license from Government to do so. Since then a similar society in Guzarath has also taken some practical steps in this direction. We have also a movement in our part of the country based on the same lines. It is, however, plain that as the provisions of the Indian Companies Act are clearly intended to regulate large Joint Stock business undertakings, carried on mainly for the purposes of profit, these provisions cannot conveniently regulate the work of societies established for purposes of social reform by persons who bring no capital, and own no joint property, but who take certain common pledges for binding themselves to practise particular rules of conduct. The two objects being so inconsistent, the law regulating business societies can never be conveniently applied to the other set of Associations. Experience has also demonstrated that this inconvenience is a real, not a fancied grievance. I hold in my hand a letter written to me by a Sind gentleman, who is himself a member of the Sind Society, registered under the Companies Act. He observes that the Companies Act is utterly unsuited to the genius of a Social Reform Association. The cumbrous procedure which has to be observed under Sections 76 and 77, when any altera-

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tions have been made in the Articles of Associations, the impossibility of altering the scope and object as set forth in the Memorandum of Associations under Section 12, the necessity of printing and publishing notices, balance sheets, &c., are obligations, which impose serious inconveniences. The Sind Social Reform Association has experienced the difficulty of complying with these onerous obligations, and it is the general desire that a special law for the better regulation of Reform Associations should be passed. Similarly the regulations in table A have to be expressly excluded under Section 38 by the Articles of Associations. If not so excluded or modified, the regulations in table A apply, and fix the procedure of Associations. The rules in table A regarding accounts, audit, notices, and the procedure to be followed at general meetings, are so elaborate, and require so much expenditure for printing that it is very necessary to provide that these rules shall not apply, unless made expressly applicable by the articles.

Then again the fees laid down under Section 40 are so heavy as almost to be crushing, and greatly disincline men from seeking the protection of the Companies Act. Government have only reduced the registration fees in the case of such Associations to Rs. 50, but this sum itself is not small, while the other fees on the registration of documents, (*e.g.*, on notices of change of office, Section 64) remain unchanged, and press inconveniently on the limited resources of the members. It is necessary, therefore, that these fees should be removed. Inadvertent omission to comply with the provisions of Sections 47, 50, 55 and 74 subjects Associations to heavy penalties. This deters men from volunteering to serve as Secretaries or Managing Directors of Associations. The winding up process is also very cumbrous, and must be made simpler and easier. I have made these quotations from the letter of my Sind friend, and as he speaks from experience and the letter represents, as I am informed, the views of the Secretary of that Society, his opinion is entitled to considerable weight. I may also state

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that Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, though he does not go so far as the other Sind correspondent to whom I have referred, in condemning the Companies Act, joins with him in thinking that the Companies Act is unsuitable, and that the best plan to follow would be to enlarge the scope of Act XXI of 1860, which is in every way a simpler law, and to make it applicable to Social Reform Associations. Mr. Dayaram has himself prepared the draft of such an amending Act, which incorporates the most needful provisions of Act VI of 1882 and of Act XXI of 1860, and that draft was sent to me for consideration at this Conference. As it is out of place to expect a detailed consideration of the draft in this place, the Resolution provides for the appointment of a small committee to take the draft into its consideration. You will then all agree with me that a case has been made out for applying to Government for a special law, which necessity the Resolution affirms in its third paragraph, and further suggests the lines on which the amending Act should be passed. The first paragraph affirms the principle of such permissive legislation. The second paragraph of the Resolution will, I fear, require some more explanation from me. Section 9 of Act XXI of 1860 provides for the levy of penalties for breach of rules, and Section 15 prescribes the qualifications of the members. On the analogy of these provisions, it is proposed slightly to enlarge them by providing that when a member of a Reform Association dies without resigning his membership, his sons and other heirs shall, if the rules so provide, be regarded as coming in his place, unless or until they signify their intention to the contrary. Such a provision might seem unusual in such a matter of voluntary organizations, but it is a very necessary provision to safeguard the interests of the surviving members. It may safely be presumed that the son of a man will prefer to continue his adherence to his father's principles rather than disown them. There is an evident advantage in the arrangement, and the analogous traditions of castes and guilds are in its favour. There is no hardship in the provision, because complete liberty to resign

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is guaranteed to the heirs of a deceased member. I hope to have thus made my meaning plain in regard to the more important portions of the Resolution, which I have proposed for your consideration. It seeks no compulsory interference of the law. It only seeks for the organised Associations a power to give effect to the rules and penalties to which their members have given express and voluntary assent. Without such a power, it is the experience of all of us that we are often in our weaker moments tempted to falter and go wrong. Of course, nobody expects that men can be made to practise as they preach by force of the law. The strength of motive, and the impulse to act up to it, must come from within. At the same time the fear of social opinion is not small. In a large number of cases, men fear the opinion of their fellows more than they fear their own conscience. There is no valid reason why this power should not be turned to account. Of course it will be turned to account only in the case of those who consent to join a society on these conditions. Others, who choose, might join simply as sympathisers, but not prepared to bind themselves to the penalties laid down for a breach of pledges. Those, however, who stand aloof, have no right to dictate that none shall bind themselves, if they so choose. Such a principle of joint action cannot fail to be of great help, and I trust that it will meet with your approval. The power of registering Social Reform Associations already exists, and it is not a new law that is sought. The law is there. It is not a compulsory but a permissive law. It is, however, proved to be cumbrous and inconvenient in many respects, and all that is proposed is to simplify it. Under these explanations, I beg to move the adoption of the second Resolution entrusted to me :-

‘That in the opinion of the Conference, it is highly desirable that persons, who voluntarily associate together for the promotion of social reform, and accept certain pledges in respect of the obligations cast upon them as members of such Associations, should be enabled to enforce, without difficulty

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and expensive litigation, the rules against those who violate them, by the levy of any penalties sanctioned by the rules so accepted by them;

'2. That if the rules so provide, the heirs (sons, &c.) of a deceased member shall on his death be deemed to be members of the said Associations, and clothed with all the rights, and be subject to all the liabilities of such membership, until they resign in accordance with the provisions contained in the said rules;

'3. And that as the provisions of the Companies Act VI of 1882 and Act XXI of 1860 (Literary and Charitable Societies Act) do not provide sufficient facilities for the proper organisation of Associations for the promotion of social reforms, and the conduct of their business and the enforcement of their penalties, a draft of a less cumbrous and more elastic Act, incorporating and amending certain provisions of both these Acts, be prepared and submitted to Government, with a prayer that it will take into its earliest consideration the desirability of passing a Special Act for this purpose, and that in the meantime Government should exempt the levy of all fees under the Stamp and Companies Acts on all documents executed for the purposes of such Associations. The draft prepared by Mr. Dayaram Gidumal should be referred to a committee consisting of Rao Bahadur Ranade, the Hon. Mr. Telang, Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, and Mr. Dayaram Gidumal.'

The Fourth Social Conference—Calcutta 1890.

THE WORK OF SOCIAL REFORM DONE DURING THE PREVIOUS YEAR.

In moving the (first) proposition, 'That this Conference has heard with satisfaction the account of the work done in the promotion of social reform by the various independent and affiliated Associations, established in different parts of the country, and it trusts that the good work that has been done during the past year will be continued with the same

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earnestness during the coming year,' the Hon. Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade said:—With the permission of the President, I propose within the short time at my disposal to lay before you a brief summary of the work done by the various independent and affiliated Social Reform Associations now at work in this country during the past year. The year that is now about to close has been in this respect a most eventful one. From one end of the country to the other, there has been an earnest struggle going on in the minds of all classes of the community, and the fact has been recognised that the claims of social reform on our attention are of a paramount character, and that the time is past for a mere academical consideration of the same. You will be glad to notice that we are no longer liable to the reproach of devoting our attention exclusively to politics, while neglecting the more peremptory calls of duty nearer home. I have kept myself in touch with the beatings of the national pulse, and I can therefore speak with some authority from first hand sources of information. We have received reports from 16 circles, including large and populous districts and provinces in all the great Presidencies of the Empire. The mere enumeration of the names of these places will give you an idea and a much better idea than any description can convey of the universal character of this national awakening. The reports that I hold in my hand have come from distant Quetta, Punjab, Sind, Gujarath, Bombay, Deccan, Southern Maratha Country, the Berars, Madras, Malabar, Bellary, Oudh, Rohilkand, Agra, Meerat, Gorakhpur, Hyderabad (Deccan), Allahabad, Rajputana, and even from places where we have received no reports, messages of sympathy and co-operation have come to us during the last few days by letters or telegrams. Of course, as might be expected, action has provoked in some quarters a reaction, and orthodox communities, which hitherto treated the matter with indifference, have been stirred up to throw off their lethargy, and put forth their strength of numbers by way of protest against the coming change. This has been notably the case at Delhi and

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in my part of the country, as also in Madras. I welcome this orthodox struggle to discountenance the efforts of what they are pleased to style the so-called reformers, because it brings forcibly to the minds of many thousands of people, whom we could not otherwise reach, the urgent necessity of setting our house in order. Even the Delhi Pundits found it necessary to yield to the spirit of the times by taking up the cry of the reformers against extravagant expenditure on marriage and other occasions. The Shastris and reactionists on our side of the country, as also on the Madras side, found it necessary to admit the existence of the evil, though they would have nothing to do with the suggestions for reforming the admittedly evil customs. The chief bone of contention was the question of the Age of Consent, in regard to which our views were formulated in the first Resolution adopted at the last Conference. The controversy has raged rather furiously round this central point. Memorials to the Government of India were sent from various parts of the country,—Sind, Gujara-th, Bombay, Deccan, Madras, Mangalore and Meerat, and as a consequence counter-memorials were also sent up by the Benares and Delhi Pundits, and the Bombay, Poona and Madras reactionists. There is no dispute about the main question. All are agreed that the evil of premature connections is one which should be strongly put down. Those who oppose the proposals do so chiefly on the ground of the abuse of power by the police. This is however a question of procedure, and does not affect the amendment of the substantive penal law. All reasonable apprehensions can easily be set at rest by enacting certain provisions by which the offence can be made a non-cognizable one, and permitting bail in cases where the offence does not result in serious crimes. It can, therefore, no longer be said with justice that there is any serious difference of opinion on this point. The matter is now in the hands of Government, and it is an open secret that the legislature will before long take up this question on the unanimous recommendation of the executive Government. The point

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chiefly to be considered at this stage is the exact limit of age, which should be adopted. Outside the Hindu community, the feeling is that 12 years as recommended by the last Conference is too low a limit. The lady Doctors and the Public Health Society of this place have suggested a higher limit. On our side of the country 1,600 Hindu ladies have taken the same view in a memorial addressed by them to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. As the subject is now engaging the consideration of Government, we deemed it necessary to refrain from including it in the business of this year, which you will see, from the draft Resolutions placed in your hands, includes no proposal for legislative interference, except in one small matter about which, however, I am glad to see from the reports that have come to hand, there is not much difference of opinion. I refer to the proposed abolition of civil imprisonment in the case of married women in execution of restitution decrees.

I agree with my friend Mr. Manmohan Ghose in the view that social reform is eminently a question in which we must work for ourselves, and by ourselves, but there is one limitation to this freedom, *viz.*, that where, as in the case of the Age of Consent, as also in respect of the execution of restitution decrees and the disabilities of married widows, the law itself has laid down certain undesirable restrictions, a change in the law can alone remove the evil complained of. Mr. Manmohan Ghose is too good a lawyer not to be aware of this limitation. In regard to all other matters, the present programme of the Conference is to work out the changes proposed by organising and educating public opinion. On the question of infant and ill-assorted marriages, for instance, the various Social Reform Associations have proceeded on the principle of self-help. Their members pledge themselves to advocate and adopt certain changes. The pledge movement started in Poona has taken root, and has been adopted by Berar friends, as also by reformers in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh and Beluchistan. In Rajputana, State agency is made available by its peculiar constitution. In Sind and Gujarath, friends

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have advanced a step further and have registered their Associations which are working satisfactorily. The general feeling on this subject appears to be that the marriageable age should be fixed for the present at the limit of puberty, that is, 12 years in the case of girls and 18 in the case of boys. In Rajputana they have gone further. In Sind and Gujarath and Berar the limits are lower. In respect of ill-assorted marriages, the feeling seems to be that more than 30 years' difference should not exist between the ages of man and wife. The draft Resolutions have been framed on these lines, and as they represent the general view it may be hoped that there will be no room for much difference of opinion. In regard to widow-marriages there were celebrated during the last year, a re-marriage among the Kayasthas in Punjab, one in Central Provinces, and three on the Bombay side. About the excommunication of persons who undertake sea-voyages, public opinion is growing more favourable. The Indian Delegates, who returned about the middle of the year, were admitted back into their communities without much difficulty. The difficulties, however, are not altogether imaginary, as the records of the Jain defamation case in this city amply testify. A resolution therefore has been drafted on this subject to give expression to the wish of the Conference that a better feeling in regard to the admission of such persons by their castes should be created all over the country. You will thus see, gentlemen, that a good deal of work and very hopeful work has been accomplished all along the line. The Conference, where we have gathered, brings all this work to a focus, and this appears to me to be its chief value. It strengthens the hands of local societies, it formulates the methods, and it regulates the aspirations of those who are working earnestly in this cause. It thus makes us feel for the first time in our history, not only that we are politically a united nation, but that our social arrangements are also being subjected to the inspiring influences of the national spirit.

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The Fifth Social Conference—Nagpur 1891.

THE PRACTICE OF EXACTING MONEY FOR GIFT OF GIRLS IN MARRIAGE.

Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade said (in moving the first resolution):—

Mr. President and gentlemen, I have been asked to move the first resolution for the consideration of the meeting. The resolution runs thus:—

“That in the opinion of this Conference the recent decision of the Madras High Court, affirming the validity of the custom of exacting money in consideration of the gift of girls in marriage, not only conflicts with the decision of the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta, but is also condemned by express texts of Hindu Law, and by the best orthodox sentiment of the country. The Conference accordingly recommends all Social Reform Associations to join together in one effort to denounce this practice, and ensure that monies received by the father or guardian of the girl, shall be held as a trust in the interest of the girl, and the trust duly enforced.”

The Madras decision referred to is reported in the Indian Law Report, 13 Mad. 83.—*Viswanathan versus Saminathan*. The parties in this suit were Brahmins, and the Plaintiff brought his suit on a bond for Rs. 200 passed by the Defendant in consideration of Plaintiff's giving his daughter in marriage to the Defendant's nephew. The Defendant pleaded that the consideration was illegal. The Sub-Judge of Kumbhakonum held that the consideration was not illegal, and allowed the claim. The matter came before the High Court. Justices Parker and Wilkinson held that Plaintiff's claim was maintainable, and was not against public policy or Hindu Law. They admitted that such contracts were illegal in England, but under the impression that the moral consciousness of the people in this country was not opposed to the practice, they decided that the consideration could not be regarded as immoral or

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against public policy. The decisions of the Bombay High Court in *Dularai versus Vallabdas Pragji* reported in the Indian Law Report, 13 Bombay, 126 and of the Calcutta High Court in *Ramchand Sen versus Audaits Sen* *Ib*, 10 Calcutta, 1054, were referred to and disapproved for reasons stated in the Judgment.

The High Courts being thus in conflict with one another, it becomes necessary in this Social Conference to give an expression to the general feeling, that not merely the sympathies, but the convictions of the public generally and not of reformers only, are opposed to the view taken by the Madras High Court. In the first instance the Madras High Court appears to have overlooked the fact that the parties before them were Brahmins, and that the *Asur* form of marriage was condemned for the Brahmin caste. Out of the eight forms of marriage, the first four are commended for Brahmins, namely, the *Brahma*, *Daiva*, *Arsha*, and *Prajapatya* : and the *Asur* form is only for *Vaishyas* and *Sudras* (Manu, ch. 3, verse 24). Secondly, the Judges relied upon the commentator *Siromani* of Southern India, who identified the *Asur* with the *Arsh* form of marriage. The commentator may have been right in his view to the extent of seeking to establish some resemblance between the two forms, but he could never have intended that the *Asur* form was as commendable as *Arsh* for the Brahmins.

The money consideration in this case cannot, under any circumstances, fall within the gift of a cow or two permitted in the *Arsh* form of marriage. In ch. 3, verse 53, Manu goes so far as to expressly controvert the position that the gift in the *Arsh* form was दूत, and lays down that whether the gift is small or great, it is equally a sale of the girl, and constitutes an offence described as the sale of one's own children.

There is, therefore, no Shastraic basis for the view taken by the Madras Court, and this is admitted by the Judges themselves. They, however, thought that the custom was widely prevalent, and was not opposed to the moral consciousness of the

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people. We can fairly join issue on both these points, and contend that the custom is not widely prevalent in the higher castes, and that in all castes, it is opposed to the moral feelings of the people. Mr. Justice Scott, in his judgment, has expressly observed that the *Asur* form of marriage is only legal among the lower castes; and that in this respect though the custom in the country may be defective, that is no reason why an additional evil should be engrafted upon the existing usage. It is immoral and against public policy even in the present state of matrimonial relations in India. This view of Justice Scott was concurred in by Justice Jardine. The chief Justice Garth, in the Calcutta case also held that such contracts were void and illegal in this country, and were incapable of being enforced by the rules of equity and good conscience. The fact that marriages of girls take place during infancy is not a sufficient reason for encouraging parents and guardians to abuse their authority over their infant charges, by deriving money advantage from disposing of their wards. They were bound as parents to exercise their choice, not for their own advantage, but for the interest of the minor girls.

It was, indeed, contended in the Madras case that the parents had to maintain the minor, and might claim to be reimbursed the expenses incurred by them. Such an argument may hold good in other countries, but in this country, the duty of the parent to support his child is not limited by such mercenary considerations.

The Madras Judges are themselves prepared to invalidate such contracts, where the girl is given in marriage to old and debauched men, but this distinction saps at the root of the principle involved. Who is to decide upon the qualifications of the old and debauched men? Where is the limit to be drawn? The better course seems to be to follow the rulings of the Calcutta and Bombay High Courts. Of course in this conflict between the High Courts, the Legislature can alone remove the evil by express law. It has, in Section 23 of the

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Contract Act, laid down the principle, and all that has to be done is to make the meaning more clear by an addition, declaring that all payments, received by the girl's father or by the guardian in consideration of the girl's marriage, are void and illegal.

Till this is effected, the next best course is to declare that all such payments are made in the interest of the girl, and that the parent or the guardian is only a trustee of the girl. Manu lays down (in ch. 3, verse 54) that if the payment is made to the girl, there is no objection, and he strictly prohibits the relations of the girl from seizing the girl's wealth (ch. 3, verse 52). It is on this account that the resolution is worded in the way proposed.

There are some who think that payments made to the bridegroom's father should be brought under the same category. In some castes these payments also are exacted from mercenary motives. There is, however, a difficulty in the way, caused by the fact that the approved forms of marriages, *Brahma* and *Daiva*, contemplate gifts of money, &c., to complete the gift of the girl. The circumstances of the two cases are not identical, and it will take some time to make people see any inconsistency in following the old law. We have, therefore, confined the resolution to the circumstances of the case, in which the custom is not widely prevalent and is certainly opposed to the moral consciousness of the people, and is, moreover, in conflict with express texts. I hope I have made my meaning clear to everybody present, and that you will approve the proposition, which I have the honor now to move.

Address at the Hislop College.

SOCIAL CONFERENCE, ITS AIMS, AND METHODS.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade delivered an address at the Hislop College, explaining the objects and necessity of the Social Conference, and the methods of its operations.

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Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide of Poona was in the chair. Mr. Ranade said that he was not uttering words of mere commonplace courtesy often used on such occasions, when he said that the cordial reception given to him and his friends, strangers as they were, by the people of Nagpur, was exceedingly kind of them. When he left the Western coast, with its hill-forts and arid plains, which were at present threatened with scarcity, and when he first saw the fertile parts on this side, he could conceive the satisfaction his ancestors must have felt in settling here, in this land of plenty, verdure, and happiness. Those days are gone. The wounds then caused have been healed. The people have reconciled themselves to the effects of the British conquest. The old invasions from the West have ceased. But what is this new invasion, you will ask,—this new invasion which also comes from the West, and seeks to capture the East? There is first the Congress invasion,—you must surely have reconciled yourself to it. Its triumphal arch has been raised. The camp is ready; and all preparations are ripe for a mighty siege. The sieging operations will commence from to-morrow, and you will all be busy contributing your share in them. The Conference movement represented a more humble invasion, there are no battlements, no triumphal arches, no preparations for war. Before commencing its operations, as the spokesman of the Conference, he was desirous of having a parley with those that had assembled there, and of seeking their earnest co-operation in the work it had undertaken. The Congress invasion was an invasion which needed no advocate to plead its cause before them, as it had already secured their sympathies. His mission needed an advocate, for it was a delicate task,—this work of social reform. The work of the Conference concerned our family interests, it touched the hearts of the people, and if not wisely carried on, it was sure to arouse opposition. His party could not adopt the role of dictatorship, and they never thought of adopting it. Mr. Ranade then went into the history and constitution of the Social Conference, the importance of which, he said, could be easily understood by his saying

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that it sought to purify and improve their character as citizens and as heads of families. There were at present scattered over this large country a number of associations, which aimed at reforming the social institutions of the people, some three of them were registered under the Company's Act or under the Religious and Charitable Societies' Act; there were some thirty others which satisfied themselves with mere pledges. There was an equal number of those who did not take any pledges, but had been striving to agitate for reform. All of these worked for a common purpose, *viz.*, the amelioration of the social condition of the people. But each of these worked independently. And for each of these to carry on correspondence directly with the other associations, and seek to benefit by their experience, was a cumbrous process. To make this process easier and more effective, the Social Conference was brought into being. Each Reform Association required the co-operation of the rest, and each sought the benefit of the experience of others which were working in the same direction. This want the Social Conference supplied, for at the Conference, views were exchanged, experience was communicated, varied information was focussed, and additional light was thrown each year on many subjects, and a unity of purpose was secured in the work of the different associations. The Conference, he repeated, was not a dictatorial body commissioned to command subordinate associations, but it was a gathering where the representatives from different parts met to inform each other and help each other in the work of practical reform.

In this social problem more importance was paid to the methods of reform proposed than in the agitation for political reform, and rightly. For there was such a variety of communities amongst them that what suited the aspiration of one may not fit in with the needs of the other, what was desired by one was not necessary for the purposes of others. He would illustrate his remarks by taking the marriage question. There were people, in remote India (about many lakhs of them

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known as Hindus) whose custom and law allowed one wife for five brothers,—a custom which would be considered a sin, if not a crime, by us on this side, but which passed there as a common-place occurrence. Again, in other parts lower South, there are people who do not attach any sacred character, as we do here, to the marriage tie. For the purposes of religious law or civil law or any law, there is neither husband nor wife in Malabar. This custom prevails not in a small portion of this country, but in a populous region which measures 400 miles in length and 30 to 40 miles in breadth. The learned lecturer said that a friend of his who was present here to-day, and who was trying to make marriage a permanent life-long obligation there, was denounced by these people as aiming at a dreadful revolution. In the East, there was a class very prominent and much respected, among whom one man (whether he be a young or an old man) could be the husband of any number of girls, irrespective of age. Such are the various customs obtaining in different parts of the country, and what he said of the marriage custom applied equally to other customs. Hence there is the difficulty of prescribing one method of reform for all India. Necessarily the methods must be different for different communities, and they must be so framed that the old continuity of each with its past history may not be broken up. The Conference proposes some common methods, and seeks to animate the workers with a righteous purpose common to all. Happily all the disputes in this Social Reform agitation related to the question of the methods to be pursued. The existence of the evil was admitted by reasonable men of all parties, and the necessity for reform was recognized everywhere by those who gave thought to the subject. The dispute was how shall they do it? In studying the history of their country during the past 2,000 years, they would find illustrations of various methods of reform. There were some who said that they should preach reform; but that they should in practice only drift into reform, which means that we should close our eyes, shut our mouths, tie down our hands and feet.

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and wait and wait till the train of events transferred us from one stage to another. Things should be allowed to take their one course. There was a fallacy lying at the root of this whole view which was so apparent that it was not necessary for him to spend many words to expose it. When one drifts into reform, he is not reformed, he remains exactly as he was. The fastest railway train does not give exercise to our body, if we do not ourselves move. Some there were who thought that when they were asked to lend their support to reform, there was some objective reality outside themselves that they had to deal with. There was no such thing. The thing to be reformed was their own self, heart and head and soul, their own prejudices were to be removed, their superstitions to be eradicated, their courage to be strengthened, their weaknesses to be conquered, in fact their character to be formed again so as to suit the times, so as to fit with the spirit of the age. Mr. Ranade appealed to each of his hearers if his conscience did not tell him that there was something lacking in him to make him what he desired to be. And if so what were the methods which could supply what was wanting in them? Mr. Ranade then named four methods of making a conscious effort to reform. The first method was what he could approximately describe as the method of tradition, that is to say, of basing reform on the old texts. The weapon of the school of tradition was interpretation, in other words, taking the old texts as the basis, and to interpret them so as to suit the new requirements of the times. This was the method followed by Dr. Bhandarkar recently; and the same was the method of the venerable founder of the Arya Samaj—Pandit Dayanand Saraswati—who believed that, in dealing with the masses, it would not do to follow any other method than that of taking the old texts, and putting new interpretation on them, so as to make all feel that there was an effort made to preserve the old continuity, and that there was no attempt at innovation, which, in the eyes of the ignorant, always meant revolution. This is the method the

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Social Conference follows in connection with the question of widow-remarriage. The next method was that of appealing to the conscience of the people. The first method, in the opinion of a good many people, leads to disputations, and therefore they advocate the method of appealing directly to their sense of right and wrong, good and bad, sinful and virtuous. The weapon of this school of reformers is to seek to bind men by their own pledge or promise. The third method sought to enforce reform by means of penalties,—imposed either by the caste or by the State, in either of which case it is equally a constraint imposed by the wise upon the ignorant in their common interest. It has its merits as well as demerits, but it must be advocated only in those cases in which the first two have no chance of success, for it is a coercive method, which should not be resorted to, until other ways have been tried. The fourth method is that of dividing from the rest, and forming a new camp, and shifting for ourselves. This has its merits too, but many more demerits, the chief among which latter is the breaking of continuity. All lead to the same goal, and excepting the fourth one, all the three have been accepted by the Conference. The Conference is not, as has been misrepresented, a body aiming at carrying out reform by mere legislation. This is as inaccurate a description of it as could possibly be given. Legislation steps in only when the other methods fail. He would refer as an illustration to the practice of the sale of girls in marriage. The Madras High Court has given its support to it. The Bombay and Bengal High Courts have pronounced their opinion against it. In such a case comes the need of legislation. Mr. Ranade then exhorted his audience to lend their support and their active support to the cause of Social Reform. The Conference and the Congress, he said, were so closely united that they could not help the one and discountenance the other; they were two sisters,—the Congress and the Conference; and they must let them both go hand-in-hand, if they wished to make

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real progress. The cause of the Conference was the cause of the well-being of the people, even as the cause of the Congress was the cause of their country's progress.

The Sixth Social Conference—Allahabad 1892.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

At a public meeting held on the 25th December, under the presidency of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Ram Kali Chaudhuri, Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade gave an address on the subject of "Social Evolution." He said:—Mr. President and gentlemen, once more we meet in this busy week of December, this time in your historical and holy city, to take stock of our year's achievements, to count our losses and gains, and to pledge ourselves to help each other in the unceasing struggle to better our condition. When from our distant provinces we start on these annual pilgrimages, we are often twitted for our pains by those who take credit to themselves for superior wisdom, and the question is often asked, what mad freak lays hold of so many earnest minds in the country, which leads them to pursue this mirage of national elevation, which recedes further from our grasp the more eagerly we run after it. This same irreverent doubt also weighs down some among our own body in our weak moments, and it seems to me very necessary, before we enter upon more serious work, to purify ourselves by the discipline of a rigorous course of self-examination for the struggle. Nothing strikes our critics both European and Native, as more manifestly absurd than this our faith that these annual gatherings will prove helpful in attaining the objects we seek. Progress in the art of self-Government, both in its national and individual bearings, it is urged by some of our native friends, can never be secured by these half-confused gatherings of races and creeds and interests, and the jumble of tongues, and the tame imitation of methods not our own.

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Our European critics are more wise in their generation, and some of the wisest among them have demonstrated to their own satisfaction that all Oriental races have had their day, and that nothing is now left to them but to vegetate and die, and make way for their betters. Political elevation, and social emancipation, religious or spiritual enlightenment,—these gifts have not been, and will never be, according to their philosophers, vouchsafed any more to the Indian races. If these black forebodings were really inspired prophecies, our outlook would be dark indeed. Happily for us these prophecies are not true, and what is more, it is in our power to falsify them. History does not countenance them, and the teachings of science are not in their favour. No earnest prayer, no self-denying aspiration, no sincere battling with falsehood and ignorance, can ever under God's Providence, end in failure. The methods may have to be changed, but the struggle is ever the same, and none need despair. It is not the gains that you make outside of you, it is not what you have, but what you yourselves become, that makes or mars a man's or a nation's destiny. Particular reforms may be out of our reach, or may not be for our advantage: but the earnest desire for reform, and sincere efforts of self-sacrifice directed towards their attainment cannot but elevate us above our weaknesses, and strengthen our strong points, and plant the banner of union in hearts torn with centuries of strife and disunion. This is the moral interest of the struggle, and those who cannot appreciate this invaluable privilege of fighting in the ranks in such a struggle are,—what shall I call them—superior persons living in a Paradise of their own. If indeed history and science both declared against us, we might find it necessary to pause. But the history of this great country is but a fairy tale, if it has not illustrated how each invasion from abroad has tended to serve as a discipline of the chosen race, and led to the gradual development of the nation to a higher ideal if not of actual facts, at least of potential capabilities. The nation has never been depressed beyond

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hope of recovery, but after a temporary submerging under the floods of foreign influences, has reared up its head—absorbing all that is best in the alien civilisation and polity and religions. The testimony of science points in the same direction. If the environments determine the growth, a change in the environments must bring about a change in the political and social organism. There is thus no cause for despair if we only remember one great lesson of history and science, namely, that no development of the body politic is possible, unless the new heat animates all our powers, and gives life and warmth to all our activities.

When we meet at these annual gatherings to seek our political elevation, we must not lose sight of the fact that our social emancipation should go along with it, if we desire to be an individual consistent whole, with a just balance of power in all our movements. In other words, the social evolution must take place side by side, if it should not precede the political growth that we desire to achieve. What is it, some of you will ask, that you require of us to do in this work of internal freedom? I would reply, the evolution that we should seek is a change from constraint to freedom—constraint imposed by our own weaker nature over the freedom of our higher powers. It is a change from credulity to faith, from credulity which behoves without grounds to faith which builds itself upon a firm foundation. Our station in life, our duties, and our limits of action are certainly fixed for most of us by circumstances over which we have no control, but there is still a large margin left for freedom of action. We voluntarily contract that margin, and bind ourselves by fetters, and glory in them as the Mahomedan fakir in Bombay, who thinks himself specially favoured because he bears heavy iron chains. The change which we should all seek is thus a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from authority to reason, from unorganised to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of human

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dignity. This is what I understand by social evolution, both for individuals and societies in this country. Even if we accept the evolution view to be correct, it should not be forgotten that the environments which surround us have changed, and are not the same that they were a hundred years ago. Peace and order reign throughout the land instead of the old disturbances which made the preservation of life one's chief care. Instead of our country being a sealed book, we are now a part of the community of nations, feeling joy and sorrow in their prosperity or distress. In our own country distance and local barriers which so long separated us have been removed, and we are made more mobile and coherent than we ever were before. These are only physical changes. More important still is the discipline afforded us by the example and teaching of the most gifted and free nation in the world, whose rule guarantees to us a long continuance of these favourable conditions. The reign of law is supreme. Human skill and human sympathies are busy at work to correct all our failings, and it cannot well be that all this should have happened as a mere accident in human story. The European philosophers themselves admit that wholesale migration and infusion of new blood can alone revive the old *effete* Oriental races. I contend that the changed order of things described above are the new environments in which, without change of place, we have been forced to migrate, they infuse new blood into our veins, and they bring down from heaven the spiritual fire which has strength enough to purge us of our grosser selves, if we only will do our duty. On their own theory, therefore, there is no cause for the despair which European thinkers feel. The process of growth is always slow, where it has to be a sure growth. The best natures naturally want to shorten this long process in their desire to achieve the work of a century in a decade. This temptation has to be resisted, and in this respect the teachings of the evolution doctrine have great force, because they teach that growth is structural and organic, and must take slow effect in all parts of the organism,

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and cannot neglect any, and favour the rest. There are those amongst us who think that, in this connection, the work of the reformer is confined only to a brave resolve to break with the past, and do what our individual reason suggests as proper and fit. The power of long-formed habits and tendencies is however ignored in this view of the matter. "The true reformer has not to write upon a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half-written sentence. He has to produce the ideal out of the actual, and by the help of the actual." We have one continuous stream of life flowing past us, and "we must accept as valid the acts which were noted in the past, and on the principles of the past," and seek to turn the stream with a gentle bend here, and a gentle bend there, to fructify the land; we cannot afford to dam it up altogether, or force it into a new channel. It is this circumstance which constitutes the moral interest of the struggle, and the advice so frequently given—that we have only to shake our bonds free and they will fall off themselves,—is one which matured and larger experience seldom supports. We cannot break with the past altogether; with our past we should not break altogether, for it is a rich inheritance, and we have no reason to be ashamed of it. The society to which we belong has shown wonderful elasticity in the past, and there is no reason for apprehending that it has ceased to be tractable and patient and persistent in action. While respecting the past, we must ever seek to correct the parasitical growths that have encrusted it, and sucked the life out of it. This is, at least, the spirit in which the societies and associations which are represented at the Social Conference seek to work. They seek no change for its own sake, or because it is fashionable elsewhere. They seek their inspiration in the best traditions of our own past, and adjust the relations of the past with the present in a spirit of mutual forbearance. The Shastras they revere, but they respect the spirit more than the letter of the old law. The road is difficult and beset with dangers, but as it is the only sure road, there is no choice

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Looked at in this spirit, we may now review the work of the past year, and although, as in the political sphere of our activity, we have both gained and lost ground, there is, on the whole, no cause for thinking that we have wasted our opportunities during the year that is about to close. Being in touch with friends in all parts of the country, I can speak with some authority, and I am glad to testify to the fact that it cannot be laid at the door of the different local Associations that they have been idle all the year round. In the Bengal Presidency an agitation initiated by Kumar Bonoy Krishna Bahadur, and supported by such men as Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra and Pundit Mahesh Chandra and Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee, has been carried on in the matter of removing hindrances in the way of the free admission of men who go to foreign countries. Vyavasthas numerously signed by Pundits and others, have advanced the solution of that question to a sensible extent. In the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, the Kayastha Associations and their Conference have done a great deal for that community in the way of checking intemperance and extravagance, and promoting education. In the Punjab, the healthy activity of the local Arya Samajas has given to that body a position of great usefulness in the education and training of the community of the country. Two re-marriages, one in high life and the other in consonance with the old practices, have taken place with the apparent approval of many orthodox leaders. Lower down in Rajputana the Walterkrit Rajputra Sabha has developed its organization, and enforced its rules with greater success than before, and the movement is now spreading among other classes of the community. The leading Native States are lending their support to the cause of reform officially. In Guzerath in our own Presidency, His Highness the Maharajah Gaikwar has been appealed to for help by the Mahajans of thirty leading sub-castes to help them in raising the limit of marriageable age, and checking extravagance. In the British territory in the same province, the Kunbi population

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has been similarly profiting by the operation of the rules framed under the Infanticide Acts. In the rest of the Presidency, the Marwadi Jains at Nasik and the Kayastha Prabhus have held Conferences for the promotion of reform in their own community. In Bombay a re-marriage was celebrated the other day which was also an inter-marriage. In Poona, owing to local distractions, much has not been done, but the Poona Association has received several more pledges, and some of the highest families in the city have arranged mutual marriage alliances, the actual celebration of marriage being postponed till the girls arrive at puberty. Even the local distraction had a higher moral interest than what people, looking superficially, would be prepared to admit. As the question is, however, still undecided, it would be premature to prophesy the final results. But there are evident signs that the struggle has commenced in earnest, and it will end in a compromise creditable to both the parties. In Mysore His Highness the Maharajah's Government is prepared to undertake legislation in respect of marriage reform, and has been good enough to show His Highness's appreciation of the work of the Conference by deputing a learned Shastri of his Court to help us in our deliberations. In Malabar the proposed legislation of marriage among Nairs has made some progress. In the Madras Presidency, three re-marriages took place, one of them being an inter-marriage. A new association of earnest workers has also been formed there, which represents the young Madras party, and promises the happiest results. Two of our most prominent workers undertook missionary tours in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces and in the Berars, at great self-sacrifice. In the Central Provinces a Native Christian was taken back into his caste by the leading Pandits of Jubbalpore. Taking things as they are, this is not, I hope, a very unsatisfactory account of the year's work, and it shows that the conscience of the country is touched in all great centres, and with better organization, greater courage of conviction, and more faith in Providence, we may hope that this process

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of social regeneration or evolution, if you like so to call it, will continue to grow in strength and in power. To help that growth, by bringing all workers together once a year to exchange views and sympathies, is the object with which we meet here. Last time the people of Allahabad gladly welcomed our efforts, and we feel quite sure of a similar welcome on this occasion.

The Seventh Social Conference—Lahore, 1893.

"TRUE TESTS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS."

(Delivered in the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, 28th December.)

Speaking on Social Reform, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, this is not the first time that I have come to visit this beautiful city of yours. Nearly 20 years ago I first visited Lahore, and saw the sights and made myself acquainted with the notables of the city. One generation has passed away since then, and many of my old acquaintances have departed, and their place has been taken up by others who were then perhaps attending your schools and colleges. During these 20 years, a spiritual wave has swept over your province, and I see signs and indications which satisfy me that you have been all the better for the operation of this most elevating influence. I visited this place again 7 years ago; but my visit then was only for a short time, and now you find me here before you in your midst on the occasion of this great gathering of the Indian nations, which has been held annually for the past nine years in the great capitals of the British Indian Empire. I come this time in connection with a mission of peace, which the General Secretary of the Conference, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao has been pleased to assign to me, namely, to bespeak your favourable attention to the consideration of matters which more intimately concern the true welfare of the great Empire to which we all belong

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than many others with the noise of which the air is singing all about us here. Perhaps few of you have been privileged to see Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao. He is the father and the patriarch of this movement. The respect due to age and rank and education is sanctified in his case by the charm of a highly spiritual life, a temper so sweet, a heart so warm and sympathetic, that I am not exaggerating when I say that many of you might well undertake a pilgrimage all the way to Madras to see him once in your life. By reason of old age and infirmities he has been unable to come over here, and has deputed me to deliver to you this message of peace, and to seek your co-operation in the great work of social reform, which has a claim upon your attention as legitimate as the more stirring political aspirations which for the time engage your attention. This reminds me of a story which I happened some months ago to read in a biography of the prophet of Arabia. You all know that Mahomed's first wife Khadja was older than himself, and that in later life when he became a power in Arabia, he took a second and a younger wife named Ayesha. This younger wife once asked the old prophet the reason why he did not give all his heart to the wife of his choice, so beautiful and so young, who had brought him accession of power and wealth, and why he still shared that affection with one who was old and decayed. Mahomed gave a reply which has a moral true for all eternity. He said to his young wife that though he loved her, he could not well give up his whole affection to her, for his old wife's claims on his love were stronger and far more legitimate than any that she could plead. Khadja had accepted him when he was poor and unknown, she had tended him, advised him, and helped him in his cares and anxieties, and her place could not be filled by any woman however lovely, whom he chose for her charm of age and beauty.

This beautiful little story has a moral, the significance of which we should not forget on occasions like this. Those who

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know me know full well that I should be the last person to condemn the political aspirations that have been created in our minds as the result of British rule and liberal education. They represent a department of human activity, to the claims of which the people of this country have been long indifferent. No man can feel the full dignity of human existence, who is dead to the duties of the citizenship of a great empire. At the same time this new love, that has sprung up in us, ought not to dry up the fountains of our affection for the old claimant, who accepted us when we were poor and helpless, without whose anxious care and watchfulness we can never hope to be in a fit condition to undertake the higher responsibilities that we seek to deserve. It was a sense of this necessity of developing with equal care the whole of our being, both in its family and social relations, as also in its relation to the body politic, that impelled Dewan Bahadur and myself as his helpmate to attend these gatherings ever since their inception in Bombay in 1885. The Congress leaders have also, after some preliminary difficulties, recognized the fact that this old claimant upon our affections could not be entirely ignored, and have granted us permission to carry on in their camp our propaganda on our own responsibility. I hope these introductory observations will give you an insight into the nature of the message that I have been deputed here to communicate to you, and it is this mission that brings me and others of my friends to this great distance, at this by no means to us at least agreeable season of the year. About 135 years ago my ancestors came to your parts of the country for a brief interval, but then their mission was different. Our hands were at each other's throats then. The *Pax Britannica* has now released those hands for other and nobler work. We now meet as brothers and friends. You have treated us as your welcome guests, and we meet here to discuss, in a language that we all understand and with complete freedom, the many evils that we all more or less suffer, and which are so deep-rooted in the very vitals of our family and social

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system. Do I exaggerate in any way the character of this disorder in our system of family life? I am not given to exaggeration, and the subject is too serious to admit of such light treatment. I appeal to every one of the many hundreds of the men before me,—I appeal to them most solemnly,—I ask them to lay their hands on their hearts, and stand up before this meeting and say, if any one can muster courage to say it,—that our family and social arrangements have not been out of joint for centuries together? Are we or are we not conscious that many of us, under the narcotic influence of custom and usage, too often violate the feelings of our common human nature and our sense of right and wrong, stunt the growth of our higher life, and embitter the existence of many of those who depend on us, our wives and children, our brothers and sons, our relatives and friends? Are we prepared to point out any single hour of the day when we do not unconsciously commit injustice of a sort by the side of which municipal injustice is nothing, when we do not unconsciously sanction iniquities by the side of which the most oppressive tyrant's rule is mercy itself? We resent the insult given by the oppressor. We protest against the unjust judge. Here however we are judge and jury and prosecutor and accused ourselves, and we are sometimes consciously and more often unconsciously committed to a course of conduct, which makes tyrants and slaves of us all and, sapping the strength of our resolution, drags us down to our fall—to be the laughing stock of the whole world. Till we set these matters right, it is almost hopeless to expect that we can have that manliness of character, that sense of our rights and responsibilities without which political and municipal freedom is hard to achieve and impossible to preserve.

I want you to recognise this fact. I have no authority to suggest to you remedies. These will suggest themselves to you. The fetters of the mind once realized as fetters, will drop off themselves. They cease to be fetters, and even

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become a discipline for a better existence. It may take years and generations to achieve this result. We may all have to die and become manure for the seeds of life in future generations. But once we enter upon the right path, the torch of light blazing inside us, which we only seek to darken with our artificial rushlights, will show to those who come after us the way to heaven. The way to heaven is a narrow path, and one has to tread upon sharp-edged instruments, carefully balancing the weak limbs and spirits. The way to hell is, as you all know, a road well paved with good intentions, and we have only to close our eyes and shut our ears, to be listless and indifferent, lead a butterfly existence, and die intellectually and spiritually. We have pursued that way too long, and it is time now that we should take due care to set our houses in order, as no mere whitewashing and no plastering would remove these hidden sources of our weaknesses. The whole existence must be renovated. The baptism of fire and not of water must be gone through by those who seek a renovation of heart such as this.

Perhaps some of you might think, and in this favoured land of yours you have good reason to think, that things are not so bad as they seem. That is also my own hope; and this faith in us alone makes us feel that if we all pull strongly and heartily, we may yet achieve our regeneration. I profess implicit faith in two articles of my creed. This country of ours is the true land of promise. This race of ours is the chosen race. It was not for nothing that God has showered His choicest blessings on this ancient land of Aryavarta. We can see His hand in history. Above all other countries we inherit a civilization and a religious and social polity which has been allowed to work their own free development on the big theatre of time. There has been no revolution, and yet the old condition of things has been tending to reform itself by the slow process of assimilation. The great religions of the world took their birth here, and now they meet again

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as brothers prepared to welcome a higher dispensation, which will unite all and vivify all. India alone, among all the countries of the world, has been so favoured, and we may derive much strength of inward hope from such a contemplation. Change for the better by slow absorption—assimilation not by sudden conversion and revolution—this has been the characteristic feature of our past history. We have outlived Buddhism, and we conquered it by imbibing its excellences and rejecting its errors. We have outlived Mahomedan repression, and have conquered it by being the better for the hardy discipline in the suffering we went through under its domination. The old world looseness of the relations of married life and of affiliation of sons has been purged from us. The old world slavery of the Sudra millions has been quietly abandoned, the erewhile Sudra classes have been elevated into Vaishyas, our Brahmins have become warriors and statesmen, Kshatrias have become philosophers and guides, and our Vaishyas have become our prophets and saints. The old world fetichism has given place to idolatry. The old world polytheism has given place to a full recognition by the humblest of our people of the unity of the godhead. Our voracious love of flesh and wine has made room for an ideal of abstinence, charity, and mercy, unknown all over the world. The old sacrifices of man and beast have given place to the holier sacrifices of the passions in us. The patriarchal forms of society have made room for communal organizations all over the country. The sanctity of woman's place—if not as wife, yet as mother, daughter, and sister,—has been realized in a way unknown before or elsewhere.

All these changes have been brought about consciously or unconsciously without any violent struggle, and without breaking up the continuity of the old life. If the guiding hand of God in history has so favoured us hitherto, why should we despair now when we have been brought under influences of a still more elevating kind? The Old Testament testifies

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to the truth and benignity of the promise of the New Gospel. It is the Gospel which teaches us the supreme duty of unification in place of dissension. It teaches us by example and precept the supreme virtue of organization and self-reliance. It holds before us a brighter ideal of the dignity of the individual soul—the image of the God in us. It seeks to bridge the chasm we otherwise would have been unable to span by our own unaided efforts, and holds us out a hope of a more hopeful future than we have ever enjoyed in the past.

I hope thus to have shown the urgency of the work of social reform and the grounds which justify our hope that honest and united efforts will surely lead to success. Thanks to the Arya Samaj movement in your part of the country and the Brahmo Samaj organizations in other parts of India,—good and noble work has been accomplished within the past generation or two. I am here however speaking as a representative of no particular Samaj, but as a member of the great Hindu community which peoples this land and forms one-sixth of the human race. The true test of progress must be seen in signs which show that this vast mass of humanity is being vivified by the sacred fire which burns only to purify and elevate. There are those who think that no such signs can be seen, and that our highest duty is to separate ourselves from the decaying mass and look to our own safety. I have battled with this idea for the last 30 years and I shall protest against it, till life is spared and my voice permits me to speak. The Hindu community is not a festering mass of decay and corruption. It is no doubt conservative to a degree, but that conservatism is its strength. No nation has any destined place in history which changes its creed and its morals, its customs and its social polity, with the facility of fashions. At the same time our conservatism does not prevent the slow absorption of new ideas and the gradual assimilation of new practices. You will naturally expect me to produce my credentials for such a statement. If you will not do it there are others who will, and I

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shall therefore pass briefly in review the social history of the past year, just reminding you of its leading features in support of my statement. (1) First and foremost in the list of such events I would put the action taken by the Mysore Government in the matter of improved Legislation for checking infant and ill-assorted marriages. The matter was taken up at the instance of the Representatives of the Mysore Assembly and after obtaining the consent of the heads of the great Mutts, the subject was discussed formally and, though the numerical majority was against this reform, the minority was respectable and was sure to carry the day sooner or later. (2) The example of Mysore was followed also by the enlightened ruler of Baroda whose help was asked by the leading Mahajans of that city to strengthen their efforts at reform by legal sanction. An infant Marriage Bill and also a Bill to encourage the formation of social improvement societies have been framed and published, and are now under consideration. (3) The Rajput Hitkarini Sabha has as you all know been the pioneer in these reforms, and its work has been growing in scope and power. The example of the Rajputs is being followed by other castes in that Province. We have thus had three experiments conducted on different methods by the ruling authorities of Rajputana, Gujarath, and Mysore,—all tending towards the same end by different directions. This variety of methods is the best test of the genuineness of the reform movement. (4) While these leading Native States show clear signs of advance, the great Ecclesiastical Heads are not backward. In our part of the country the Shankaracharya of the Sankeswar Mutt has been moved by a petition signed by many thousands of persons to express his disapproval of the practice of the sale of girls in the form of marriage. (5) The Madras High Court three years ago gave some sanction to this illegal practice, and its action was commented upon in a formal Resolution at the Nagpur Conference. Since then it has seen reason to change its views and has disowned the inferences suggested by its previous

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decisions. (6) Another Shankaracharya at Dwarka in Gujara-
rath has promised his support to a movement for the improve-
ment in the native calendar about which discussion has been
going on for a long time in our part of the country. (7)
Sringeri Shankaracharya has been distinguishing himself on
the same side by removing the hindrances to foreign travel,
and advising the Maharajah of Mysore to undertake a trip to
Calcutta by sea instead of by land. You will thus see that
both the Civil and Religious heads of the community are
feeling a new responsibility in this matter, which is surely a
sign we cannot but welcome. It shows that the movement is
not confined to a heterodox minority, as some people are
pleased to call it. (8) In further proof of this progress I
would draw your attention to the movement in Malabar for
legalizing marriage,—a want which the Nairs had not till now
felt. The question is still under the consideration of Govern-
ment, and thanks to the efforts of my friend the Hon'ble
Sankaran Nair, an improved marriage law will sooner or later
be passed for that province. (9) Another of my friends the
Hon'ble Bhashyam Aiyangar has brought in a Bill for
relaxing the rigidity of the joint family system by extend-
ing the scope of self-acquired property. The Hon'ble Rash
Behari Ghose has actually carried a small measure of improve-
ment in the ancient law of equal partition in his province.
(10) It might be urged that all this was the work of the autho-
rities and that people generally took no part in it. This was,
however, not true. The meetings of the Social Conference
from year to year would have no value by themselves, if they
did not reflect considerable local activity in the same direction.
The Kayastha community in the North-West Provinces may
well claim the honor of leading this popular movement. In
the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, their Sadar Sabhas,
provincial and local Sabhas, their journals, their educational
Institutions and benevolent Funds, are a feature of this acti-
vity too marked to be passed over. Their methods of opera-
tion are suited to their needs and they have fought successfully

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against intemperance and extravagance in their community. (11) Their example has been followed by the Bhargavas of the North-West Provinces, the Jains, the Agarvalas or Vaishyas, the Jats, the Malis in Rajputana, and the Sarins in the Punjab and by many other smaller communities, who meet in Conferences every year to provide for the education of their children, both boys and girls, and frame rules against early marriages and extravagance in expenditure. (12) The tendency of all these local bodies, especially the Kayastha Sabhas, is to break up the smaller divisions and promote inter-marriage and inter-dining among sub-sections of the same caste. The Jaitpur-Mahajans in Kathiawar have expressly proposed this latter object for the consideration of their caste. (13) Following the example of the North-West Provinces, the Audicha Brahmins in Gujarath, the Oswal Jains in Nasik and the Kayastha Prabhus in Thana have held similar meetings of their castes for the same objects with equally good results. These caste organizations do not reflect heterodoxy, but are intensely orthodox and yet they feel the necessity of reform and organized efforts. Many of these organizations are not regularly affiliated as societies represented at the Social Conference, but some of them are so affiliated and the Conference is chiefly of value in that it stimulates these local efforts. (14) There are regular circles, in which Associations exist, who send their delegates to the Conference; as for example I might refer to the Bellary Sanmarga Samaj, the Berar Association, the Dharwar Samilani Sabha, the Madras, Poona and Ahmedabad Associations, the Gaziapur, Meerut, and Ajmere circles, and the Sind Association. Several of these are registered Associations and others are taking steps to register themselves. (15) These Associations while taking up social reform join with it a general movement in favour of purity of conduct, and of purging the community of vicious practices. The Madras Sabha has taken the lead against the dancing girl institution. Many others take pledges against intemperance, incontinence and polygamy. (16) The Bengal Presi-

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dency, while it is the centre of the Brahmo Samaj movement, has unaccountably shown a strange tendency towards bigoted conservatism among the masses in a way not known in other parts of India. Even there, however, the sea-voyage movement has been taken up in right earnest, and organized efforts are being directed to facilitate the admission into caste of persons who have crossed the seas. (17) On our side of the country the same movement has found greater favour with orthodox people, and admissions into caste have taken place in Ahmedabad and the Konkan, and Rajkot on terms, which show a great relaxation of the former prejudices. (18) Our Presidency has also been distinguished by the favourable reception it has given to the re-marriage movement. As many as seven re-marriages took place last year in our Province—spontaneous marriages not brought about by organizations. (19) Madras and the Punjab have also shown some activity in this direction. As might be expected these re-marriages frequently involve the breach of strict caste exclusiveness, and they thus serve a double purpose. (20) The Arya Samaj has distinguished itself by the re-admission into their community of repentant converts to other religions. (21) In my part of the country among the highest caste Brahmins two virgin girls respectively of 13 and 15 years were married last year, reflecting the highest credit upon their parents. Two or three other girls of the best families have had the Vakdan ceremony performed at the age of 12 or 13, and the marriage ceremony postponed till maturity. (22) The Baroda Government has taken steps to enforce compulsory education in one part of its territory as an experiment.

I think I have said enough to show that this movement in favour of social reform is neither confined to any one province, nor to any class of the community, but is a general and popular movement all over the country, and embraces all castes. It covers a wide programme, encouraging foreign travel, re-marriage of widows, interfusion of castes, the admission of

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converts, and checking infant and ill-assorted marriages, polygamy, sale of girls, intemperance, and incontinence. The methods on which it is conducted are varied, but all are animated by a common purpose. There is the method of legislation and of executive action, there is the method of strengthening caste organizations, and the method of appealing to the consciences of men by pledges. There is also the method of interpretation, and public preaching and popular enlightenment are also relied upon as helps. All these methods of work are carried on together with a common aim. There is thus no reason for feeling hopeless about the ultimate success of efforts so directed and so general. There is no other sphere of activity, political or educational or industrial, which seems to have taken such hold of the popular mind. Of course admission is slow, and change is gradual; and ardent and earnest minds desire to see the work accomplished in their own life-time. The method of rebellion, *i.e.*, of separating from the community, naturally suggests itself to such minds. I am constitutionally inclined to put more faith in the other methods mentioned above. They keep up continuity, and prevent orthodoxy from becoming reactionists out of a mere spirit of opposition. There are disadvantages in this slow process of working, but they have to be put up with. This has been the characteristic line of action followed by our ancestors, and there is no reason to think that they were essentially mistaken. The Social Conference meets every year to focus all this information and make it available to all local workers. By this mutual exchange of views, each circle and association is stimulated by example and precept to higher efforts, and these efforts are guided in the proper directions by the experience of those provinces which are more advanced than others in particular matters. Its resolutions express the ideals to be aimed at. Each local association is recommended to approach these ideals in its own way, and is required to give an account of its work every year. This may seem to many a very small progress, but it is eminently prac-

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tical. A few advanced reformers from all parts of the country meeting together will not be able to accomplish their purpose, because, as at present situated, they are separated from one another in all relations of life in a way to make joint action impossible. The resolutions are strictly binding upon those who accept them in the same way as the dictates of conscience are binding ; and they cannot be made more binding in any other way except in small local organizations. I hope I have made the aims and purposes of the Conference clear to you, and with this explanation I feel confident that you will join with us and promote the work we all have at heart. I thank you heartily for the patient hearing you have given me, and hope that our session here will interest you, and enlist your sympathy in this good cause.

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THE PAST HISTORY OF SOCIAL REFORM.

Mr. Justice Ranade said :—Gentlemen, it is a source of unmixed satisfaction to me and to my friends interested in the cause of social elevation that after seven years' wanderings far and near over all the chief provinces of India, we have been spared to visit the Southern Presidency, which has for a thousand years and more maintained its reputation as the fountain source of all higher spiritual, social and moral development in this great country. Your Dravidian civilization has been always strong enough to retain the stamp of its individuality in the midst of Aryan inundations, which submerged it for a time. You thus possess an advantage over us, hailing from more northern provinces,—which advantage has been utilised by your Alwar saints to an extent unknown to us. By the side of the four Vedas, your Tamil songs of devotion constitute the fifth Veda, which is chanted by your priests on occasions of festivals and religious celebrations. Twelve hundred years ago, the great Acharya of the Adwait

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philosophy finally overturned the Atheistic philosophies of the Buddhistic and Jain systems, and established the revived Hindu faith on the comprehensive basis on which it now stands broadened and deepened all round. Two hundred years after has another Acharya founded the Visishtadwait and Dwait philosophies, which have so profoundly modified modern Indian society and subordinated *jnyan* and *yoga* finally to the religion of love. These great Acharyas were the fountain sources of all the higher wisdom and spiritual elevation, that have distinguished the religious history of the last 1,000 years and more. Ramanand, who was the teacher of so many divers Vaishnava sects, and Chaitanya, who was the saintly leader of Bengal, and Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith, derived their illumination from the philosophers of the South. The successors of Ramanujacharya were the first social reformers. They felt compassion for the hard lot of the poor and disfigured widow, and did their best to carry comfort to her. They also took pity upon the fallen condition of the lower strata of the social system and conceded to them the privilege of admitting them into a community of faith with the higher classes. It was not therefore without reason that the Conference movement was first started in this city, under the auspices of the late Sir T. Madhava Rao. Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao blessed the child and gave it into our hands, and we now bring it back to you after a lapse of seven years. These seven years have worked a great, and I believe, a hopeful change in the attitude of the community of races, who are represented in this gathering, towards questions of social reform. There are those who think that these seven years have been years of fruitless task, and that the heart of the nation has not been touched by the appeals made to it either from the political or social platforms. Some of you are better judges about the success of the work done on the political platform. I think it was Lord Salisbury, who observed that small maps are **very** delusive guides, when we have to decide on questions of frontier troubles. As regards social

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progress I may say, with equal reason, that short spaces of time are similarly deceptive, and yet I shall venture to ask our despondent, though earnest, self-examining judges to pause and contemplate the change these seven years have witnessed. If the heart of the nation can be traced anywhere in its ancient strongholds, you will certainly see it strongly entrenched in the Native States. If any movement stirs the Native States, which are impervious to your political and industrial propaganda, that is a sign that the heart of the nation has been touched. Now what do we see has been the character of the change effected in these seven years amongst some of our premier States? Seventeen States in Rajputana—Odeypore, Jaipur, Jodhpore, Pratapgad, Sirohi, Tonk, Ulwar, Jeselmere, Kotah, Bundi, Ajmere, Kerowli, Kishengad, Jhalawar, Bansdah, and Dongarpore,—have been members of the Walterkrita Sabha, whose annual reports show how strong is the organization that has been set up in that province for the curtailment of extravagant expenditure on marriages and funerals and the regulation of child-marriages, not only amongst the Rajputs, but among many other castes allied to and subordinate to them. The ruler of Baroda has similarly exerted himself in the work of social elevation, not so much on his own motion, but at the instance of the Mahajans and Kunbi cultivators in his own and the neighbouring British territory. The Cambay ruler has also followed suit. Lower down and much nearer we have the Mysore, Durbar. It has set an example of legislation, which cannot fail in time to be copied elsewhere. After full deliberation and consultation with his Parliament, the Maharajah of Mysore has passed into law this year the first instalment of measures intended to put a stop to marriages of girls below eight years of age and ill-assorted marriages of young girls below fourteen with old men above fifty. The Maharajah of Cashmere has also this year not only presided over a Social Reform Association founded in that State, but has taken steps to discourage the practice of hired crying and beating of the

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chest as also the custom which in those parts was supposed to prevent the father from seeing the face of his daughter after she was married. The rulers of Baroda, Indore, Kapurthala, Bhavanagar, Morvi, Gondol, Wadhwan, Cuch Behar, Kolhapore and many other States have crossed the seas, some with large retinues and some with their wives and children. We do not claim any credit for all these movements in the name of the Conference. I only allude to them here as indicating the fact that these reforms have all been initiated and carried out during these past seven years or more by the same earnestness of spirit, which working on a lower sphere makes this Conference necessary and possible from year to year as an humble sister of the National Congress. The genuineness of the feeling is borne witness to by the fact that in inaugurating the new social regulations, different methods of procedure have been adopted by different states to accomplish the same end. The method of direct legislation has found favour with Mysore, of caste initiation in Baroda, and of executive regulations in Rajputana. This is a point which is but little understood, though the variety bears on its face the stamp of sincerity and shows that the movement is spontaneous and of indigenous origin. The foreign Government which rules over us, cannot but be encouraged by the results of such spontaneous action on the part of the rulers of Native States who reflect the higher wisdom of their population. We do not want it—and the Government is naturally averse to meddle with social matters in the way it did when it put down *Suttee* and infanticide. And yet in its own cautious way it is educating the people to a higher sense of their responsibility in this connection. It has by a formal notification abolished hook-swinging, directly legislated for several backward classes, and regulated the marriage expenditure of the Kunbi and the Rajputs and Jat population in several parts in the Bombay Presidency and in the North-West Provinces. It ventured indeed to pass the Age of Consent Act, but the agitation that the measure provoked has weakened its hands and it now fights shy of further

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legislation on that line, and it has refused to amend the law regulating religious endowments in the way some of you desired. I am glad, however, to learn that it is prepared to consider the Malabar Marriage Bill on the lines recommended by the Honourable Muthuswami Iyer's Committee and to abolish imprisonment in execution of decrees for the restitution of conjugal rights. It also permitted the Honourable Babu Behari Lal to carry through the Bengal Council a new partition law, which is a very great improvement on the general Hindu law of equal compulsory division. Both Native States and the British Government have thus paid homage to the supremacy of the new spirit that is actively working in our midst, and it is in this general fact and not in its particular manifestation that I see the hands of Providence at work for our good.

Perhaps some of you would say that after all kings and ministers should have no place on this platform, and that I must adduce some better evidences of the fact of an awakened conscience among the people rather than appeal to the acts of States. There is some truth in that observation. The work of social reform can not be an act of a State. It is chiefly valuable when it is the work of the people. I shall therefore now appeal to the popular movements, which have been started during the past seven years and more, and which are so characteristic of our new life. If there had been no such background of popular effort behind its back, the Conference, in which we propose to meet here, will no doubt be an empty show. The fact however is far otherwise. Grandeur and more enthusiastic meetings than those we hold here are held just about this season in half-a-dozen cities in Northern and Western India. The great Kayastha community of the North met last year at Mathura,—the Vaishya Conference met at Lahore and meets this year at Shajahanpur under the guidance of my friend Lala Baji Nath,—the Bhargavas met at Lucknow last year, and the Audichyas in Bombay. The Jains in our parts met at Ahmedabad, and at the same place a Mahomedan

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Conference, in which Hindus joined, was held and passed resolutions condemning nautch and extravagance in marriage expenditure. In the Punjab there is a regular cobweb of Baradari and caste associations, the most prominent of which are the Sarin Sabhas, the Kayastha Sabhas, and the Khalsa or Sikh Sabhas. In your own part of the country the Sri Madhwas met similarly at Tirupati about this time. All this work is done within the sphere of each caste organization, and their regulations are enforced by the sanction of caste rules. The reports, which most of these communities and caste associations forward to this Conference, are in my opinion the most interesting part of the year's work. The Conference focusses these reports for general information, points out the limits of practical work and suggests the lines of further development. These Associations furnish, as I have said above, the background of the work, which the Conference takes in hand in a more comprehensive spirit. At any rate these are some of the constituencies, to which the Conference hopes to appeal for help and guidance.

Of course while the Baradaris or caste systems of organizations prove useful in certain parts of the country, in other parts religious organizations, such as the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Dharma Mahamandal, the Sanatan Sabhas undertake the work of social reform on independent lines. These Samajes work towards the same end as the Baradari Associations, but with different sanctions. The Arya Samajes have done great wonders in this connection. They have started Temperance movements and Bands of Hope, and composed temperance songs, which are being sung by women on festive occasions. They have encouraged re-marriage, adopted reformed rites, which presuppose and enforce late marriages. They have founded Girls' and Boys' Schools and Colleges. They have organised charity on a large scale. They in a word constitute all that is most hopeful and worth living in the new life of the province of the Punjab. On the

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Bengal side the Brahmo Samajes, with their special marriage law, have gone far in advance of us all in many matters.

Next after the Baradari societies and the religious bodies engaged in the work of reform, we have a third class of organizations such as those represented by the Hindu Social Reform Association of Madras, whose annual gathering we have met here to-day to celebrate. There are innumerable other bodies such as the Sanmarga Samaj of Bellary, the Berar Social Reform Association, the Ahmedabad and Sind Associations and the re-marriage Associations in Bombay, Madras, Wardha and other places, which rely not so much upon the sanction of caste rules or the religious sense of duty, but upon trust in the honour of members, who pledge to give effect to certain improvements in our social condition. As might be expected, these voluntary Associations have not the strength and efficiency of the first two organizations, though it may be noted as a sign of the times that they are slowly taking steps to register themselves with a view to strengthen themselves. They lack the strength of the sanction, and have wider grasp of the problem before us. There are also Purity Associations working on the same lines in all parts of the country; they also have a great field of usefulness before them. I have already noted the fact that Native States are working on different lines. The popular Associations are also trying to carry out their ends in three different ways—by caste action, by the sanction of religion, and by the method of pledges, and appeal to the sense of self-respect and love of public esteem and fear of public criticism. The voluntary Associations again are following different methods of practical work. Some place their reliance chiefly on an appeal to the ancient law, others prefer plans of forming a schism, and a few are for the method of open revolt. Then this is the situation, and much of the activity that we have noted above in these matters has been developed during the past seven years.

The result of all this awakening is best seen in the keener appreciation of the moral law of purity and charity.

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This constitutes in my view the most instructive and hopeful feature of the past ten years. Even the Government has been forced to acknowledge the force of this new feeling. It is at the root of the agitation against vivisection, the Contagious Diseases Act, the compulsory examination of women, in which last respect the Government here has had to yield to Indian and English public opinion. The same feeling also finds expressions in the great Temperance agitation, which has led to the appointment of two commissions of inquiry. The agitation against the abuse of Temple Endowments may be traced to the same source. The agitation against the nautch girl and loose habits of family life is explained by reform on the same principle. The movements intended to help the Pariah classes are due to the same potent cause. The miserable condition of the child-widow is now more keenly recognised as a problem, which must be solved. Widows' homes are springing up in Allahabad, Calcutta and Poona, and the question of the re-marriage of child-widows has passed through the preliminary stage of a trial experiment. Polygamy and the sale of girls in marriage are also slowly disappearing from the land, though they will, I fear, fight hard to the end. More than 75 re-marriages have taken place in our Presidency and 25 similar marriages during the last 20 years in the Madras Presidency and the cause has shown a steady rule of slow progress all over the country.

I hope I have said enough to justify my position that the last seven years have not been fruitless of results, not measured by the standard of Western races, but by the conservative strength of our prejudices and by the rule of improvement observable in our political and industrial spheres of work. The members of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association may therefore comfort themselves with the consolation that, although the number of its members may be few, they represent much that is hopeful and living in the present constitution of our society. They are the burning coals snatched

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out of the hearth, the fire of which will not be smothered by the ashes of indifference and discouragement. They have their representatives in every house and province of India, and they are sure to win in the end, however unpleasant may be the struggle in the present.

Their movement against the Nautch girl approved itself to the sense of the Lahore Conference, and since then many Associations have given their adhesion to the cause. I need only mention the names of a few provinces and places here. The Punjab is one of them. The Hindus and Mahomedans at Ahmedabad recorded the same vote. The Associations in Rawalpindi, Berar, Dharwar, Salem, and Bellary, Chica-cole, Masulipatam and Gulbarga have accepted the principle and are trying to enforce it.

As regards infant marriages, the Mysore Government has crossed the Rubican and broken the ice of the prejudices of centuries. The Rajputana rulers have set the same example by State regulations, and throughout the country there is a growing sense that this evil practice has been tolerated too long and that the time has come for a cautious retracing onwards of our steps. In our part of the country many castes are moving in the matter of the education of girls, and the minimum marriageable ages of girls and boys are being slowly raised all round. The Deshi laws of Bamas have fixed the ages of girls at 13, the Bhargavas at 12, the Mathma Chobar at 13, and the Mahajans at 12. It cannot be long under these hopeful circumstances before we shall find a permanent change in this matter. As regards re-marriages there have been 12 re-marriages celebrated in the course of the year— 1 in the Punjab, 2 in Madras, and the rest in our part of the country. The Bama caste at Surat actually went so far as to pass a resolution at a caste meeting that the second marriage of child-widows should be permitted. This resolution was again brought before the caste by those who opposed it, and even then the caste expressed its acceptance of

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the principle and deferred its experiment till other Bama castes joined. This circumstance clearly shows how the wind is blowing, and it must be a source of satisfaction to us all.

As regards social intercourse and the admission of people who had changed their religion or who had returned from England, three cases of special interest occurred in Bengal and Madras, which show a very happy change in the attitude of the caste-bound society. Mr. Chetty and one Deshastha Brahmin were taken back into their castes without much serious misgivings. In Bengal the Kayasthas admitted Babu Upendra Nath Das, who had not only gone to England but had married an English wife and had children by her. In the Punjab the Arya Samajas and Sikh Associations admitted as many as twelve Mussulman converts. Recently alliances have been formed between orthodox and heterodox reformed families under very favourable circumstances, both in Madras and in our part of the country.

I fear I have taken up your time too long, and that I should not overtax your kind patience. We have need above all of two great virtues over and above our earnestness. We must have inexhaustible patience, which faith in an over-ruling Providence and the final triumph of right alone inspire, and we must have charity. Hope, faith and charity—these are the three graces we must all cultivate, and if we keep them ever in mind and hold steadily by them, we may be sure that we may still regain our lost position and become a potent factor in the world's history. The turn of life and light is in the individual. We have to purify it to feel the heat and the light of truth in us; and if we care each for thus acting in the faith of duty, we may be sure that God's helping hand will come to our relief. If we suffer misery, we have earned it by our sins in the past and present. If we purge them off, the bright rays of glory will shine in their old splendour. In that hope we rest assured that in the good work we share, and according as we share, we shall succeed.

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APPENDIX F.

(*Report of the Eighth National Social Conference.*)

QUESTIONS REGARDING SOCIAL REFORM.

SIR,

You are aware that under the vivifying influences that are at present at work, India is regaining, however slowly, a national consciousness and life. Efforts are being made to strengthen social union, to interpret social usages in their true sense, and to remove unnecessary and inconvenient restrictions. These are favourable indications. Our social organization is not without its good features and they are not few ; but there are also certain matters in which reform is urgently needed. Old bonds are losing their hold on the public mind. Such of them as are congenial to the healthy growth of our society need to be strengthened and new ones to be substituted in place of those which do not suit the changed circumstances of our country. But no real progress in social matters is possible without public sympathy and earnest co-operation. With a view, therefore, to secure such sympathy and co-operation, it is desirable to ascertain the sense of the intelligent portion of the community about the more important questions which affect our vital social interests. Some of these questions have already engaged the attention of the Social Conference and other associations in the country. We have thought it fit to send the accompanying questions in the hope that you will be good enough to favour us with your opinion on the points raised therein and to endeavour to obtain and send to us the written opinions of your friends whom you may consult on these questions. You need answer such questions only as you may choose for yourself. It is proposed to compile and publish the opinions thus collected with a view to enlighten public opinion and to direct our particular efforts to those reforms which may be generally approved of. Such a compilation will, it is hoped, be also of some help to the Social Conference and the several associations that have been taking great interest in social questions.

M. G. Ranade,

Satyendra Nath Tagore.*

&c. &c. &c.

N. B.—Gentlemen are requested to address their replies to S. R. Hatwalne.

* This Circular is also signed by Messrs. Lalshankar Umiashankar (Ahmedabad), V. M. Bhide, C. N. Bhat, V. N. Pathak (Poona), Nunjund Ayya Belvad (Mysore), Y. T. Mirikar, Jahagirdar of Miri, Wasudeo Shastri Joshi, Jahagirdar of Toka (Ahmednagar), V.G. Vijapurkar (Kolhapur), K.B. Marathe, G. P. Agte, N. V. Sathe, B. M. Kharkar, V. K. Sovani, R. P. Karandikar,

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QUESTIONS.

SOCIAL.

(1.) *Female education* :—Female education is not progressing as rapidly as it ought to do. Are there any special reasons in your province for such a state of things? If so, state them. What steps in your opinion are needed to carry on this work with more vigour? If you think that the present course of studies is not suited, what course would you recommend for girls? Are you and others in your town prepared to help pecuniarily or otherwise for the spread of Female education on the lines that you may suggest? What system of Female education in your opinion would be popular and meet the requirements of our family life and surroundings?

(2.) *Prohibition of the use of spirits and intoxicating drugs* :—What intoxicating drugs are in more general use in your province? What remedies may be adopted to check their use? Will the people in your town agree to co-operate in a movement for asking the authorities to remove from the heart of towns the shops for the sale of spirits and other intoxicating drugs? Would not the location of such shops outside the limits of towns do some good?

In the case of classes which are more particularly addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs and drinks, would it not be possible to do something through the spiritual and caste leaders of those communities to check the evil?

(3.) *Religious disputes between Hindus and Mahomedans* :—In what places in your province have there been religious disputes between Hindus and Mahomedans? What were these due to? If you are aware of any respective rights of the two communities as regards public processions in your province, state them. Would it not be possible for the leaders of the two communities in your town to form a committee with a view to fix the customary usage and to settle the disputes amicably when they arise, and keep up the good feeling between them both? If so, state if such leaders are willing to form a committee of conciliation.

B. S. Sahasrabuddhe, R. R. Kale, G. V. Ranade, K. G. Deshpande, G. R. Pai, S. G. Javeri (Satara), V. R. Natu, S. B. Bhate, B. D. Manerikar, R. G. Khot, V. G. Shirgaokar, S. A. Chhatre, N. G. Deshpande, K. G. Ajrekar, Karpur Shriniwas Rao, Achut Bhaskar Desai, N. C. Soman (Belgaum), G. Y. Limaye, V. R. Katti, A. R. Joglekar, S. R. Saudi, W. B. Kittur, Anantrav Vyanktesh, R. S. Malapur, P. S. Athavale, R. V. Desai, G. B. Phatak, S. U. Mudholkar, V. M. Herlekar, J. H. Bettigiri, R. B. Karandikar, H. B. Keskar, G. D. Dixit (Dharwar), D. S. Garud, S. B. Upasani, D. L. Deshpande, R. N. Ransing, S. G. Deshmukh, S. R. Bhagwat, and S. R. Hatwalane (Dhulia).

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(4.) *Intercommunion in food and intermarriage* :—What sub-divisions of your caste allow inter-communion in food at present? Do you think that intermarriage between such sub-divisions would be greatly beneficial to both? If so, would not the more intelligent men in your province be prepared to actively co-operate in bringing about the desired object?

(5.) *Prostitutes and dancing girls* :—(a) At present the houses of prostitutes are situated in the heart of towns. Do you not think that this is dangerous to public morals? What remedies would you propose to check the evil?

(b) It is not unusual among some of our rich people to have a Nautch of dancing girls on occasions of religious ceremonies such as marriage, thread-ceremony &c. How far is this practice salutary, and if any evils result from it, how will you check them?

(6.) *High-caste Child Widows* :—(a) Considering the pitiable condition of our high-caste child-widows, would it not be desirable to allow them to re-marry? If you think that they may be allowed to do so under certain restrictions, what restrictions, in your opinion, are necessary to ensure the sympathy of the people?

(b) How far the public in your place is prepared to allow the remarriage of such child-widows before puberty?

(c) In what castes is the custom of disfiguring widows prevalent in your province? Is it not generally looked with disfavour? If so, ascertain how far people are ready to cooperate in discouraging the custom?

(7.) *Sea-Voyage to distant countries* :—Do you not think that the time has come to remove all social impediments in the way of those persons who go to foreign countries for education, trade or similar other purposes, and are you not of opinion that these persons should be freely re-admitted into their caste? If you and others think some conditions should be imposed to conciliate caste feelings what are the minimum conditions, which people in your parts are prepared to impose?

(8.) *Custom of employing hired mourners* :—Do you not consider that the custom of employing hired mourners prevailing among certain classes should be condemned altogether? So also would you not like to discourage the practice of crying loudly in public streets, when a funeral procession is passing?

(9.) *Panchayats* :—In how many villages that you have seen have you noted the ruinous effects of mutual animosities fomented by factions? If you have found any in your district, will the people of your place be prepared to assist the people of such villages in establishing Panchayats for amicably settling such disputes? If there are any difficulties in the way, what are they? How could they be removed?

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(10.) *Early Marriage and extravagant marriage and funeral expenses:—*

(1.) Many people at present marry improvidently and spend large sums beyond their means on marriage. By reason of the inability of parents to support themselves and their children, general impoverishment results and rich families are reduced to beggary. Is it not desirable that this state of things should be checked? If so, what remedies would you propose to check the evil? Would not the people in your province be prepared to discourage such improvident marriages by withholding aid pecuniary or otherwise and refusing to attend the celebration of such marriages?

(2.) If a rule be made that boys should, in no case, be married before they have completed the age of 16 and girls before 10, would not the people in your province observe the same?

(3.) Some people marry a second wife while the first is living. Do you not think that some restrictions are necessary in such a case? If so, what restrictions should be imposed?

(4.) Some men marry girls of tender age, though they themselves are far advanced in age. Is it not necessary to condemn such marriages? Will people in your district have any objection to a prohibition of the marriage by old men after they have passed the age of 45 or 50?

(5.) Is not the practice of receiving the money as consideration for giving daughters in marriage condemned in your caste or province? Would not the people in your district exert themselves to entirely put it down?

(6.) Are not Hunda demands now growing beyond reasonable limits? Is it not desirable to put some limits on such demands? What limit would you propose? Will it not be more beneficial to stop the practice of paying Hunda and introduce instead of it the system of investing the amount in the name of the bride in some safe security?

(7.) Do your caste people spend extravagantly on marriages? If so, in what particular respects are they extravagant? In what particulars can the expenditure be curtailed?

(8.) Do people in your province spend large sums of money in giving Caste dinners in memory of or after the death of a relative? Do you not think that there is much room for reform in this matter also, without hurting the feelings of the parties concerned?

In respect of all these points how far can caste Panchayats be utilised to enforce rules made by them? If Panchayats cannot be so utilised, what other associations would you suggest?

(11.) *Clubs:—*At present clubs are established in several places. If you think that improvements are needed in these, what should they be? Is it not

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desirable to increase their number ? What practical steps do you propose for making these institutions more popular and useful ?

EDUCATIONAL

(12.) *Competent Midwives and Nurses* :—Have you not observed that the want of skilful midwives and nurses is much felt ? If widows or other women were trained for the profession of midwives and nurses, would not people of your district avail themselves of their assistance ? If any such women be prepared to learn the profession, will not people assist them pecuniarily ?

(13.) *National Education* :—Large numbers of children are at present unable to avail themselves of the benefits of education by reason of the poverty and ignorance of their parents or other causes. Do you not think it necessary that every child should receive elementary education at least for four or five years ? What steps should in your opinion be adopted to secure this object ? Government may perhaps be moved to help us in this matter, but will the people be prepared to help themselves ? Could the current of our charities be diverted to this object ? If so, what steps should you think be taken for the purpose ? If you think that there are difficulties in the way of introducing the system of national education in your province, what are those difficulties ? What remedies, if any, suggest themselves to you for removing them ?

(14.) *School-houses and play-grounds* :—Do you not think that at least in large villages and towns every school should have a house of its own, and that a play-ground close by should be attached to it ? Government will probably assist in this matter, but will the people come forward to do so considering this a proper object of charity ?

(15.) *Boarding-schools* :—Several people have to send their sons to large towns for education. But there being no proper provision for their boarding and lodging many boys are put to great inconvenience, and some of them go astray. Under these circumstances don't you think that some suitable provision is necessary with respect to boarding, lodging and proper control of these students in large towns ? If boarding-houses were established would the people of your district help pecuniarily ? What arrangements would you like to have in the boarding-houses that have been established already or that may be established hereafter ?

(16.) *Kindergarten-system* :—Is it not now desirable to adopt the Kindergarten system for imparting education to small children with a view to make the education of children more popular ? If you think that there are some draw-backs in the system or some difficulty in the way of introducing it, what are they ? How can they be removed ?

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(17.) *Education of backward classes* :—Do you not think that some special provision should be made for the instruction of classes which are backward in education? What provision do you propose for your district? Could the current of our charities be turned in this direction also?

(18.) *Education of poor boys* :—Many poor children, who are intelligent and promising, are at present compelled to abandon their course of study for want of suitable means. Don't you think that the nation loses the benefit of their talents? Would the people of your district raise a fund for assisting such students? If so, what scheme do you propose for the management of the fund? What should be the conditions on which alone pecuniary help is to be given?

(19.) *Libraries and Gymnasias* :—Is it not necessary at present to provide greater facilities to the people for reading and physical exercise with a view to create a taste for these? If you think that free libraries and gymnasias should be established at different places in your district until a taste for these is created among the people, would you and others in your town assist in establishing such libraries and gymnasias?

(20.) *Home education* :—Do not you think that in the matter of home education our people appear rather indifferent? If so, how can this state of things be improved?

CHARITABLE RELIEF.

(21.) *Charitable dispensaries* :—Have you not observed that people in villages have to put up with great inconvenience for want of due provision for medical aid? If efforts were made to establish charitable dispensaries for providing European and native medicines, would not people in your district be ready to assist? If you are of opinion that it is necessary to divert the course of charities in this direction, in what way can this be done?

(22.) *Panjarpoles* :—Merchants and traders have established Panjarpoles in various places for helpless cattle. If you think that some improvements are necessary in these, please state them. Just as these institutions are established for helpless dumb animals, is it practicable to have a similar charitable institution in your town for helpless human beings, who have become disabled by infirmities or age to earn their livelihood? If so, will the people in your district be willing to help in the matter? State if such an institution should be separate. Cannot the Panjarpole authorities be induced to include this relief in their charity?

(23.) *Street-beggars and mendicants* :—It is a great question as to what should be done for our beggars and mendicants. It is a matter demanding serious consideration whether the existing state of things with regard to street-

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beggars and mendicants should be allowed to continue or whether some improvement should be made in it.

The first question to be decided is: are all the classes of street-beggars and mendicants worthy of our charity? If not, from which of them may our charity be withheld. Is it practicable in your town to prevent able-bodied men and women from begging from door to door and to make some separate provision for them? If an institution like the Panjarpole were established for the whole body of really helpless beggars and mendicants, would the people in your district approve of the project and assist in the matter? Do you not think that some special provision should be made for poor students, who actually live on alms while prosecuting their studies? If so, what kind of provision do you suggest? If you think that all able-bodied beggars should be made to work of their maintenance rather than be given free alms, what suitable employment could you find for them in your town?

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS.

(24.) *Devasthans and Annasatras (Religious endowments and free boarding-houses)*:—Are there any Devasthans, Annasatras or Sádāvartas in your province, and at what places? Are they managed properly? If any are found to be mismanaged, what is the cause of mismanagement and what remedies would you suggest for their better management?

(25.) *Kirtans and Purans*:—Kirtans and Purans are to some extent very useful means for imparting religious and moral instruction, but do you not find that these institutions fail to serve the purpose for which they seem to be intended? To what do you attribute this? If you are of opinion that some improvements are needed in these institutions, what are they? Could you suggest means by which we could meet the requirements of the times through their agency?

(26.) *Dramatic performances*:—The real object of Dramatic performances is not kept in view and they would appear to have become mere means of amusement. Could you suggest means to make this institution more useful? Would not the representation of our social evils by means of dramatic performances be effectual?

(27.) *Shimga and Moharam*:—Is it not desirable to discourage as much as possible the improper and objectionable ways in which Moharam and Shimga are celebrated by some of our people? If so, what remedies do you propose?

(28.) *Holy places*:—Is the money spent at these places usefully spent? If not, in what places within your knowledge is the charity misdirected? If you have observed anywhere any misdirected expenditure, state details.

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How can it be curtailed without injuring the religious susceptibilities of the people? If there are any holy places in your district, please state if any efforts have been made to provide separate buildings for the accommodation of pilgrims and to establish religious and charitable institutions at any of the several places? If not, do you not think it desirable that efforts should be made in this direction? What kinds of religious and charitable institutions should, you think, be established and where? Are decent shelters provided on the spots reserved for the cremation of dead bodies?

(29.) *District Conference*:—Do you not think that the establishment of a conference in every zilla to discuss social questions will be of great use? If so, will not the people of your district be willing to hold such a conference once a year?

(30.) *Itinerant lecturers*:—Will the people of your province be prepared to make due provision for the expenses of itinerant lecturers to explain to the masses such of the social reforms as may be approved of and found to need immediate action?

(31.) *Permanent Fund*:—Do you not think it necessary to raise a permanent fund for the expenses required to do the needful in the matter of awakening public opinion on questions of social reform? What means do you propose for raising such a fund? Would the people divert the current of their charities towards the above object?

(32.) *General*:—If there be any other questions besides the above deserving immediate consideration, please state them and give your opinion about them.

The Ninth Social Conference—Poona, 1895.

THE CAUSE OF THE EXCITEMENT AT POONA.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade said:—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—It has been a custom for many years past on the occasion of these annual gatherings to deliver an introductory address on the aims and the scope of the Social Conference movement, and before its regular work is taken in hand to bespeak the favourable attention of the public of the place, in which we meet, to its claims upon them. In conformity with this practice I stand before you here on this occasion. Before, however, I proceed with the

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address proper, circumstances have rendered it necessary that one or two personal explanations should be offered. The first explanation that I have to place before you on behalf of those who have been taking an interest in this Conference movement is in regard to the position of the General Secretary, Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao, in connection with the Conference. Some of you may have read a letter from a correspondent of Tanjore published in a paper here, in which it was stated that Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao has ceased to be the Secretary, has resigned his office, and that he thinks the Conference a farce, if not a clever deception. A statement like that appeared a fortnight ago, and I was surprised to find that it should have been accepted as true without question. Because, until last October, when the subjects for this Conference were first proposed provisionally, in accordance with usual practice, I sent a list of them to him and he returned it with some suggestions. So I was quite sure till 27th October last things were all right. As the statement had appeared in a local newspaper, it became necessary in the opinion of some of my friends that we should ascertain what the truth was. And here is the reply which Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao has sent to a letter that I addressed to him.

[Here Mr. Justice Ranade read the letter which is as follows:—"The facts of the case are that Mr. Joshi of the American celebrity about a week ago called upon me at Kumbhakonum. He said in exultation that the Congress had rightly refused its *pandal* to the Social Conference. This rather startled me, as I had thought that he was a social reformer. I told him that I was glad that the *pandal* was not allowed to be used by the Social Conference, for the deception that used to be practised by the Congress upon the English people that it worked in conjunction with the Social Conference was unveiled, and the English people would now clearly understand that the Congress really did not mean to work with the Social Conference. I

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added I was therefore glad that the Congress refused their *pandal* to the Social Conference. With regard to my connection with reference to this year's Conference, I said I was too old, too weak to attend it, and that it was meet for me to spend my time now quietly without troubling myself with public controversies. My state of health prevents my going to Poona, I am sorry to say"]

I hope this reply will remove the apprehensions created in the minds of some friends as to whether the connection of Dewan Bahabur R. Raghunatha Rao still continues or has ceased and how far the opinions attributed to him were justified by the evidence of his own writing.

The other explanation that I have to give relates to the circumstances under which this Conference has to be held in another place this year. The controversy has been very bitter for the last five or six months, and I do not want to allude to that controversy. But as the matter has a sort of official character about it, it is necessary that a public statement should be made on an occasion like this, in order that there may be no room for misapprehension on either side. I shall now ask my brother, with the President's permission, to read a letter that was written and the replies that have been received. (Here the circular addressed to the various Standing Congress Committees asking their opinions on the question of the loan of the Congress Pandal to the Conference, together with their replies was read.)

There is a third matter and a very important matter which relates to the President-elect of this year's Congress.

(An extract from the Honourable Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee's letter was read in the meeting which was as follows :—"The *raison d'être* for excluding social questions from our deliberations is that if we were to take up such questions it might lead to serious differences ultimately culminating in a schism, and it is a matter of the first importance that we should prevent a split. The request of the other side is very unreason-

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able; but we have sometimes to submit to unreasonable demands to avert greater evils.')

The question which I propose briefly to consider on this occasion is—how it has happened that while Bombay and Calcutta, Lahore and Nagpur, Madras and Allahabad had not shown such an excitement over this matter during the last nine or ten years—how has it happened that in this city of ours, which at least we all take a natural pride in, as being equal to all these other cities, if not superior to them in some respects—how has it happened that this city and this part of the country was made to feel such an unusual excitement over this subject. This is a subject to which we ought to devote some portion of our time. It is a phenomenon which requires an explanation. It is an event, which, I must say after twenty-five years' experience of Poona, surprises me—why it should have been so. I need hardly say I was also pained that it should have been so. But whether we feel surprised or not, there is the objective fact before us. People got excited not only here, at Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Nasik, Bombay, but at Satara, Nagpur, Dharwar, and in many parts of the country, as you will see from the telegrams that have been read to you. I am quite aware, one most obvious explanation that occurred to many is, that this excitement is due to personal differences and party quarrels. This is a very convenient way of disposing of this question. Personal differences there are. Party quarrels and party misunderstandings there will be to the end of time, just as they have been from the commencement of the world. Wherever a dozen men meet together or a number of people go to work together, there will be misunderstandings. But that does not satisfactorily account for what we have seen—the loss of temper, the absolute waste of energy, the absolute waste of what I would call high powers on a subject on which it was not necessary to spend a word. And yet there is the phenomenon that on both sides our publicists and writers, our thinkers and preachers were all engaged in

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this matter, thinking every day and devoting all their attention in a way which almost provoked a cynical feeling whether we had all lost our wits. Party differences and personal misunderstandings, I believe you will find, are not confined to Poona. I have personal experience of nearly every large city in the country, having visited them three or four times and spent a good deal of time in making myself acquainted with their party differences. It is a characteristic of our people that where a dozen people work together one-half will call the other half mad or wicked. It is our general habit to misunderstand one another. People think that there is no good man among their opponents. But party differences and personal misunderstandings have never made a whole nation mad. It will not be fair to the intelligence of this city, or to the intelligence of other places in the country of which this city boasts to be the capital, to accept this explanation. This way of brushing away inconvenient questions may be very satisfactory to some, but we cannot accept such an explanation in this place. You should suppose yourselves in the position of a naturalist, and try to see why so many otherwise intelligent animals should have lost themselves in a passionate mood for the last six months. Or think you are an anatomist and see what is there in the body of this nation which could have produced such disorganization. It would not be fair on an occasion like this to brush away this question and merely laugh over it. There is a serious significance which we must all lay to our hearts, if we want to derive the lesson which the exhibition of the last six months offers us. The question before us is, why should men otherwise intelligent get so much excited over petty matters like this Pandal question. The two assemblies as you know had nothing whatever to do with each other. Their organizations are separate, their modes of work are separate, their publications and objects are separate, but as so many people come from all parts of the country, it has been found convenient that those among them who cared for one or both, who cared for social

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and political reform, should have a common meeting ground provided for them at one and the same place and time, at common expense. While the rest of India has shown a good deal of prudence and wisdom, why is it that we were not able to show that wisdom and moderation of temper, which we naturally claim the right to command? I confess I am not at all satisfied with the explanation usually offered. There must be something deeper which we must study, some weakness or strength whatever you may call it which alone can satisfactorily account for this phenomenon. According to some, Poona has done what no other place had the courage or folly to attempt, and this is the cause why this contest should happen here and not elsewhere. When we dive beneath the surface, I believe we do come to the traces of certain differences which mark this part of the country from others. Those differences require our most anxious consideration on this occasion.

Taking a bird's eye view of the social history of India, you will find that there are various methods of working out social reform questions adopted in different parts of the country by different races, into which this Continent has been divided. If you go to Bengal, you will find there that the religious (theistic) development has taken up and absorbed all the more serious men who think about these matters. On the basis of their new religious ideas, they have developed a social organization and also formed a community by themselves. This community naturally attracts to itself all those among other classes of the people who feel seriously about these matters, and they strengthen and grow into a separate section, which has little or no connection with the rest of the orthodox or the general community from which they spring. The Brahmo Samaj there with all its sects takes up into its rank all those who are eager in the work of social reform. Outside the Brahmo Samaj the only name that figures prominently in connection with social reform is the name of Pundit Iswar Chan-

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dra Vidyasagar. This Pundit did inaugurate a great reform, but as you know that outside the Brahmo Church or Churches that movement has failed not only since his death but even during his lifetime. Pundit Vidyasagar was one of those who felt aggrieved in his old age that he had taken part in a matter in which his hopes were not crowned with success. So far as the orthodox community is concerned, Bengal is more orthodox than any other part of India. So far as the reformed community is concerned, Bengal is more reformed than any other part of India. They form in fact two separate camps. Kulinism and the Kali worship thrive in all their extravagance on one side, and puritanical theism on the other. The great weakness that I attribute to the Brahmo Samajists is that they are so absorbed with the religious side of their creed and are so separated from the orthodox community that they fail to feel warm interest in other matters, which concern the people in the same way as reformers elsewhere feel. On the other hand the orthodox community also feels no interest in the Brahmo Samaj people. There is every day an attempt on both sides to make the difference as great as the difference between the Mahomedans and the Hindus. What the Brahmo Samaj has done in Bengal, the Arya Samaj has been attempting to do for the people of the Punjab with greater advantages. The Sikh development of the 17th and 19th centuries naturally elevated the Punjab people. The basis of their elevation is the religious development, and on it you find based a social organism, which absorbs all the more serious and more thoughtful people. The Arya Samaj is a religious organization based upon a social superstructure into which a few people here and there find their resort, and the rest of the community slowly gets itself more and more hidebound and more and more wedded to the old ways of thinking about these matters. In the North-West Provinces neither the Brahmo Samaj nor the Arya Samaj has produced any effect. They are a very slow mass to move. The present condition of the North-West Provinces with all their natural advantages of position and

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climate is characterised by lethargy and backwardness. The Brahmins there occupy a very unimportant position. But the rising generation and the fruit of the University education are devoting their best attention to this question and are trying to reform the usages of their caste. The reports of the Kayastha, Jat, Khatri, Bhargava and other Associations show us that they desire to promote reform within the sphere of their own castes.

The Social Conference does not wish to kick the old ladder, but it is composed of those who are eager to give and receive information on social matters, and to exchange thoughts on social reform. The present tendency of Hinduism is to throw off its exclusive character. (Here the speaker related the story of a hundred Hindus who had been converted to the Moslem faith and who were taken back into the Sikh community in the Punjab this year. Another story was told of fifty born Mahomedan converts who were converted into Hinduism. A Rangari at Mudhol was said to have been induced to become a convert to Mahomedanism, but in sober mood repented and wished to come back. But the Brahmins were not ready to take him back into his former community. So the Rangari caste at Mudhol appealed to Swami Nityananda, an Arya Samaj preacher, who consented to perform the ceremony of admitting him into his caste and gladly went there and performed it.)

You may think here that we are of course perfectly unconcerned with all these events which happened in other parts of the country. But time and tide wait for no man. Social evolution will not allow you to rest where you are. There are stages in which a diseased mind is so filled with melancholy and hypochondria that the doctor finds that the only remedy is cure by faith, and to put more faith in him electrifies the patient from top to bottom, and when he is so shaken he feels himself relieved. We—every one of us—men and women—require that those of us who are working on

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different lines in this country should work harmoniously. Conservatism is a force which we cannot afford to forego or forget. You may talk and act in a way that appears to be the result of your voluntary efforts, but you are unconsciously influenced by the traditions in which you are born, by the surroundings in which you are brought up, by the very milk which you have drunk from your mother's breasts or influenced by those things in the world which you cannot disown. To say that it is possible to build up a new fabric on new lines without any help from the past is to say that I am self-born and my father and grand-father need not have troubled for me. That is the way in which things strike me at least.

One of the ways in which reform movements are being worked out in India is the method of rebellion. We go into another camp on a religious basis and a social structure is built upon it. The other way of introducing reform is by utilising caste organisations for the purpose of reform. The third is to go to the Acharyas and try to see that they are animated with a high purpose and move about the country and purify us and themselves in the bargain. The fourth way is to appeal to men's sense of honour and make them pledge themselves to certain reforms. The fifth and the least eligible way is to seek legislative help. But in order to work out reforms on any of these lines all of us must work together. We must meet at least once a year to derive what lessons we can from each other and exchange mutual help and sympathy—this is the reason why we go to the Conference. The rebellious method may be the most suitable for one reform, the traditional method for another, the pledge method for a third, and the legislative method may be the final solution of a fourth reform. There may be all these different lines not parallel but tapering towards one point in the end; but till they meet we must work together separately.

I have now a register of 50 Associations, the registered members of which are not very many. They may not exceed

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ten thousand, but they are the hope and the strength of the future. They all work on their own lines, and in doing so they are likely to commit mistakes, from which their friends should try to help them. Now I have told you how things stand in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and the Punjab. On the Madras side the Brahmin element is preponderant, and as a result the lower classes are borne down with a weight which they are not able to bear. But there are thoughtful men among them for whom we all feel the highest respect. The most favoured method in that Presidency is of voluntary pledges. That being the condition of things in Madras, what is our position on this side? Are we working on a religious basis to which a new social superstructure is added, or are we proceeding on the more orthodox method of caste regulations? Are we proceeding on the lines of legislation, or of voluntary efforts? There are societies in this Presidency who have registered themselves under the Indian Companies' Act or the Religious and Charitable Endowments Act, and they find that their provisions do not suit their convenience and they want more facilities. In other places, the religious and caste leaders are appealed to for help. There are also those who prefer the method of revolt and schism.

The peculiar feature of the movement in the Presidency is that we want to work on no single line, but to work on all lines together and above all not to break with the past and cease all connection with our society. We do not proceed on the religious basis exclusively as in Bengal. We have the different Samajes, but somehow or other there is something in our nature which prevents us from bodily moving into another camp. We do not desire to give up our hold on the old established institutions. Some might say this is our weakness—others think in it consists our strength. Reform work has not been carried on in this Presidency on any one definite line, but we are trying all the methods which

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I have placed before you. If we were to follow any one method, our quarrels would cease. If we were distinctly prepared to stand in a camp of our own, leaving the whole community to do what they like, we might be at peace; for this is exactly what our friends—the reactionist and the orthodox community—are desiring us to do. We do not put our faith exclusively in the caste method of work. We are not limited to the method of what I say is the method of pledges, *viz.*, each man taking a pledge to do what to him seems right. We differ from other parts of the country in our pursuit of this work of social reform on various lines,—we do not prefer any one method of work and try to utilise, adopting each as it is most suited for our purposes, all these ways, and this of course brings us into conflict with our orthodox and reactionary friends. I hope I have satisfied you that it is not mere personal differences or party quarrels or anything of that sort that explains the situation, but it is our systematic attempt to do the thing not on one definite line, which has intensified the conflict. We are not disposed to follow any one method to the end, and we apply a number of methods to a number of problems, and we do desire above all not to occupy a separate camp for ourselves. This is in my opinion the chief reason why there has been so much misunderstanding and such exhibition of temper, and when you add to that personal and private differences, you will understand why the unfortunate opposition which was not offered elsewhere was exhibited in this beloved city of ours. I hope on another occasion to give a retrospect of the work of reform carried on in different provinces of India during the year about to close.

“HISTORY OF SOCIAL REFORM.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—On Wednesday last my time was so taken up with personal explanations and a review of the general tendencies

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of the reform movement in the different provinces, that I was not able to present to you a brief retrospect of the year's work as I had at first intended to do. It is very necessary on an occasion like this to direct public attention to the more notable events of the year, and to see how far they mark out foot-prints on the sands of time in our journey onwards. We are so scattered and so little in touch with one another that single workers in this field are too often disposed to look upon the work before them as a task beyond human endurance in which failure is certain, while the chances of success are well nigh hopeless. This sort of despondency would be impossible if we had more faith in an over-ruling Providence, and if we contented ourselves with the immediate work before us, leaving the final issue in His hands. The Conference gathering brings the individual workers together from all parts of the country, and when we exchange notes with one another, those of us who may have lagged behind are encouraged to persevere in the work by the example of their fellow-workers, who have attained better success or struggled more manfully with their difficulties. Viewed in this light the present gathering has to my mind a holy character, full of encouragement and hope, to all who come to it from far and near. The year that is about to close has not been altogether an uneventful one. I propose with your permission to travel from south to north and briefly direct your attention to the new social leaven which is stirring the apparently dormant and lifeless mass of the Indian community.

You will note with satisfaction that on the Malabar Coast, including the Native State of Travancore, a most healthy movement has for sometime been at work to legalise the institution of marriage in the great Nair community. Throughout this extent of the country marriage, as an institution recognised by religion and law, has no footing, except among a very small proportion of the Brahmin population. Men and women cohabited together but without the sanctity and sanction, which marriage confers upon man and wife. In this

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part of the country only the eldest representative in Brahmin families can marry in our sense of the word. The rest of the community both Brahmin and non-Brahmin have lived from ancient times till now in theory at least with the wild license, which lets the male and female members of the animal world consort together in temporary connections. Of course human beings cannot practise this licence without submitting to some restraint of custom, and there are such customs which have supplied the place indifferently of the indissoluble life-long alliance which constitutes the essence of marriage. This state of things did well enough as long as Malabar and Travancore were cut off from the rest of the world. With better communications and with the greater spread of education a new sense dawned upon the minds of the thinking 'portion of the Nair community, and a general desire was felt among these people to rise to the social level of their fellow countrymen in other parts of India. An agitation was set up and after meeting with some opposition Government appointed a Commission to inquire into the matter, and on the basis of the report of this Commission a draft Bill was drawn up and this Bill has this year been introduced into the Madras Legislative Council by the Hon'ble gentleman who is now presiding at this meeting (the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair). The chief credit of this movement and the practical turn given to it belongs to the Hon'ble Mr. Sankaran Nair and his fellow-workers, and you will be glad to find that their labours have been crowned with success. The principle of the law is now safe and the Bill has been referred to a Select Committee to settle the details. Following the example in British India, the Travancore Government have also sanctioned the introduction of a Bill subjecting the customary connections to the pains and penalties of the Indian Penal Code. Both on the Malabar coast and in Travancore the movement has been entirely of popular origin, the officials and Governments reluctantly yielding to the pressure brought upon them by the people concerned.

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Turning northwards you will be glad to learn that the marriage laws passed by His Highness the late Maharajah of Mysore have worked satisfactorily. The Dewan stated last October before the Representative Assembly that there were only four cases where the penal clauses had to be enforced during the course of the year, and in all these cases the prosecutions were instituted on the complaint of private persons and neighbours. This is a circumstance of great promise, as it shows that public conscience is on the side of the Government.

On the East or Coromandel Coast of the Madras Presidency the leaders of the social reform movement have been actively at work both in the Presidency town and in the Mofussil in promoting female education, and in the protest they have made in favour of purity of life and against degrading and immoral customs. One re-marriage was celebrated by the Rajahmundry Widow Re-marriage Association, which is guided by the venerable Viresalingam Pantulu Garu, whose zeal in this cause has been unabated, and who has earned justly the fame of being the Pundit Vidyasagar of this part of the country.

Another notable event was the re-admission by the Chetty community of a young graduate, who had embraced Christianity and who afterwards desired to return back to his old faith. Another event of a similarly instructive character was the re-admission by his community of a Deshastha Brahmin, who had gone to England and who was admitted by the Deshastha caste at Coimbatore on easy conditions, which marked the growth of public feeling in this connection. To the West of Mysore in the Palghat country a very vigorous agitation has been set on foot by some earnest workers to fix the minimum marriageable age of boys at 18 and secure popular support for legislation on this subject. You will thus see that on the Madras side there are signs of very earnest efforts made to promote reform in all the main heads of our

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programme, such as higher female education, purity of morals, widow marriage, and the admission of foreign travelled persons and of converts to other faiths, and the improvement of marriage laws and of the condition of the Pariahs. These movements are directly of popular origin in all parts, and have in some cases support of both the British and Native Governments.

Going next to Bengal, the change is not a very agreeable one, as I observed on last Wednesday. Reform here is confined chiefly to those who have become members of the Theistic churches, while the rest of the community shows a retrograde tendency in the direction of reaction. The sea-voyage movement stirred Bengal two years ago. But apparently no progress was made in regard to it in the present year. The only visible movement attempted this year was about the reduction of extravagant expenditure on marriage occasions and even this movement was instituted by the Government of that part of the country. Meanwhile female education outside the presidency towns showed no progress. Kulinism still flourishes in the land; the widow-marriage movement started by Pundit Vidyasagar evokes no interest; and things generally are at a standstill. I am afraid my statements about Bengal may appear to many as exaggerating the faults of our friends there. For Bengal is generally associated in our minds as the foremost province in matters of progress. I can only say in my defence that I depend for my sources of information on four or five friends in that province. One of them is a missionary of the New Dispensation Church, and another a social reform preacher, who belongs to no church. The other two gentlemen are of the old school. There are no social reform associations in Bengal, and I only received two reports from local bodies, who appeared to devote their attention chiefly to temperance and primary female education. Nothing will give me greater satisfaction than to find that my information about Bengal is not accurate up to date, but until this correc-

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tion comes from proper sources, I must depend upon my own authorities, and you will join with me in regarding this state of things as very discouraging indeed.

Advancing northwards, we find in the North-West Provinces and Oudh more hopeful signs of a desire for social improvement. Here as I have stated in my first address the work is carried out on caste lines, and the great communities which constitute the middle and upper classes of these provinces, the Kayasthas, the Bhargavas, the Agarwalas, the Jats and the Jains are each heaving with new life, though that activity is restricted within very narrow spheres. These communities hold their Conferences from year to year. These Conference meetings are largely attended. They chiefly devote themselves to the work of reducing customary marriage expenses and also try to raise the marriageable age limits. Temperance also occupies a prominent place in their programme and the Kayastha Temperance movement has especially shown a good record this year. The Purity movement also occupies attention in these parts and some progress is also made in intercommunion between subcastes. The education chiefly of boys and in some cases of girls and the establishment of Boarding-houses have occupied their attention to some extent. The movement is not based on any departure from the old religious creeds and the Arya Samajes established in different parts are not showing much zeal in their work. For certain purposes these caste organisations are very valuable, but they have their own weakness. They cramp and narrow the sympathies of those who belong to them, and the sphere of action is restricted within very defined limits. Such as they are however, they cannot fail to effect considerable change for the better in the social condition of the country, if only these separate caste movements work together for the common good. In regard to the question of widow marriage and foreign travel and female education, these provinces are very backward. Though they came under the British rule early in the

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century, the system of public education prevalent in these parts has been less permeated by Western influences and is more oriental in character than in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The Allahabad University was established in 1887, *i. e.*, 30 years after the other universities were founded soon after the mutiny. Proceeding further on to the Punjab, the social movement is seen to be more energetic in character and more fruitful of results. The rise of the Sikh power, based as it was on a religious upheaval which tried to assimilate the better elements of Mahomedanism and the ancient Hindu faith, has secured for the Punjab a very favourable start. The caste restrictions against interdining are not so strictly observed as in other provinces. The supremacy of Brahmins is not so oppressive in its weight of authority, and altogether a healthy and manly tone distinguishes the people of those parts. No wonder, therefore, that the Arya Samaj movement found a soil already prepared for its reception, and nowhere else has it produced on the whole such beneficial changes. Though the founder of the Arya Samaj did not favour the marriage of widows except with the brother of the deceased husband, the Arya Samajes in the Punjab have for many years past shown greater liberty in this matter, and this year was distinguished in the annals of the Punjab by a most important accession to the strength of the reform party represented by the celebration of the marriage of Dewan Sunt Ram's widowed daughter. As this family is one of the most respectable among the Khatri community, it is expected that this movement will have a new strength in that part of the country. As a matter of fact, there were two other re-marriages in the Punjab this year, one according to the Brahmo rites, and the other according to the Arya Samaj ritual. As regards foreign travels, the people in the Punjab have quietly solved the problem by openly receiving men who have gone beyond the seas into caste. The Punjab also has taken the lead in another matter, which shows more than anything else the advance made in their province. A portion of the Sikh

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community has been actively engaged in the work of conversion of Mahomedans into the Sikh faith, and the Arya Samajes also have shown readiness to make conversions from other religions. Some 150 converts were thus admitted back into communion with the Sikhs. Outside the Arya Samaj and the Sikh community, the Khatris, the Vaishyas, and the Agarwalas have also been carrying on good work in the fusion of subcastes, in cutting down extravagant expenditure, in promoting temperance, and raising the marriageable age of girls. The Purity movement in the Punjab is also conducted with great energy, and the crusade against intemperance is more systematic there than elsewhere. The Punjab has also earned the distinction of holding provincial social Conferences every year. Altogether the social movements in these parts are of a character to inspire hope and afford encouragement to all who take interest in this work. In the province of Sind we have some honest workers. Notable among them Mr. Dayaram Gidumal holds the chief place. The registered Social Reform Association of Hyderabad is the oldest of its kind, though this year it was unable to show much work. At present the Sind reformers are devoting themselves chiefly to the promotion of female education, which is in a very backward condition in that province. The Walterkrit Rajputra Sabha, representing twenty small and large States, has maintained its character as a most effective organisation for the promotion of the two reforms to which it chiefly devotes its attention, namely, the reduction of the marriage expenses and raising the marriageable age of girls and boys. The example of the Rajput class is slowly working a change in the other communities such as Brahmins, Agarwalas, and Jains. An attempt is being made by the Talukdars in North Gujarath to have a Sabha of their own based on the same model. This brings us back to our own Presidency with its two divisions, the Gujarath and Maharashtra districts, the latter including the Berars and Central Provinces. In the Berars there is a very vigorous Social Reform Association at work consisting

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of 400 members, and it has been the means of popularising the work of social reform in that part of the country. The members of the Berar Association have pledged themselves to certain reforms, including nearly the whole of the programme of the Conference, and their example and advice have resulted in directing public attention to these subjects. The Central Provinces have not shown equally good work this year. The widow marriage movement, however, has found considerable support in these provinces, and a band of young reformers has been formed at Nagpur, which promises better work next year. In the Gujarath districts of the presidency, Ahmedabad has put forth considerable efforts in the promotion of female education. It is also the head-quarters of the re-marriage and temperance movements in those parts. The misfortune of Gujarath is the multiplicity of sub-divisions of castes and sub-castes. Among the Kunbis and the Brahmins alike there are higher and lower sections of the community, the lower aspiring to form alliances with the higher at any cost and the higher disdaining to form such alliances for their daughters with people of the lower sections. This unfortunate state of things leads to extortions in the shape of heavy dowries, polygamy, infanticide, and unmarried old spinsters. The efforts of Government under the Infanticide Act and of the communities themselves to check these evils have not been very successful, but it is expected that these mischievous customs will work out their own ruin by the rebellion of the lower sections against the tyranny of the higher especially the Kunbi Patidars and the Anavala Brahmin Bhathelas. There was one widow marriage in the Ahmedabad district among the Audich people, and three young foreign-travelled men of the Brahma Khatri caste found admission into their community without difficulty. The Audich Brahmins also have been holding annual Conferences of the caste on the North-West Provinces model. His Highness the Maharajah of Baroda has been moved by the Mahajanans in the Baroda territory to legislate with a view to strengthen the hands of the castes in

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enforcing their own regulations about reform, and two Bills framed for this purpose are still under the consideration of His Highness the Maharajah. In the Maratha country proper the work of reform has been carried on all along the line by utilising all available resources. The widow-marriage movement has been taken up actively by the Association at Poona, and its missionaries have travelled about the whole of the country securing sympathy and support. In all, four re-marriages were celebrated in Bombay and Poona this year, the celebrations in Bombay being confined to the Gujarath community. Foreign-travelled men returning back to the country are slowly finding admission into their caste without experiencing the difficulties that stood in their way before. The marriageable age limits are being sensibly raised, nearly half-a-dozen of the best families in Poona have practically shown that after betrothal the girls can remain unmarried till fourteen and boys till twenty without serious caste opposition. The sale and exchange of girls in marriage is also condemned by the head Acharya, who is prepared to inflict caste punishments on those who may be guilty of a breach of the order. Female education is also being encouraged by the success of the High School at Poona and by the Society's schools in Bombay. The Temperance cause also is actively propagated by Temperance preachers, and already there is a sensible change in the attitude of young men towards this indulgence. It will be seen from this review of the social history of the year that things are not so hopeless as they seem to casual on-lookers. The conflict between the reformers and reactionaries in the Deccan Districts has been especially useful in drawing public attention to the claims of the Conference upon public sympathy. In all towns wherever the Mahrathi language is spoken including the Berars and the Central Provinces, the struggle between the two parties has been keen and active throughout the year. For reasons which I have stated in my first address, such a conflict, based on principles and not on personal differen-

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ces, is not, under existing circumstances, possible in any other part of India. In view of this conflict it becomes the duty of all to consider what should be the attitude of the reformers towards those who are opposed to them. Strength of numbers we cannot command, but we can command earnestness of conviction, singleness of devotion, readiness for self-sacrifice in all honest workers in the cause. Even though these workers may be few in number, they will in the end succeed in overcoming opposition. We have above all to learn what it is to bear and to forbear—to bear ridicule, insults, even personal injuries at times, and forbear from returning abuse for abuse. In the words of the Prophet of Nazareth, we have to take up the cross not because it is pleasant to be persecuted, but because the pain and the injury are as nothing by the side of the principle for which they are endured. We may differ as individuals, but these differences are after all due to the weakness of the human temperament and to the errors of the human judgment. It is the mind which after all holds intercourse with other minds, and there is a basis of union in the common divine element present in all of us, which is the spirit, which binds together all men in a common bond of love and help. The waters of the heavens get their colour from the soil over which they flow; but after all these colours are not the water; they may conflict with one another for a time, but in the end they meet and flow in one pure stream into the great ocean, leaving the earth and the mud and the silt behind them. If we only work in this faith, the opposition to reform, which so much disturbs us at times, will only be an incentive to more sustained efforts. This should be the spirit in which I would wish you to regard the events of the last few months, and if anything I have said from this platform inspires you with such a spirit, I feel sure that you will not have attended the Conference sittings in vain.

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A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE WORK OF THE YEAR.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade delivered his inaugural address which was as follows:—Mr. President and gentlemen,—After an interval of six years, during which period we have completed our round of the continent of India, we meet here again this time under the shadow of a great calamity—I might almost say in the midst of national tribulation and sorrow. At one time, indeed, the presence of this calamity suggested to many the thought that gatherings such as these had better be postponed to a more favoured season. On further consideration, however, it was forced upon our minds that visitations such as these had a deeper meaning, and that there was a solemn obligation on us all to make a confession of our errors and sins; and as the Jewish prophets of old called upon the chosen people in distress and in peril to renew their covenant with their Lord, we—the men who can read the signs of the times and feel the burden laid upon us—should meet to urge from this and other platforms the necessity of self-correction and self-exertion, in a spirit of pious resignation, joined with a fixed resolve that, come what may, ourselves and the generations to come after us shall suffer as brave men suffer—their very suffering making them braver still and better able to cope with danger than they ever were before. It was this feeling which prevailed over the better minds amongst us not to yield to the panic of the hour, and, while not making light of the danger that threatened us, to see in that danger the very best reason for taking counsel together how to provide against its recurrence in the future.

I submit to you, gentlemen, the question which you will all, each in his place, consider for yourself—why it is that famine and pestilence, poverty and distress, have the appalling terrors which they carry with them in this land? We can-

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not, of course, make the winds blow as we list, nor can we force the rain-clouds to shower their plentiful blessings as we need or desire. But with the advantages we enjoy, it should certainly be possible so to garner up our resources of health and wealth as to enable us to pass through such a crisis with a tolerable assurance of safety. Visitations, such as these we suffer from, will lose half their horrors, if we could discount them in anticipation. If we were stronger and more manly, more prudent, more abstemious and more thoughtful, millions would not live and breed as if they were members of the brute creation, and not men and women made in the image of God for a higher purpose than to live and die like the butterflies. It may well be that these visitations are intended as warnings of our duty in this respect, to set our house in order and not to sin against the laws of our existence. Of one aspect of this question of our duties I have nothing to speak from this platform—the aspect in which we deal with it as citizens of a great Empire. But the sphere of our duties is not exhausted when we discuss the question as a question of State policy only. The State after all exists only to make individual members composing it nobler, happier, richer and more perfect, in every attribute with which we are endowed; and this perfection of our being can never be insured by any outside arrangement, however excellent, unless the individual member concerned is in himself prepared in his own private social sphere of duties to co-operate in his own well-being. It is this latter aspect of our duties with which we are more immediately concerned here, and it is to this side of the question that I bespeak your favourable attention on this occasion.

You will ask, gentlemen, what message has this Conference to deliver on an occasion of the kind which brings us here together? This is the tenth meeting of the Conference, and one has a right to expect that, after ten years of ceaseless activity, any movement with a vitality of its own should be able to allow itself to be judged by its fruits. Two years ago,

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at Madras, I turned a similar opportunity to account in presenting to you a brief survey of our seven years' work in the different provinces of India. It is, therefore, not necessary that I should go over the same ground here again. It will, however, interest you equally well if I give you a brief outline of the work of the year which is about to close—in some sense a very remarkable year indeed. In all such matters the first step towards betterment is to realise the fact that our social conditions are not exactly as they should be, and that they stand in need of a healthy change, which can only be brought about by every one of us making the effort to pull himself out, and helping others to step out from the mire of false self-satisfaction or helpless despondency, than which there is nothing more dangerous by way of obstacle to our deliverance. Until the conscience is stirred up, nothing great or good can be accomplished by the agencies from outside, which hardly touch the surface. It is not an easy thing to stir up the conscience of a nation such as ours; but to judge from the signs around us, there are obvious indications that the dead bones are heaving with a new life, and that the cold limbs are reviving with a new warmth hitherto despaired of. This is but a mere commencement, full of hope and promise to those who are gifted with patience, but with little significance to those who, like children, are impatient to see tangible results. During the course of the year this awakening manifested itself, not only among the classes who are generally credited or discredited as reformers, but also in the very strongholds of orthodoxy, and the defenders of the established order of things. On our side of the country, the Sanatan Dharma Rakshani Sabha, presided over by the Goswami Maharajah, and attended by the most orthodox enemies of reform, met in solemn conclave, and sided with the reformers, whom they disliked, in condemning some of the existing customs, such as the sale of girls in marriage and infant marriages. On the Madras side, the Srivaishnava Conference and the Godavari District Conference, both very orthodox bodies, met also under similar

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circumstances and joined hands with the reformers in many questions over the gulf which separates them. There are some who think that the reform movements to be effective must be confined to each great caste or sub-caste. Judged by this test, we may draw consolation from the fact that full trial is being given to this view : for the Bhargava and the Kayastha and the Agarwal or Vaishya Conferences in the North-West Provinces, the Sarin and Kayastha and the Aurora Bansa Societies in the Punjab, the Audich and the Kayastha Prabhu Conferences in Bombay, and the Sri Vaishnava Conference on the Madras side, were all bodies which met each in its own place, and will meet again under very encouraging circumstances. It is proposed to have a meeting of the Sanatan Dharma Rakshani Sabha in Bombay under the presidency of the principal Acharya of that part of India who, be it said to his credit, has set his face against the sale of girls in marriage, and is prepared to enforce prohibition on a proper case being made out. The Acharya of the Saraswat Brahmins is at this moment discussing with his followers, what treatment should be given to England-returned men ; and the Berar people, led by very orthodox gentlemen, have asked the Sankeshwar Swami to relax the restrictions against widow-marriages. A very learned Shastri at Jubbulpore has been discussing the much vexed question of the admission back into the community of men who have returned from England, or joined other faiths and desire to return within the pale of Hindu society. Moved by the same feeling, the Nasik priests have in one instance admitted an England-returned gentleman back into his caste. The Lohana community in Bombay, who had for many years excluded the philanthropic gentleman, Sett Damodardass Goverdhandass from their communion, admitted him freely this year, in consideration of his many and great benefactions to the community and to the public at large. The Jain community in Bombay have not only welcomed Mr. Virchanda Gandhi on his return from America, but they gave him a grand farewell when he went out as a mis-

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sionary to that country. Gentlemen, you will admit that these are all very hopeful signs; scattered and few though they are over this vast country, they show evidence of a desire to breathe a new life in quarters where you would least expect it; and they show also that the desire for reform in our social conditions is now penetrating below the surface to the very heart of the nation.

Of course this sort of activity is more manifest among the younger generation everywhere. I hold in my hand a list of Associations and Sabhas, which have been good enough to send to the General Secretary of the Conference reports of their work. Our appeal for such reports does not reach all who work in the good cause, and even those to whom the appeal is made do not respond in time. I have, however, with me a list of Associations which have sent in their Reports, and their number comes nearly to sixty—the largest number that has been yet reached. We were hitherto unable to tap Bengal, but this year we have received reports from ten Associations from this part of the country, twenty-three from the Bombay Presidency, eleven from Madras, two from Mysore, four from the Punjab, two from Deccan Hyderabad, one each from the Central Provinces and the Berar, and five from the North-Western Provinces. The reports of these Associations have been summarised, and the summary will be placed in your hands when we meet to-morrow to discuss our plan of operations. Of course, these Associations do not subscribe to all the points to which the Social Conference draws attention from year to year. Some of them favour female education chiefly, others purity and temperance; others again, improvement in the condition of child-widows; a fourth class favour interdining and intermarriage between sub-castes; many more favour the further raising of the marriageable age limit—some by compulsory legislation, others by caste regulations, and others, again, by means of pledges. Many similarly interest themselves in curtailing the expenditure on marriage

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and death ceremonies. A few are striving to admit men returned from England and converts from other faiths, and some interest themselves in elevating the lower classes. Gentlemen, you will thus see that in part or in whole the Conference programme is one which covers the whole field of our activities in social questions, though there is, as might be expected, every variety of method, and full room for choice of different subjects according to the needs of each province and community. Such a variety is natural, and I should regret if there was not this difference of lights and shades and we were all echoing the same cry throughout the country.

There are, however, some general features of similarity which might be noticed here with advantage. Bengal, though it gave birth to Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, as well as to Pundit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar, seems at present (outside the Brahmo Samaj) to be content with helping female education chiefly. Polygamy and Kulinism, widow-marriage and unequal and infant marriages—these subjects have not excited the same attention here as in other parts of the country. In the North-Western Provinces the method of working through caste organisations finds most favour. Female education is not much attended to, but extravagance in marriage expenses and temperance occupy the chief attention. The Punjab takes the lead this year in the matter of the widow-marriage movement, re-admission of converts from other faiths and inter-marriage in sub-castes. In the Madras Presidency the Purity and the Anti-Nautch movements find their chief advocates. On the Bombay side, including Berars and Central Provinces also, to a certain extent, the Reform Associations are more catholic in the number of subjects to which they direct their attention. Bombay took the lead in the widow-marriage movement till last year. It comes out second this year with eight widow-marriages, while the Punjab takes the first place, showing a total of twenty-five such marriages, Madras having contributed two, the North-Western Provinces

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one, and Bengal one. In the matter of foreign travel, the Central Provinces are coming to the forefront, as many as nine young men having been sent last year to England for study. In this connection we may note with satisfaction the fact that as many as one hundred and sixty-seven Hindu students are studying at this time in England; fifty-six from Bengal, forty-two from Bombay and Central Provinces, thirteen from Madras, thirty six from Punjab, one from Mysore, three from Kathiawar, and five from the Nizam's State.

These figures show that year after year the pilgrimage to foreign lands, unhampered by domestic restrictions, and the substitution of Oxford and Cambridge for the old venerated cities of Benares and Nuddea, must inevitably take place, and they will be wise in their generation who remove the thorns from the way of the young pilgrims, and welcome them back on their return.

As regards inter-marriage and inter-dining—in other words the fusion of sub-castes into larger aggregates—the year about to close has a good record to show. Among the noticeable events of the year was an alliance between a Madras graduate and a Marathi lady brought up in Poona and educated in our schools there. Two inter-marriages of a less noteworthy kind occurred in the Central Provinces, and twenty inter-marriages took place among the several Khatri sub-divisions in the Punjab. In the Province of Bengal, you will all be glad to learn that, owing to the exertions chiefly of Babu Rash Behari Mukerji, of Vikrampur, the artificial divisions between the several *mels* among the Kulins of this province have been made to give way to a better feeling of the essential union of the Kulin caste in one hundred cases during the course of the last twenty-five years. Our friends at Madras, in the course of the year, have set an example of practically popularising the claims of this reform to general adhesion by instituting what are called reform-dinners, where all sects of Brahmins are welcome as brothers. The exclusiveness of caste shows evident signs of

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gradual relaxation. This is, however, nowhere so manifest as in the province of Punjab, where, owing to the exertions chiefly of the cultured Hindus, Sikhs and members of the Arya Samaj, the admission into the Hindu community of Mahomedan and Christian converts has made a great advance, and as many as two hundred and fifty or three hundred persons were admitted during the course of the year. This movement has found support in unexpected quarters. I refer here to the advocacy of this reform in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of this place. Nothing could be more pathetic, nothing more profoundly true than the appeals made by this exponent of conservative opinion to the Hindu community generally to drop their ancient spirit of exclusiveness, and receive with open arms those who may desire to come back to the old religion, and thus ward off the danger of national suicide, which otherwise is inevitable. I would make the same appeal on the ground of the devotion we owe to truth and reason and the supremacy of the claims of conscience upon our allegiance, to allow free liberty in the matter of this interchange of faiths.

In regard to the claims of purity, temperance, and economy in marriage and other ceremonial expenditure, much need not be said here, as these are matters in which both the reform and the orthodox parties in all the provinces of India are at one in their desire for change. About the question of infant and unequal marriages, there is also unanimity of public sentiment, which is being slowly but surely educated to perceive the necessity of adopting a higher standard of age both for boys and girls than what satisfied the generation that is past. Thanks to the marriage laws passed in Mysore, in Southern India, the sentiment in favour of legislation on the subject is ripening gradually to action. Meantime private efforts to raise the marriageable age to fourteen for girls and to twenty for boys and more are being actively pushed forward by the more advanced reformers in all parts of the country, among some of the very highest families, without meeting with much opposition from the orthodox classes.

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This then, gentlemen, is a summary of the work done and recorded during the year in various directions and channels, in which the reform movement is proceeding. You will all admit that it is, on the whole, very creditable. What is the inner spring of action which is setting in motion both reform and orthodox workers almost against their will, even where their will does not consent to move? That inner spring, the hidden purpose not consciously realised in many cases, is the sense of human dignity and freedom, which is slowly asserting its supremacy over the national mind. It is not confined to one sphere of family life. It invades the whole man, and makes him feel that individual purity and social justice have paramount claims over us all, which we cannot ignore long without being dragged down to a lower level of existence. This or that particular reform or revival of ancient practices, as some would like to call them; the removal of this or that particular defect or vice, is not and should not be the only end and aim of the agitation to improve our social condition. The end is to renovate, to purify, and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his standard of duty, and perfecting all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were—the chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself, and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and, lastly, with a love that overleaps all bound, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land. Happy are they who see it in distant vision, happier those who are permitted to work and clear the

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way on to it, happiest they who live to see it with their eyes and tread upon the holy soil once more. Famine and pestilence, oppression and sorrow, will then be myths of the past, and the Gods will then again descend to the earth and associate with men as they did in times which we now call mythical. This is the message which the Conference has to deliver to you, and I thank you all for having listened to it with such patience.

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REVIVAL AND REFORM.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade said:—Mr. President and gentlemen,—This time last year, when we met in the metropolis of India, I ventured to say that the gathering of the Conference was held under the shadow of a great calamity. Few of us then fully realised the accumulation of miseries and sorrows which this unhappy year now about to close had in store for us. The shadows darkened and deepened in their horrors as the year advanced, and it almost seemed as if the seven plagues which afflicted the land of the Pharaohs in old time were let loose upon us, for there is not a single province which had not its ghastly record of death and ruin to mark this period as the most calamitous year of the century within the memory of many generations past. No province has suffered more from these dire visitations than the Presidency of Bombay, and we are still carrying the yoke of this hard discipline of sorrows with a patience, and, I might add, courage, which baffle all description. The fight has been very unequal, and we have been worsted at every point, our activities have been paralysed, and our losses great beyond all previous anticipations. Speaking on an occasion like this, I cannot but give expression to the grief which presses heavy on our hearts, as we remember the faces, once so familiar in these Conference gatherings, conspicuous by their absence here to-day—soldiers of God in the

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great fight with evil, who have been taken away from us in the full bloom of their manhood, and whose places we can never hope adequately to fill up. One such earnest soul, the late Rao Bahadur Chintaman Narayen Bhat, was the life and light of this movement. I had fondly hoped that it would be my privilege to hand over to him the charge of this great service, for which the many great and good qualities of his head and heart fitted him so well. But this was not to be, and we have now to console ourselves with the mournful satisfaction that he died a martyr to his self-imposed labour of love and charity. In another place I have described our sense of the loss suffered by us by the death of another veteran in the fight—the universally lamented Mr. Waman Abaji Modak. Though disabled for a time for active work, his soul was ever alive to the call of duty for which he lived and died. Friends who knew Mr. Gokuldas Leula of Sind have paid a similar tribute of their sorrow to the memory of this sincere worker, who died a victim to the plague, while administering relief to those who suffered from its ravages. A tribute of respect is also due to the memory of Mr. Kasinath Punt Natu of Poona, and Mr. Vaman Daji Oka, well-known in these parts. I might recall to your mind the names of many more whom it has pleased Providence to take away from us, but this is hardly necessary to convince you that the year's casualties in our ranks have been very heavy. When people in their impatience complain that our friends here and elsewhere are only glib talkers, and fail badly when they are called on to act, they seem to forget the most prominent feature of our experience of these great visitations—namely, that in every town and city, where distress in any form prevailed, whether it was due to famine, or plague, or earthquake, or floods, or hurricane, the members of the various Reform Associations and their sympathisers have always been the first to volunteer their help, and if they have lost heavily, this loss is due to the perseverance with which they maintain the fight. We, who have been spared till now, may well pay this tribute of respect to their memories on an occa-

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sion like this, when we meet together to reckon our gains and losses for the year.

As might be expected, the reports of this year's work which have been received from nearly sixty Associations, large and small, and which have been summarised up to date, complain that their work for the year has not been as successful as in the previous two years. And yet to those who can read between the lines, there are manifest signs which show that the work has been as earnestly pursued as ever. To instance a few cases:—Under the head of female education, the Bethuen College of Calcutta, the Girls' High Schools at Poona and Ahmedabad, the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya at Jullundar, the Sing Sabha's Girls' School at Lahore, the Maharani's Girls' School at Mysore, the Mahakali Patshala organised by Mataji Tapaswini Bai, a Maratha lady in Calcutta, and the Sylhet and Mymensingh Unions, all show a record of progress each in its own line of development. There is not a single Reform Association of any position in the country which has not lent its best efforts to raise the standard and popularise the system of female education. Many Associations, Sabhas and Samajas maintain independent girls' schools of their own, and others have their home classes more or less actively employed in carrying on the work of the schools to educate the more advanced students. Others again have their lectures for ladies, and Ladies' Associations, such as at Ahmedabad, Bombay, and Madras, started and maintained by the ladies themselves. Though the condition of female education is still very backward, and though the experiments that are now carried on are on different lines, the signs are clearly visible that throughout India, the national awakening to the necessity of developing the moral and intellectual capacities and aptitudes of our sisters has found universal recognition.

As regards another sign of this liberal movement which seeks to do equal justice to the rights of the female as of the male sex, it is satisfactory to note that though the number of

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widow marriages this year has been smaller than that of the previous years, still all the provinces have taken part in the movement. The reports show that in all 25 widow-marriages were celebrated throughout India during the past year :—Punjab 10, Bombay 6, Central Provinces 4, Madras 3, North-West Provinces and Bengal 1 each. The widow-marriages in the Central Provinces have been all brought about directly or indirectly by the persistent efforts of Rao Bahadur Kolhatkar, the President of this gathering. For the re-marriages in Punjab the credit is due to Dewan Santaram and his friends of the Widow Marriage Association there, and in regard to Bombay the same honour is due to Mr. Bhagawandas, the son of the late Madhavdas Raghunathdas in whose house two re-marriages were celebrated. The credit of the widow-marriages celebrated in Madras is due to Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu. There was thus not a single province in which friends of the cause did not manifest their active interest in it, which remark does not equally hold good for the previous years. The paucity in the total number was partly due to the calamities of the year, and partly to the prohibition of all marriages due to the year being a Sinhasht year. Another good sign of the times which may be noted is the fact that some of the castes, in which no re-marriages had been celebrated before, joined in the movement for the first time this year. It was also reported in the papers that the Maharajah of Nabha, in the Punjab, had exercised his influence in favour of bettering the condition of Hindu widows, and inducing influential Hindu gentlemen to support the widow-marriage movement. In the Chandraseniya Kayasth Prabhu caste of Bombay, a similar pronouncement was made by the leaders of the community in favour of re-marriage, and it was resolved to bring up the subject before the next Kayasth Prabhu Conference to be held at Baroda. Another satisfactory indication of the times is furnished by the fact reported from Guzerat, that the Audich Brahmin community at Damun made a similar pronouncement in favour of widow marriage in their caste.

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The Widows' Homes at Baranagar and Poona have also been successfully maintained notwithstanding pecuniary difficulties, and the number of widows attending the homes has slightly increased, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Sasipada Banerjee of Baranagar and Professor Karve of Poona.

As regards foreign travel, the year has had a good record to show. Several Saraswata gentlemen have returned from England, and though the *Guru* of the caste has refused admission to them, the reform party at Mangalore and in North Canara have succeeded in openly showing their sympathy with these men. Raja Nowlojee Rao Gujar, a scion of the princely house of Nagpur, returned from England, and was well received, and Messrs. Booti and Alonikar of Nagpur, Mr. Krishna Rao Bholanath of Ahmedabad, Professor Gokhale of Poona, and Mr. Ketkar of Gwalior, have similarly, though not formally, been admitted by some of their caste people, and the opposition has not ventured to place any difficulties in their way. Two Bhatia gentlemen, for the first time in that community, left for England with the full support of their caste. In the Punjab, several young men in the Biradari castes, who had been to England, were admitted back without any opposition. Two young men from the Aurorbans caste went to England last year. The liberal section of the Cashmere Pundits' Sabha is strongly in favour of foreign travel. These instances show that slowly but surely in all parts of the country, the prejudice against foreign travel is on the wane, and that before long the orthodox community or the communities will learn to tolerate these departures from custom as an inevitable change.

In regard to the question of inter-marriage, the Bengal papers announced an inter-marriage in high life between two sub-divisions of the Kayastha community, which hitherto kept aloof. In the Punjab, there was a betrothal between two sub-castes of the Serin community. This was the first instance of an inter-marriage between these two sub-divisions.

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Many of the widow-marriages have also been instances of inter-marriages, and for the first time last year two instances of inter-marriage between Madrass and Bengalee gentlemen and ladies occurred. The North-West Provinces reports show instances of similar fusion between sub-divisions of the Kayastha caste there, and in Guzerat there is a similar tendency manifest in some of the castes to amalgamate together.

As regards the postponement of infant marriages, the reports from all provinces show a decided tendency to increase the limits of marriageable ages of girls and boys. In the Punjab, the Aurorbars Sabha has passed a resolution that no girl belonging to the caste should be given in marriage unless she has completed her twelfth year. In the Madras Presidency, the opinion is gaining ground that the time has now come for applying to Government for legislation on the subject to fix at least the marriageable age for boys, if not for girls and to lay down a maximum limit of age for old persons who marry young girls, on the plan adopted by the Mysore Government. The Madras Provincial Social Conference and the Godavari District Conference expressly passed resolutions on this subject. The Hindu Social Reform Association at Madras has also appointed a committee to draw up a memorial with the same object. The Hon'ble Mr. Jambulingam Mudaliar is reported to be contemplating the introduction of a Bill into the local Council there on this subject. There have also been individual instances in some parts of the country where grown-up girls have been married without experiencing any very bitter opposition from the caste.

Nearly all the Associations have been pledged to support the Purity movement, including the anti-*nautch* and temperance agitation and the work done during the year shows considerable progress under both these heads.

To turn next to another question in which the Conference has been interesting itself for the past few years,—the admission of converts from other faiths—some progress has been

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made during the year. The Shuddhi Sabha admitted nearly 200 Mahomedan converts this year. Hitherto the movement for the re-admission of converts to other faiths back into the Hindu society was chiefly confined to the Punjab. This year, however, there have been also instances of such conversions in Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and far away in Burmah, one of them being a convert Christian and the others Mahomedans. The Shuddhi Sabha of Lahore and the Arya Samaj there have deservedly taken the lead in this movement, and it will be a source of great strength to them that the movement has been taken up in the other Provinces also. The Central Provinces Reports for the year show that Mr. Shanker Shastri of Jubbulpore has published a pamphlet on the subject, and it is a strange coincidence that Professor Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat of Bombay read this year a paper before the branch of the Asiatic Society there, showing how in old times the non-Aryan races were brought within the fold of the Aryan system.

As regards the reduction of extravagant expenses in marriage, a very important movement was started in Calcutta under the auspices of leading Kayastha gentlemen, including such men as Sir Romesh Chandra Mittra and the Hon'ble Mr. Chunder Madhub Ghose, who met at Babu Ramanath Ghose's house, and passed several resolutions which are likely to be attended with good results. Nearly every one of the reports of the North-West Provinces contain details of the manner in which the Kayasthas, the Bhargavas, the Chaturvedis, Vaishyas, the Jains and other castes have tried to lay down sliding scales of marriage expenditure, curtailing extravagance under many heads, abolishing *nautch* parties, fireworks, and other useless items. In the Punjab, the Aurorbans have very considerably reduced the extravagance in marriage expenses. On the Bombay side, the Bhatia *mandal* and the Dasa Oswal Jains have successfully worked in the same direction. Even in far off Baroda, the Dasa Porwad Bania caste people have

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been moving in the matter. Following the example of the Rajputra Hitkarni Sabha, many non-Rajpoot castes in Rajputana and Malwa have laid down rules which are enforced by the same sanctions as those of the principal Sabha.

As regards Conference work generally, it may be noted that caste Conferences are the order of the day in all parts of India. I have, on previous occasions, mentioned the gatherings annually held this week in several large towns in the North-Western Provinces of the Kayastha and the Vaishya community. This year was distinguished by the holding of the first Provincial Social Conference in Madras, in which Presidency also we have had two district Conferences, one on the East Coast in the Godavari District, and the other on the West Coast at Mangalore. New associations are being formed under very favourable auspices in many parts of the country, notably in the Bombay and Madras Districts, to support the work of the Conference, and to give effect to its resolutions.

Encouraged by the success which has attended the efforts of the Mysore Government, and the Malabar Marriage Law passed in the Madras Council, two Bills of great social importance have been introduced, one in the Imperial Council, to bring under better control religious charities and endowments, and another has been introduced in the Madras Council to remove all doubts in and codify the law in regard to what constitutes self-acquired property under the Hindoo joint family system. Both these Bills have suggested subjects for discussion at the ensuing Conference this year, and it is not therefore necessary for me to enlarge upon their importance. There is a third measure before the Viceroy's Council which, though it relates to a particular section of the Mahomedan community, has a wider bearing which interests us all. The Memon section of this community in Bombay were originally Hindoo converts, and though they embraced Mahomedanism, they retained their old Hindoo customs in regard to inheritance.

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and succession, and these customs were recognised by our Law Courts. A majority of that community, however, now desire that in place of the Hindoo customs, the Mahomedan Law should govern their succession to the property of deceased persons. The Government of India accordingly intend to pass a sort of a permissive measure, by which a member of this community may retain or abandon the old rules by a formal declaration of his choice, which choice, once made, will be final. The subject bristles with difficulties, but the permissive legislation, if it proves a success in actual operation, will furnish a precedent which may prove of considerable help to those who wish to have more liberal laws of inheritance and succession without change of religion.

Such, gentlemen, is the brief record of the principal social events of the year. Many ardent spirits amongst us will no doubt be very much dissatisfied with the poverty of this record. At the same time, we must bear in mind that hundreds and thousands—nay millions of our countrymen will regard this poor record as very revolutionary, and condemn this as one of the unseen causes which has brought about physical and moral catastrophies upon the land by way of punishment for the sins of the reformers. These are two extreme sides of the question, and it is not for me to say to an audience like this on which side the balance of truth may be found. The *Arya Patrika* of the Punjab, which is a recognised organ of the Arya Samaj there, has in its words of advice to the Conference expressed its view that we are radically in the wrong in seeking to reform the usages of our society without a change of religion, and it seriously suggests that we should, in the first instance, become members of their Samaj and this conversion will bring with it all desired reforms. Many enthusiastic friends of the Brahmo Samaj entertain similar views and give us similar advice. All I can say to these welcome advisers is that they do not fully realise the situation and its difficulties. People have changed their religion, and yet

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retain their social usages unchanged. The Native Christians, for instance, especially the Roman Catholic section among them, and many sections of Mahomedans are instances in point. Besides, it has been well observed that even for a change of religion, it is too often necessary that the social surroundings must be liberalised in a way to help people to realise their own responsibilities and to strengthen them in their efforts. Lastly, these well-meaning advisers seem to forget that the work of reform cannot be put off indefinitely till the far more arduous and difficult work of religious conversion is accomplished. It may take centuries before the Arya or Brahmo Samaja establish their claims for general recognition. In the meanwhile what is to become of the social organisation? Slowly but surely, the progress of liberal ideas must be allowed to work its way in reforming our social customs, and the process cannot be stopped even though we may wish it. In the case of our society especially, the usages which at present prevail amongst us are admittedly not those which obtained in the most glorious periods of our history. On most of the points which are included in our programme, our own record of the past shows that there has been a decided change for the worse, and it is surely within the range of practical possibilities for us to hope that we may work up our way back to a better state of things without stirring up the rancorous hostilities which religious differences have a tendency to create and foster. There is no earthly reason whatsoever why we should not co-operate with these religious organisations, or why they should not rather co-operate with us in this work in which our interests are common, because the majority of our countrymen hold different views about religion from those which commend themselves to these Samajas. I am speaking these words with a full sense of my responsibility, for I am in my humble way a member of one, if not of both the Samajas, and I am a sincere searcher after religious truth in full sympathy with the Arya and Brahmo Samaj movements, and I hope therefore that these

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advisers of ours will take my reply in the same spirit, and will not misunderstand me. Schismatic methods of propagation cannot be applied with effect to vast communities which are not within their narrow pale.

On the other side, some of our orthodox friends find fault with us, not because of the particular reforms we have in view, but on account of the methods we follow. While the new religious sects condemn us for being too orthodox, the extreme orthodox section denounce us for being too revolutionary in our methods. According to these last, our efforts should be directed to revive, and not to reform. I have many friends in this camp of extreme orthodoxy, and their watch-word is that revival, and not reform, should be our motto. They advocate a return to the old ways, and appeal to the old authorities and the old sanction. Here also, as in the instance quoted above, people speak without realising the full significance of their own words. When we are asked to revive our institutions and customs, people seem to be very much at sea as to what it is they seem to revive. What particular period of our history is to be taken as the old? Whether the period of the Vedas, of the Smritis, of the Puranas or of the Mahomedan or modern Hindu times? Our usages have been changed from time to time by a slow process of growth, and in some cases of decay and corruption, and we cannot stop at a particular period without breaking the continuity of the whole. When my revivalist friend presses his argument upon me, he has to seek recourse in some subterfuge which really furnishes no reply to the question—what shall we revive? Shall we revive the old habits of our people when the most sacred of our caste indulged in all the abominations as we now understand them of animal food and drink which exhausted every section of our country's Zoology and Botany? The men and the Gods of those old days ate and drank forbidden things to excess in a way no revivalist will now venture to recommend. Shall we revive the twelve forms

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of sons, or eight forms of marriage, which included capture, and recognised mixed and illegitimate intercourse ? Shall we revive the Niyoga system of procreating sons on our brother's wives when widowed ? Shall we revive the old liberties taken by the Rishis and by the wives of the Rishis with the marital tie ? Shall we revive the hecatombs of animals sacrificed from year's end to year's end, and in which human beings were not spared as propitiatory offerings ? Shall we revive the Shakti worship of the left hand with its indecencies and practical debaucheries ? Shall we revive the *Sati* and infanticide customs, or the flinging of living men into the rivers, or over rocks, or hookswinging, or the crushing beneath Jagannath car ? Shall we revive the internecine wars of the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, or the cruel persecution and degradation of the aboriginal population ? Shall we revive the custom of many husbands to one wife or of many wives to one husband ? Shall we require our Brahmins to cease to be landlords and gentlemen, and turn into beggars and dependants upon the king as in olden times ? These instances will suffice to show that the plan of reviving the ancient usages and customs will not work out salvation, and is not practicable. If these usages were good and beneficial, why were they altered by our wise ancestors ? If they were bad and injurious, how can any claim be put forward for their restoration after so many ages ? Besides, it seems to be forgotten that in a living organism as society is, no revival is possible. The dead and the buried or burnt are dead, buried, and burnt once for all, and the dead past cannot therefore be revived except by a reformation of the old materials into new organised beings. If revival is impossible, reformation is the only alternative open to sensible people, and now it may be asked what is the principle on which this reformation must be based ? People have very hazy ideas on this subject. It seems to many that it is the outward form which has to be changed, and if this change can be made, they think that all the difficulties in our way will vanish. If we change our outward manners

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and customs, sit in a particular way or walk in a particular fashion, our work according to them is accomplished. I cannot but think that much of the prejudice against the reformers is due to this misunderstanding. It is not the outward form, but the inward form, the thought and the idea which determines the outward form, that has to be changed if real reformation is desired.

Now what have been the inward forms or ideas which have been hastening our decline during the past three thousand years? These ideas may be briefly set forth as isolation, submission to outward force or power more than to the voice of the inward conscience, perception of fictitious differences between men and men due to heredity and birth, passive acquiescence in evil or wrong doing, and a general indifference to secular well-being, almost bordering upon fatalism. These have been the root ideas of our ancient social system. They have as their natural result led to the existing family arrangements where the woman is entirely subordinated to the man and the lower castes to the higher castes, to the length of depriving men of their natural respect for humanity. All the evils we seek to combat result from the prevalence of these ideas. They are mere corollaries to these axiomatic assumptions. They prevent some of our people from realising what they really are in all conscience, neither better nor worse than their fellows, and that whatever garb men may put on, they are the worse for assuming dignities and powers which do not in fact belong to them. As long as these ideas remain operative on our minds, we may change our outward forms and institutions, and be none the better for the change. These ideas have produced in the long course of ages their results on our character, and we must judge their good or bad quality, as St. Paul says, by the fruits they have borne. Now that these results have been disastrous, nobody disputes or doubts, and the lesson to be drawn for our guidance in the future from

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this fact is that the current of these ideas must be changed, and in the place of the old worship we paid to them, we must accustom ourselves and others to worship and reverence new ideals. In place of isolation, we must cultivate the spirit of fraternity or elastic expansiveness. At present it is everybody's ambition to pride himself upon being a member of the smallest community that can be conceived, and the smaller the number of those with whom you can dine or marry, or associate, the higher is your perfection and purity, the purest person is he who cooks his own food, and does not allow the shadow of even his nearest friend to fall upon his cooked food. Every caste and every sect has thus a tendency to split itself into smaller castes and smaller sects in practical life. Even in philosophy and religion, it is a received maxim that knowledge is for the few, and that salvation is only possible for the esoteric elect with whom only are the virtues of sanctity and wisdom, and that for the rest of mankind, they must be left to wander in the wilderness, and grovel in superstition, and even vice, with only a colouring of so-called religion to make them respectable. Now all this must be changed. The new mould of thought on this head must be, as stated above, cast on the lines of fraternity, a capacity to expand outwards, and to make more cohesive inwards the bonds of fellowship. Increase the circle of your friends and associates, slowly and cautiously if you will, but the tendency must be towards a general recognition of the essential equality between man and man. It will beget sympathy and power. It will strengthen your own hands, by the sense that you have numbers with you, and not against you, or as you foolishly imagine, below you.

The next idea which lies at the root of our helplessness is the sense that we are always intended to remain children, to be subject to outside control, and never to rise to the dignity of self-control by making our conscience and our reason the supreme, if not the sole, guide to our conduct. All past history has been a terrible witness to the havoc committed by this

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misconception. We are children, no doubt, but the children of God, and not of man, and the voice of God is the only voice which we are bound to listen. Of course, all of us cannot listen to this voice when we desire it, because from long neglect and dependence upon outside help, we have benumbed this faculty of conscience in us. With too many of us, a thing is true or false, righteous or sinful, simply because somebody in the past has said that it is so. Duties and obligations are duties and obligations, not because we feel them to be so, but because somebody reputed to be wise has laid it down that they are so. In small matters of manners and courtesies, this outside dictation is not without its use. But when we abandon ourselves entirely to this helpless dependence on other wills, it is no wonder that we become helpless as children in all departments of life. Now the new idea which should take up the place of this helplessness and dependence is not the idea of a rebellious overthrow of all authority, but that of freedom responsible to the voice of God in us. Great and wise men in the past, as in the present, have a claim upon our regards, but they must not come between us and our God—the Divine principle enthroned in the heart of every one of us high or low. It is this sense of self-respect, or rather respect for the God in us, which has to be cultivated. It is a very tender plant which takes years and years to make it grow. But there is the capacity and the power, and we owe it as a duty to ourselves to undertake the task. Revere all human authority, pay your respects to all prophets and all revelations, but never let this reverence and respect come in the way of the dictates of conscience, the Divine command in us.

Similarly there is no doubt that men differ from men in natural capacities, and aptitudes, and that heredity and birth are factors of considerable importance in our development. But it is at the same time true that they are not the only factors that determine the whole course of our life for good or for evil, under a law of necessity. Heredity and birth explain

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many things, but this law of *Karma* does not explain all things ! What is worse, it does not explain the mystery that makes man and woman what they really are, the reflection and the image of God. Our passions and our feelings, our pride and our ambition, lend strength to these agencies, and with their help the Law of Karma completes our conquest, and in too many cases enforces our surrender. The new idea that should come in here is that this Law of Karma can be controlled and set back by a properly trained will, when it is made subservient to a higher will than ours. This we see in our everyday life, and Necessity, or the Fates are, as our own texts tell us, faint obstacles in the way of our advancement if we devote ourselves to the law of Duty. I admit that this misconception is very hard to remove, perhaps the hardest of the old ideas. But removed it must be, if not in this life or generation, in many lives and generations, if we are ever to rise to our full stature.

The fourth old form or idea to which I will allude here is our acquiescence in wrong or evil doing as an inevitable condition of human life, about which we need not be very particular. All human life is a vanity and a dream, and we are not much concerned with it. This view of life is in fact atheism in its worst form. No man or woman really ceases to be animal who does not perceive or realise that wrong or evil-doing, impurity and vice, crime and misery, and sin of all kinds, is really our animal existence prolonged. It is the beast in us which blinds us to impurity and vice, and makes them even attractive. There must be nautches in our temples, say our priests, because even the Gods cannot do without these impure fairies. This is only a typical instance of our acquiescence in impurity. There must be drunkenness in the world, there must be poverty and wretchedness and tyranny, there must be fraud and force, there must be thieves and the law to punish them. No doubt these are facts, and there is no use denying their existence, but in the name of all that is sacred

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and true, do not acquiesce in them, do not hug these evils to your bosom, and cherish them. Their contact is poisonous, not the less deadly because it does not kill, but it corrupts men. A healthy sense of the true dignity of our nature, and of man's high destiny, is the best corrective and antidote to this poison. I think I have said more than enough to suggest to your reflecting minds what it is that we have to reform. All admit that we have been deformed. We have lost our stature, we are bent in a hundred places, our eyes lust after forbidden things, our ears desire to hear scandals about our neighbours, our tongues lust to taste forbidden fruit, our hands itch for another man's property, our bowels are deranged with indigestible food. We cannot walk on our feet, but require stilts or crutches. This is our present social polity, and now we want this deformity to be removed ; and the only way to remove it is to place ourselves under the discipline of better ideas and forms such as those I have briefly touched above. Now this is the work of the Reformer. Reforms in the matter of infant marriage and enforced widowhood, in the matter of temperance and purity, inter-marriage between castes, the elevation of the low castes, and the re-admission of converts, and the regulation of our endowments and charities, are reforms only so far and no further, as they check the influence of the old ideas, and promote the growth of the new tendencies. The Reformer has to infuse in himself the light and warmth of nature, and he can only do it by purifying and improving himself and his surroundings. He must have his family, village, tribe, and nation recast in other and new moulds, and that is the reason why Social Reform becomes our obligatory duty, and not a mere pastime which might be given up at pleasure. Revival is, as I have said, impossible ; as impossible as mass-conversion into other faiths. But even if it were possible, its only use to us would be if the reforms elevated us and our surroundings, if they made us stronger, braver, truer men with all our faculties of endurance and work developed, with all our sympathies fully awakened and refined, and if with our heads and hearts

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acting in union with a purified and holy will, they made us feel the dignity of our being and the high destiny of our existence, taught us to love all, work with all, and feel for all. This is the Reformer's true work, and this in my opinion is the reason why the Conference meets from year to year, and sounds the harmonies in every ear which can listen to them with advantage.

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SOUTHERN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—Once more within a cycle of 12 years we meet for the third time in this holy region of Southern India, the birth-place of the Social Conference. Men and things have moved fast since we first met under the leadership of the late Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, the first President of the Conference.

The shadow of the great calamity which has been dogging our footsteps for the last three years, is still upon us, and its dark clouds are still thickening on the Southern horizon, while it has not yet stopped its destructive work in our part of the country. The persistency with which these calamities succeed one another and intensify our suffering has made some wise men among you prophesy still more dire calamities in the years to come. These prophets derive their knowledge from observations of the conjunctions of stars and planets. We, less gifted creatures, can but bow to them as we look at the signs below our feet, on the earth we live in and move and have our being in.

A Christian missionary who worked in your Province for 30 years, more than a hundred years ago, has left on record his impressions of Southern India as he saw it in those old days, and the words of despair he has uttered fill one's mind

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with graver forebodings than the prophecies of our astrological observers. Abbe Dubois, whose work has been recently published, has in one of his chapters on the 'Poverty of India,' pronounced this curse upon the people :—"It is a vain hope to suppose that the English people can ever improve the condition of the Hindus. The efforts of a humane and just government may succeed up to a certain point, but as long as the Hindus cling to their civil and religious institutions, customs and habits, they must remain what they have always been, grovelling in poverty and wretchedness. These institutions and customs are insurmountable obstacles in their path of progress. To make a new race of Hindus, you must begin by undermining the foundations of their civilization, religion, and polity, and turn them into atheists and barbarians, and then give them new laws, new religion and new polity. But even then, the task will be half-accomplished, for, we should still have to give them a new nature and different inclinations ; otherwise, they would soon relapse into their former state and worth."

This pronouncement by one who had no motive to judge us ill, and who had the best opportunities to judge us well, would, if true, be to my mind a far worse calamity than the physical sufferings and trials we are now enduring, and which according to some of our wise men we are fated to suffer a hundredfold more in the near future. It is strange that these Christian Missionaries and our wise men should thus join their hands over the wide expanse of time and space that separates them. There are those among us who have firm faith, quite independently of the planetary conjunctions, in the gradual decay of all virtue and piety in this land, when the fatal limit of 5,000 years from the commencement of the Kaliyuga has been reached, and according to whom we are now just on the verge of crossing this Rubicon which separates law from anarchy, and virtue from impiety, and nothing that men can do in the work of their own salvation will ever help to avert the crisis.

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In this situation, gentlemen, we meet here under circumstances which are calculated to make us anxious and thoughtful, and to sober and moderate our enthusiasm. Here, we have met full of hope, and we find that Nature and Man, the latter as represented by an eminent Christian Missionary, and also by our own kith and kin, place this skeleton before our eyes in the midst of our rejoicings. Are we then all indulging in the fond dreams of a Fool's Paradise? Is this 'Holy Land,' peopled by one-sixth of the human race, fit for no other use than to be the accursed desert of human hopes and wishes, without the fertilizing rains of divine favour to water its dry and parched up plains, and no green vegetation to bless the eyes, and no sweet sounds of music to lull the ears? I, for one, refuse to believe that such a doom is reserved for this favoured region, even though it is pronounced by reverend missionaries and our own revered religious teachers. I, for one, refuse to believe that we can make no headway in the path of progress, and that the British connection with this country, with all its humane, and just administration, will prove of no avail to lift us up from the mire of our wretchedness. The seeming alliance between the missionaries and our wise people has this weak point in its armour of defence. According to our people, the state of the country a hundred years ago, was much better in all respects, morally and socially than what it is now. The Missionary's despair was however forced upon him by the state of the country as he saw it a hundred years ago, and one can feel almost sure, from the way in which things have moved since he wrote, that, if he had lived a hundred years later, he would have joined with the contemporary men of his calling, in conferring on us his blessings instead of his curses. The formidable alliance thus turns out on examination to be not so formidable as it seems at first sight, and we can turn one of our assailants against the other, and await in hope the final result. What then was the social condition of Southern India a hundred years back, and have the past hundred years, worked no permanent

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change for the better ? This will be the theme to which I shall address my observations to-night, and I hope to be able to show that, if things are not all as bright as we wish them to be, they are not so dreary and cheerless as some would have them to be, and that the British connection and its 'just and humane' administration have brought about a change in our religion, law, and polity, of such a character as not to make it necessary that we should be all turned into atheists and barbarians, to be white-washed again into civilisation and manners, and that if we have not acquired a new nature, we have at least acquired inclinations and aspirations which will prevent our relapse into our former condition.

A hundred years ago, Abbe Dubois mentions that among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, the women had several husbands at one and the same time, and amongst the Nambudri Brahmins of that province, if a girl died unmarried, it was deemed necessary for her salvation that the corpse should be married to some Brahmin hired for the purpose before it was burned. Then, in the Madura district, there was a caste called Totiyars, among whom brothers, uncles and nephews had a common wife among them, and in Eastern Mysore there was a caste in which the mother giving her eldest daughter in marriage had to puncture two of her fingers. On the Malabar coast in those days, all Sudras drank toddy and Brahmins used opium. In the Carnatic hills men and women did not wash their clothes till they wore away by use. In those days again, besides the caste and sect-divisions, there were what are called the right hand and the left hand factions in which the low-castes were divided upon such questions as the right to wear slippers, to ride on horse-back, or to pass certain streets, or to sound certain music before them. All these citations are made from the first chapter of Dubois' work, and the editor of that book has found it necessary, in his desire to state the truth, that all these customs of polyandry and uncleanness, and these factional feuds have ceased to exist. In the second chapter of

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the same work, mention is made of the condition of the Pariahs. That condition is bad enough even now, but the details given of their wretchedness in this work baffle all description. They were forbidden to cross Brahmin streets, or to come in Brahmin neighbourhood. On the Malabar Coast, the Pariahs were attached to the land as serfs and sold with it. In those good old days adultery was punished with death inflicted on the woman, and that death was inflicted by the members of the caste. Expulsion from caste for breach of caste-rules was irrevocable unless a rival faction was created by the friends of the person excommunicated. Even when thousands of Brahmins of those days, as well as Sudras, were forcibly converted by Tippu Sultan, the Brahmins who were applied to for re-admission found it impossible, even with the help of the Brahmin Government of Poona, to effect their restoration, while many thousands of Christians who had been similarly converted by Tippu Sultan, were freely admitted back into the Christian community, by the intervention of Abbe Dubois, Colonel Wilks, and General Wellesley. The professors of the so-called Fine Arts such as music, painting, and sculpture belonged in those days to castes which were held to be lower in the social scale than the Sudras, and their touch was pollution. These things have now been according to the editor of the work, all changed for the better. Adultery is not punished by death without trial, excommunication is not irrevocable, wholesale conversions by force are impossible, and there are movements to re-admit converts to other faiths when they seek such re-admission. This year, the Arya Samaj in Punjab admitted five such Christian and Moslem proselytes. And men of the highest caste are now engaged in the practice of the fine arts. As regards the Brahmins themselves, the power of the Gurus in those days in exacting Pada-Puja was something terrible. Dubois mentions without reserve that many had to sell their children for Gurudakshinas. Women dishonored by the Guru were called Garud Baswis or Linga Baswis, and had the stamp of Garud

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or the Ling branded, on tender parts of their bodies. And then, these women became wives of gods and served in the temple, till they became old and lost their attraction. In Dubois' time the girls were married at the age of 5, 7 or at the utmost, when they were 9 years old. Widows, of course, were not allowed to marry in the higher castes, and even the Sudras followed the example. On the fast-days people not only took no food, on the 11th day but also ate only once on the 10th and the 12th days. In Bengal the widows may not even drink water on the fast-days. People who happened to kill Nag serpents had to expiate their offence by a ceremony called the *pavadan*, which consisted of an incision made on the thigh or arm of the offender, or of some other person who might stand as substitute on the former's paying a large Dakshina. In the last case, the blood was sprinkled on the body of the offender.

As regards intemperance, Dubois says, that while the Europeans are noted for their drunkenness, the Brahmins are in their turn open to the charge of gluttony, and even as regards drunkenness he says, they were not altogether exempt from the vice, and gives an instance in which a Tanjore Brahmin's house caught fire, and among the things saved were one vessel of salted pork and another of *arrack* or native rum. Of course these Brahmins must have been Shaktee worshippers or *vam-margees*, among whom the use of forbidden food and drink, and promiscuous mingling of men and women in indecent gatherings were tests for admission into the secret society. The respect due from the Sudras to the Brahmins, and from women to men was in those days best shown by uncovering the upper part of the body of the inferior person before the eyes of the superiors. As regards *Suttee*, it was the commonest occurrence to witness. Dubois himself witnessed the deaths of several *Suttees*; among others the Ranees of Tanjore, who immolated themselves with the corpse of the deceased Raja. There were some seven hundred *Suttee* deaths in the year 1817 in the

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Bengal Presidency alone. As regards the belief in astrology, magic, omens and palmistry, Dubois states that there was in his time almost a general belief in these superstitious fancies. These beliefs are not still extinct but we have no idea of the influence they exercised a hundred years ago. Then again, turning to the popular religion of the country, the position of the Devadasees was recognised as so respectable, that even private gentlemen visiting each other on formal business had to be accompanied by these attendants. There were temples in Mysore belonging to the aboriginal gods where fairs were held, at which women cursed with barrenness made vows to get children, and in connection with these vows had resort to the most dirty practices, which cannot be described in decent language. Their gods and goddesses were carried in processions in those days being made to mimic obscene gestures to one another. These processions may still be seen in various parts of Southern India, but robbed of much of their obscene features. Walking on burning fire, hook-swinging, piercing the cheeks and the lips or the tongue with iron rods or silver wire—these were the received forms of devotion in many temples.

I think I have said enough to give you an idea of the state of things in Southern India which Dubois witnessed with his own eyes a hundred years ago. It is quite possible, that, being a missionary, he unconsciously exaggerated many points, and misunderstood many others. There are good reasons to think, that he was misinformed in many respects ; but making allowance for all these defects, the general correctness of his description, especially of the ignorant classes of society, can hardly be impugned. There are fossil remains and vestiges of all these enormities and superstitions even still visible outside our larger towns in the mofussil. Even if one-tenth of the evils and vices, and obscenities, and enormities which met his eyes were true, they make up together a picture sufficiently disheartening to the most enthusiastic defen-

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der of the past. The fact is, that Brahmin civilisation, with all its poetry and philosophy, with strict rules of abstinence and purity, had hardly penetrated below the upper classes who constituted less than ten per cent. of the population. We can easily understand these phenomena from our own present experiences.

The practical question for us to consider is whence came this polyandry and polygamy ; this brutal conception of gods and goddesses, this confessed cruelty to women, these superstitions, these feuds between castes and sub-sections of castes and factions ? Abbe Dubois has been very unjust to the Brahmins when he holds them responsible for all these enormities. The Brahmin civilisation, whatever else it was, was certainly not a civilisation which favoured polyandry or polygamy, drunkenness and obscenity, cruelty and vice. We have records which mirror the thoughts of the Brahmin settlers in Southern India. The ideal of marriage was monogamy, and it is best typified in the story of the Ramayana, where the hero is distinguished above all men for his single-hearted devotion to his consort. The women as depicted in the early Brahmin records as also in the epics are respected and honoured, left to their choice to marry or to remain single and are oftentimes noted as composers of hymns, and writers of philosophical works. The wife, even in the rituals we now recite, is the sole mistress of the house and as free an agent as her partner in life. The immolation in the form of Satee was not only not recognised as a duty, but second marriage was prescribed as quite open to her if she so wished it in all the first three Yugas. Early marriage was not dreamt of, and one of the qualifications for marriage was developed womanhood. The castes were not so strongly separated as to prevent inter-marriages in the order of the caste, and as for inter-dining, the first three castes among themselves observed no jealous distinction. And the better specimen of the fourth caste was specially commended as

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servants for cooking food. Ghost-worship and Devil-worship were unknown to the Brahmin cult. As for crossing seas on long voyages, there is historical evidence that the Brahmin missionaries and settlers established themselves, and their religion in far off Java, and Sumatra, and their Buddhist successors converted half the human race in Burmah, Siam, China, Japan, Tibet, and distant Mongolia. Even in India itself the Aryan settlers found no difficulty in incorporating with them the non-Aryan races into fellowship in the profession of the Aryan faith.

The question thus recurs again how it happened that institutions and practices so essentially just and pure, so healthy and considerate, came to be deflected from their natural growth, and made room for the distortions which struck Abbe Dubois as so monstrous, and excite surprise in us even at the present day ; how the chivalry and honour of our noble ancestors disappeared and their spiritual worship gave way to ghost and demon worship the ministers of which in many cases are the descendants of these same old Brahmins ? Unless we find some working solution which satisfactorily accounts for this transformation, we shall never be able to find our way with sure steps out of this labyrinth. Abbe Dubois's explanation is obviously untrue. The fact appears to be, though I speak with diffidence and subject to correction, that the Brahmin settlers in Southern India and the warriors and traders who came with them were too few in numbers and too weak in power to make any lasting impression beyond their own limited circle upon the vast multitudes who constituted the aboriginal races in the Southern Peninsula. In North India where their power was more distinctly felt they appear to have been about the commencement of the Christian era submerged by fresh hordes of Scythians or Shaks, of Huns and the Jats or Goths who subverted the Roman Empire. In southern India it was not foreign invasion, but the upheaval of the aboriginal Dravidian races which brought

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about pretty nearly the same results. There is a tone of despondency and panic in the Puranas written about this time which can only be explained by some such phenomena. However this may be, this is certain that when Hinduism revived from the depression into which it had fallen, in consequence of the rise of Buddhism, it did not revive in its old, pristine purity, but in the more or less adulterated form as we now see it even at the present day. In their anxiety to destroy Buddhism, and later on the Jain faith, the Brahmins, allied themselves with the barbarism of the land represented in the countless multitudes, whom they had till then contemptuously treated as Sudras, and as out of the pale of their early institutions. From being sages and prophets, poets and philosophers, they descended to the lower level of priests and *purohits*, and thus sacrificed their independence for the advantage of power and profit. The gods and goddesses of the Dasyus or the Rakshasas who had no place in the old pantheon were identified with being more or less pure forms of the old Brahmanical triad or rather of the two divisions of Shaiva and Vaishnava cults. The old elastic system of the three divisions of the Aryas and the fourth non-Aryan section became crystallised into local and professional castes, of which the Brahmins became the priests; and these subdivisions became strict and insurmountable barriers. Such a change as this could not be brought about without a surrender all along the line to the brute force of barbarous influences. Woman ceased to be an object of respect and became the subject of distrust and jealousy who always must remain dependent on her relations. The institution of Satee found in all barbarous nations was introduced, marriage by choice gave way to the practice of sale in marriage, and polygamy and polyandry became legalised institutions. Brahminism having failed to conquer from want of power, allowed itself thus to be degraded and conquered by the multitudes whom it failed to civilize. As priests of the castes and the aboriginal gods and goddesses, it became their interest to magnify for their

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advantage the old superstitious beliefs; and with a view to justifying this action books called the Mahatmyas were composed in the name of the Puranas and new texts were introduced, condemning all the old approved institutions such as celibacy, sea-voyages, late marriages, and widow-marriages as being unsuited to the new Kali-yuga, and therefore forbidden, though practised in old times. This seems to me to be the only possible explanation of the change of front which we see in the old records. Of course, in the midst of this degradation, the spirit of the old civilization was not entirely extinct, and the great Acharyas who flourished in Southern India, and the equally great saints and prophets who succeeded them, entered their protest against this cruelty and wrong and degradation of the priesthood, and held up the light on high with the independence of the old Rishis. Their labours bore no permanent result because of the eruptions of the Mahomedans which soon followed and the establishment of the Moslem power aggravated the old evils by the example which the Mussalmans set to the subject races. Even the Mahomedans, however, were not able to extinguish the old fire completely, and the spirit of righteous self-assertion and of faith in God which has distinguished Brahmanism from the first, only wanted an opportunity to regain its old liberty.

If this account of the deflection or corruption of Brahmanism be approximately correct, it furnishes us with a clue by which we can trace back our steps in this labyrinth of confusion. The opportunity so sorely needed has come to this country and slowly but surely priest-ridden and caste-ridden India is loosening its coils of ages. Abbe Dubois was unjust to the old civilization when he thought that we should have to unlearn all our past and to commence with atheism and barbarism, and then take our religion, law and polity from our foreign masters. Even if the task were possible, the remedy would be worse than the disease. We have not to unlearn our entire past,—certainly not—the past which is the glory and wonder of the human race. We have to retrace our steps from the

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period of depression, when in panic and weakness a compromise was made with the brute force of ignorance and superstition. If this unholy alliance is set aside we have the Brahmanism of the first three Yugas unfolding itself in all its power and purity as it flourished in the best period of our history.

This is the work of the reform movement. Last year I spoke of 'Revival and reform' and I tried to show how *Reform* was not *Revival*. The line of thought developed above shows that the work of *Reform* is really the work of *Liberation*,—*liberation* from the restraints imposed upon an essentially superior religion, law and polity, institutions and customs by our surrender to the pressure of mere brute force for selfish advancement. Our nature has not to be changed. If that were necessary, escape would be hopeless indeed. Our inclinations and aspirations have to be shifted from one quarter to its opposite, from the more immediate past of our degradation to the most remote past of our glory. We need no foreign masters for this purpose. It is enough if they keep the peace and enforce toleration to all who work for righteousness. Super-imposed laws will not do service to us unless as in some extreme cases the Surgeon has to be sent for to stop hemorrhage and allow the Physician time to heal the patient. This work of liberation must be the work of our own hands, each one working of himself for his own release. It is in this spirit that the work has been carried on during the last thirty years and more.

For the last twelve years the Conference has been trying to establish a bond of union between the several associations and individuals who are working in this direction in this and in other parts of the country, and to publish the results of that work for the information of all concerned. Measured from year to year, the progress seems small, and in many years the harvests are not plentiful. The year about to close has been, on the whole, a lean year owing to causes which need not be

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detailed here, the plague being the principal cause among others. The results of this year will be placed before the delegates in a summary form at the first preliminary meeting tomorrow morning. One general observation may be made on this occasion. The question is often asked who are the heroes and martyrs in this reform work, the prevailing impression being that unless heroes and martyrs are forthcoming, no cause can make progress. I would say in answer that to the extent that this impression is true, the cause had its heroes and martyrs in Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Pandit Vishnu Shastri, Mr. Karsandas Muljee and Mr. Madhavadas Raghunathdas, and even now we have Rao Bahadur Kolhatkar, our President of last year, Dr. Bhandarkar, our President of one of the previous years, our honoured President this year, Pandit Vireshlingam Pantulu, Prof. Karve, and others who require no mention, who have in their own lives set an example which shows that the fire is not yet put out altogether. Dr. Jaising and Mr. Dwarkanatha Ganguli, who died this year, may also be mentioned, one as the life and soul of the Shudhi Sabha, and the other as a practical reformer from among the Brahmo community. It is not given to all to be heroes and martyrs in such a cause. But it is given to every one to be an earnest and genuine worker. In that capacity the names of hundreds may be mentioned who are unknown beyond their own circles and whose work therefore is one of pure love and self-sacrifice. Lala Devraj and Lala Munshiram of Jullundhur, Lala Hansraj and Lala Ruchiram of Lahore, the late Gokuldas of Succur, Mr. Dayaram Gidumal of Sindh, Mr. Lal Shankar of Ahmedabad, Mr. Damodardas Goverdhandas, the late Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, who died during the year, Babu Shashipad Bannerjee, Babu Rash Behari Mukerjee who also died this year, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, Mr. R. Venkataratnam, of your part of the country, Mr. Vishnu Pant Mahajani of Berar and Lala Baijnath of N. W. P. may be mentioned in this connection as persons about whose genuine devotion to the cause there can be only one opinion. In spiri-

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tual, if not in temporal matters, the remark is true that a man's wealth is measured not by what he has in the way of possessions outside himself, but by what he is or may become in the way of his own development, from year to year into higher and fuller life. Liberties bestowed on us by foreigners are concessions forced on us by the force of circumstances. These are not really ours ; they are possessions only and not developments. But when multitudes of people in different parts of the country yearn for a change in their social surroundings, and each in his place seeks to work it out at great sacrifice of his present interests, it can hardly be but that those yearnings and struggles must bear fruit. One of our most popular saints has in his own inimitable way described this fruit to be the strength which comes from the resolve to be better ; and judged by this test there can be no reason to doubt that this desire to be better, and this resolve to strive for it are both growing in all the many races that dwell in this land. Other influences co-operating help on the work and make it smoother and easier of accomplishment. But without such a desire and such a resolve these forces would be powerless to act. We have therefore no reason to be depressed by the calamities and by the prophecies of evil to come and of our unalterable doom pronounced by our own or other people. The harvest is ready to the hand of every one who is prepared to give his honest labour for the day, to earn his rest for the night, in life and after life.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade, in bringing the proceedings of the Conference to a close, said :—Ladies and gentlemen,—I am glad that all these expressions of thanks have been given by the Secretary of the Conference Committee. I now beg to propose that the General Secretary and the Joint Secretaries be re-appointed for the next year and that the next year's Conference be held in some place in the North-West Provinces, most likely at Lucknow. The General

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Secretary has written to me that on account of his advanced age and delicate health he has been unable to be present at this Conference, but he has sent his blessings and words of advice which I believe will sink deep into the hearts of those present. He says, "The work that is being done is holy work. We do not seek to advance our temporal interest, we seek to promote our spiritual welfare." If we look at the programme that we have gone through, some of us may be inclined to ask what, after all, has been done. But suppose in place of the several resolutions that have been moved, seconded and supported during this day, we put in their negatives, suppose instead of saying on this day, the first day of the new year, "I shall take for myself a vow that, as far as lies in my power, I shall undertake the education of my female relations," we say "I shall not undertake the education of my female relations," shall we be the better or the worse for our resolution? Suppose instead of saying "I shall take a vow not of temperance which is without much meaning for most of us, but of total abstinence," you put it the other way, and say "it shall be our pleasure and convenience not to observe these restraints which our forefathers had placed upon us"; will our resolution be to our advantage or loss, spiritually or morally? Suppose instead of saying, "I shall, as far as possible, protract and prolong the period of celibacy amongst men and women," we were to say, that "as far as possible, that period shall be shortened"; shall our country be the better for our efforts or the worse? Suppose we ask ourselves what plan of life we are to follow; shall we not be just and merciful to those who need justice and mercy at our hands? Shall we not be more considerate to those whom we have hitherto treated as if their very touch was pollution, and help them in rising higher, or shall we say to them, "Do not stand near and cast your shadow on us"; will the inner man in each one of us grow stronger, braver and more charitable and humane, by reason of our resolve in one way and not in the other? The issue is thus, a choice between life and death; we live or we die accord-

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ing as we make the choice. We all desire to live, and yet most of us, by our course of conduct show as if we welcomed death. Whether reformer or non-reformer, let each one in the seclusion of his home, when he retires into his own hearth, ask himself the following question :—Does he feel the desire that he should grow in purity, temperance, justice and mercy, and that these virtues be more and more incorporated into the practical life he leads from day to day ? I believe every one of us, whatever be his particular views as to different points and methods we have discussed, realises the importance of the main issue. That issue is not this or that particular reform about which people have so much controversy, but the general spirit of purity, justice, equality, temperance, and mercy, which should be infused into our minds and which should illuminate our hearts. Is it to be the spirit of justice, charity, mercy, toleration and appreciation of all, or is it to be exclusiveness, haughtiness, pride, cruelty and misery of all kinds ? The choice lies with us and we may choose whichever we prefer. It is not on this platform only but wherever we go, and whatever we do, these two paths are constantly coming across our vision. One of them asks us to go one way, the other the other way. We have to make the choice, and as we make the choice, we succeed or fail in our lives. Of course, the failing in life may not seem to many, to be a very serious affair when they do not come to any positive trouble. But whether we are great in riches and possession, and whether we are great in the estimation of the world, the only thing that is really ours is how far during the short time that has been allowed to us all, we succeed here in making ourselves better fitted for the existence that is to come. If we can gauge our advance from day to day and from year to year, by this standard, then I believe we shall find the true reward of our work. We are spending unnecessary breath in thinking that the strife lies between the one and the other party in these matters. There is really no strife and there are no parties outside us. If those, who do not agree with the methods that are pursued here, think they

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can attain the same objects by other methods, then they should adopt those other means. Somebody here said we are in a minority, but when we embrace the whole world in our vision, the minority is turned the other way. If we may not at present be in a position to assert the strength of the majority which is represented by the sentiment and the sense of the world, still you may depend upon it that wherever you go, this sense and these sentiments must carry the day in the end. It is on such considerations that we must rely for our ultimate success. Majority and minority I keep absolutely out of sight. I put the question to myself, "Do I feel any yearning, any regret, any compunction, that there is anything wanting, anything wrong, anything cruel in me, and do I try to abstain from doing anything that I ought to, and feel inclined to do things which I ought not to do?" If I feel this sort of compunction, this sort of struggle, if I feel noble impulses, if I feel at the same time that these noble impulses have been weakened by nature, the work before me of reform is clear. Remember, the work of this Conference and of gatherings like this is really this work—to make men feel that they have duties and responsibilities for which alone, life and health are given to them. That is the sort of philosophy which comes upon me at times, and which I believe comes upon every one of us when we look seriously at these things. If any of us feel in our hearts that we have to make amends for the past, I believe that man is the better for his attendance here, even though he may disapprove of any particular items of our programme.

We have every reason to thank the Conference Committee for the great trouble they have taken in providing for all those small matters which to strangers from outside represent no end of small inconvenience. We have every reason to be thankful to the Secretaries of the Committee, to the Volunteers, to the Reception Committee of the Congress, to the lady visitors, and above all, to the President of the Conference and his lieutenant, the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao, who have done their

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work to-day with such efficiency and success. On behalf of the larger India which is not represented here, we have every reason to thank our Madras friends for the hospitable and enthusiastic way in which they have conducted the work of this day.

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INDIA A THOUSAND YEARS AGO.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade in delivering his inaugural address said:—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—This time last year, I had occasion, at the inauguration of the Conference held at Madras, to speak on the subject of "Southern India a Hundred Years Ago." To-day I find myself far away in the North, surrounded on all sides by the traditions of a civilisation older than the oldest known to history, the land of the Aryan race settled in India, tracing its descent from the self-born Swayambhu Manu, where the Solar dynasty flourished for thousands of years, the land of the Ikshwakus, of Dilip and Raghu, of Dasharatha and the incarnate hero Rama, with his illustrious brothers and the still more honoured wife Sita, the land where Vashistha and Vishvamitra lived and flourished, the home of all that is beautiful and true, and lovely and godlike in Aryan history. This favoured land of yours gave birth also in later times to Sākhyā Muni Buddha who has been well described as the perfection of humanity in its highest and noblest development, and whose "wheel of law" still regulates the thoughts and feelings of half the human race in its efforts to attain beatitude. The South and the North thus contrasted together suggest recollections that are so overpowering, that I am tempted on this occasion when we meet to inaugurate the work of the Conference at Lucknow, to dwell for a few moments on this subject, and I bespeak your thoughtful atten-

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tion to the lessons it suggests. Far in the South, which is now the stronghold of Brahminical ideas uninfluenced by outside contact, the Aryan civilisation no doubt made its way, but it continued to be an exotic civilisation confined to a small minority of Aryan settlers, so few in numbers that they were overwhelmed by the influences of the earlier Dravidian dominion. It never made its home in those remote regions, and the common people continued their adhesion to their old worship and to their old faiths under new names. What the effects of this subordination were, was depicted in my address at Madras in the words of a foreign missionary who lived and worked a hundred years ago, and who had exceptional opportunities of studying these effects. I propose this time to draw your attention to the turn which the Aryan civilisation has taken under the influences represented by the conquest of this part of the country by the Mahomedans, nearly a thousand years back. The one factor which separates Northern India from its Southern neighbours, is the predominant influence of this conquest by the Mahomedans which has left its mark permanently upon the country, by the actual conversion to the Mahomedan faith of one-fifth of the population, and by the imperceptible but permanent moulding of the rest of the people in the ways of thought and belief, the like of which is hard to find on the Malabar or Coromandel Coasts. I propose to draw my materials from the Mahomedan philosophers and travellers who visited India, both before and after the Mahomedan conquest had changed the face of the country. Owing to the absence of the historic instinct among our people, we have necessarily to depend upon the testimony of foreign historians. That testimony is however unexceptionable, because it was for the most part given before the Mahomedan domination had effected the separation which distinguishes the Old India of the past from the Modern India in which we are now living. This domination also separates the line which marks off Southern India, of which I spoke last year, from the North, in one of the most representative centres

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of which we are met here to-day. At the outset, we must have a correct understanding of what Northern India was before Mahamad of Gazni made his numerous expeditions for the plunder of its far-famed cities and temples, at the commencement of the tenth century. Fortunately for us, we have a witness to this period of our history in the writings of Alberuni, whose work on India was written shortly after the time that Mahamad crossed the Indus as a conqueror of infidels. That work has been translated by Dr. Sachau, a professor in the Berlin University, and in its English form, is now accessible to us all. Alberuni was a native of Khorasan, his birth-place being near Khiva. Mahamad of Gazni conquered Khorasan, and Alberuni had thus to shift to Gazni which was then the seat of a flourishing empire, the rulers of which were great patrons of Mahomedan learning. Alberuni was in special favour with Masaud the son of Mahamad, and he was thus enabled to travel throughout India, where he spent many years, having mastered the Sanskrit language. He was a philosopher by profession and temper, and had a special liking for Indian philosophy, which he studied with the same care and attention that he bestowed on Plato and Aristotle. His work on India consists of 80 chapters, relating to Religion, Philosophy, Caste, Idolatry, Civil Polity, Literature, Science, Mathematics, Medicine, Geography, Astronomy, Cosmogony, Alchemy, and Astrology. He took great pains to give a full description of all that was known to the Hindus under these several heads, and being naturally not a bigoted Mahomedan, his book shows that he wrote his whole work with a single desire to promote the cause of true learning. While Alberuni shows a great regard for the Hindu Philosophy, Astronomy, and Medicine, he was not slow in finding out the weak points of the Indian character. In his chapters on caste and idolatry, in the condemnation he pronounces on the want of practical aptitudes of our people, and in their devotion to superstitious observances, Alberuni did not spare his censures. He contrasted the democratic equality of the Mahomedan people with the

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innumerable divisions of the Indian races. He notices the helpless position of the women of India, and the filthy customs and the habits of the people in those days. He gives praise to the few educated Brahmins whom he separates from the superstitious multitudes, whose fallen condition he deploras. Even among the Brahmins, he notices the verbosity of their writings and the words-splitting which passed for wisdom. He notices the greediness and tyranny of the Hindu princes who would not agree to join their efforts together for any common purpose, and the timidity and the submissiveness of the people who, in his expressive language, were 'scattered like atoms of dust in all directions' before the invading Moslems. The prevailing feeling among the Mahomedans of the time was that the Hindus were infidels and entitled to no mercy or consideration, and the only choice to be allowed to them was that of death or conversion. Alberuni did not share in these views, but these were the views of his master Mahamad of Gazni and of the hordes who were led by him on these expeditions. Another traveller, Ibn Batuta, a native of Tanjiers in North Africa, visited this country about a hundred years after Kutubudin established the Afghan kingdom at Delhi. Like him he was taken into favour by the then Delhi Emperor, Mahomad Taghlak, under whom he acted for some time as Judge of Delhi. Ibn Batuta travelled more extensively than Alberuni. He travelled from the extreme west of Africa to the extreme east of China, and went round the coast from Malabar to Coromandel. He was however not a philosopher nor a scholar. His Journal of Travels is interesting, but he did not observe the manners and customs of the people with the same mastery of details that Alberuni's work shows on every page. The only points which struck Ibn Batuta in the course of his travels through India were the rite of Sati of which he was a witness, and the practice of drowning men in the Ganges, both of which struck him as inhuman to a degree he could not account for. He also notices the self-mortification of the jogees and their juggleries, in describing which

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last, he mentions the fact that in the presence of the Emperor he saw a jogee raise his body up in the air, and keep it there for some time. Another traveller Abdur Razzak visited India about 1450 A. D. His travels lay chiefly in the southern peninsula, Calicut, Vizianagar and Mangalore. The narratives of two other travellers, one a Russian and the other a Venitian, who both visited India in the fifteenth century, are published by the Hakluyt Society which afford most interesting reading. The general impression left on the minds of these travellers was a respect for the Brahmins for their philosophy and attainments in astrology, but for the common people, the vast multitudes of men and women, their sense was one of disgust and disappointment. Abdur Razzak expressed this feeling in his own words in a reply to the invitation of the King of Vizianagar. He said to the king, "If I have once escaped from the desert of thy love, and reached my country, I shall not set out on another voyage even in the company of a king." In Southern India, these travellers found that both men and women, besides being black, were almost nude, and divided into innumerable castes and sects, which worshipped their own idols. This abuse of idolatry and caste struck every traveller as the peculiar characteristic of the country, and gave them offence. The practice of self-immolation or Sati, and of human sacrifices to idols by being crushed over by the temple car are also mentioned. Finally, we have the testimony of the Emperor Babar who in his memoirs thus describes this country :—"Hindusthan is a country which has few things to recommend. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society or of freely mixing together in familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manners, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning and executing their handicraft work, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses, no good flesh, no good grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no cold water or ice, no good food or bread in their ba-

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zaars, no baths, no colleges, no candles, not even a candle-stick. They have no aqueducts or canals, no gardens, and no palaces ; in their buildings they study neither elegance nor climate, nor appearance nor regularly. Their peasants and lower classes all go about naked tying on only a *langoti*. The women too have only a *lang*." The only good points which Babar could find in favour of Hindusthan were that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver, and there is also an abundance of workmen of every profession and trade for any work and employment.

Such was the picture presented to the Mahomedans when they entered India through the passes in successive hordes for three or four centuries. A great portion of the disgust and disappointment felt by these Mahomedan invaders may be set down to ignorance and the pride of race. At the same time, it is always of advantage to know exactly how India appeared in its strong and weak points to intelligent foreigners, such as those we have mentioned above. The question for consideration to us at the present moment is, whether in consequence of the predominance of the Mahomedans for five centuries which intervened from the invasions of Mahamad to the ascendancy of Akbar, the people of India were benefitted by the contact thus forcibly brought together between the two races. There are those among us who think that this predominance has led to the decay and corruption of the Indian character, and that the whole story of the Mahomedan ascendancy should for all practical purposes, be regarded as a period of humiliation and sorrow. Such a view however appears to be unsupported by any correct appreciation of the forces which work for the elevation or depression of nations. It can not be easily assumed that in God's Providence, such vast multitudes as those who inhabit India were placed centuries together under influences and restraints of alien domination, unless such influences and restraints were calculated to do lasting service in the building

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up of the strength and character of the people in directions in which the Indian races were most deficient. Of one thing we are certain, that after lasting over five hundred years, the Mahomedan Empire gave way, and made room for the re-establishment of the old native races in Punjab, and throughout Central Hindusthan and Southren India, on foundations of a much more solid character than those which yielded so easily before the assaults of the early Mahomedan conquerors. The domination therefore had not the effect of so depressing the people that they were unable to raise their heads again in greater solidarity. If the Indian races had not benefitted by the contact and example of men with stronger muscles and greater powers, they would have never been able to reassert themselves in the way in which history bears testimony they did.

Quite independently of this evidence of the broad change that took place in the early part of the eighteenth century when the Mogul empire went to pieces, and its place was taken up not by foreign settlers, but by revived native powers, we have more convincing grounds to show that in a hundred ways the India of the 18th century, so far as the native races were concerned, was a stronger and better constituted India than met the eyes of the foreign travellers from Asia and Europe who visited it between the period of the first five centuries from 1000 to 1500. In Akbar's time this process of regenerate India first assumed a decided character which could not be well mistaken. No student of Akbar's reign will fail to notice that for the first time the conception was then realized of a united India in which Hindus and Mahomedans, such of them as had become permanently established in the country, were to take part in the building of an edifice rooted in the hearts of both by common interests and common ambitions. In place of the scorn and contempt with which the Mahomedan invaders had regarded the religion of the Hindus, their forms of worship, their manners and customs, and the Hindus looked down upon them as barbarous Mlenchas, whose touch was

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pollution, a better appreciation of the good points in the character of both came to be recognized as the basis of the union. Akbar was the first to see and realize the true nobility of soul and the devotion and fidelity of the Hindu character, and satisfied himself that no union was possible as long as the old bigotry and fanaticism was allowed to guide the councils of the Empire. He soon gathered about him the best men of his time, men like Faizi, Abul Fazel and their Father Mubarak, the historians Mirza Abdul Rahim, Nizamuddin Ahmed, Badauni and others. These were set to work upon the translation of the Hindu epics and Shastras and books of science and philosophy. The pride of the Rajput races was conciliated by taking in marriage the princesses of Jaipur and Jodhpur, and by conferring equal or superior commands on those princes. These latter had been hitherto treated as enemies. They were now welcomed as the props of the Empire, and Maharaja Bhagvandas, his great nephew Mansingh for some time Governor of Bengal and Kabul, Raja Todarmal and the Brahmin companion of the Emperor Raja Birbal, these were welcomed to court, and trusted in the full consciousness that their interests were the same as those of the Musalman noblemen. The Emperor himself guided by such counsel of his Hindu and Mahomedan nobles, became the real founder of the union between the two races, and this policy for a hundred years guided and swayed the councils of the empire. A fusion of the two races was sought to be made firmer still by the establishment of a religion of the Din-i-ilahi in which the best points both of the Mahomedan, Hindu, and other faiths were sought to be incorporated. Invidious taxation and privileges were done away with, and toleration for all faiths became the universal law of the Empire. To conciliate his subjects, Akbar abjured the use of flesh except on four special occasions in the year, and he joined in the religious rites observed by his Hindu Queens. In regard to the particular customs of the people relating to points where natural humanity was shocked in a way to make union impossible, Akbar strove by

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wise encouragement and stern control where necessary, to help the growth of better ideas. Sati was virtually abolished by being placed under restraints which nobody could find fault with. Re-marriage was encouraged, and marriage before puberty was prohibited. In these and a hundred other ways, the fusion of the races and of their many faiths was sought to be accomplished with a success which was justified by the results for a hundred years. This process of removing all causes of friction and establishing accord went on without interruption during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahajahan. Shahajahan's eldest son Dara Sheko was himself an author of no mean repute. He translated the Upanishads, and wrote a work in which he sought to reconcile the Brahmin religion with the Mahomedan faith. He died in 1659. This period of a hundred years may be regarded as the halcyon period of Indian history when the Hindu and Mahomedan races acted in full accord. If in place of Aurangzeb, Dara Sheko had succeeded to power as the eldest son of Shahajahan, the influences set on foot by the genius of Akbar would have gathered strength, and possibly averted the collapse of the Mogul power for another century. This was however not to be so, and with Aurangzeb's ascent to the throne, a change of system commenced which gathered force during the long time that this Emperor reigned. Even Aurangzeb had however to follow the traditions of his three predecessors. He could not dispense with Jaising or Jaswantsing who were his principal military commanders. In the reign of his son, whole provinces under him were governed by Rajput, Kayastha and other Governors. The revival of fanatic bigotry was kept in check by the presence of these great Rajput chiefs, one of whom on the reimposition of the *zezia* addressed to the Emperor a protest couched in unmistakable terms that the God of Islam was also the God of the Hindus, and the subjects of both races merited equal treatment. Aurangzeb unfortunately did not listen to this advice, and the result was that the empire built by Akbar went to pieces even when

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Aurangzeb was alive. No one was more aware of his failure than Aurangzeb himself, who in his last moments admitted that his whole life was a mistake. The Marathas in the South, the Sikhs in the North, and the Rajput states helped in the dismemberment of the empire in the reigns of his immediate successors with the result that nearly the whole of India was restored to its native Hindu sovereigns except Bengal, Oudh, and the Deccan Hyderabad. It will be seen from this that so far from suffering from decay and corruption, the native races gathered strength by reason of the Mahomedan rule when it was directed by the wise counsel of those Mahomedan and Hindu statesmen who sought the weal of the country by a policy of toleration and equality. Since the time of Ashoka, the element of strength born of union was wanting in the old Hindu dynasties who succumbed so easily to the Mahomedan invaders.

Besides this source of strength, there can be no doubt that in a hundred other ways the Mahomedan domination helped to refine the tastes and manners of the Hindus. The art of Government was better understood by the Mahomedans than by the old Hindu sovereigns. The art of war also was singularly defective till the Mahomedans came. They brought in the use of gunpowder and artillery. In the words of Babar, they "taught ingenuity and mechanical invention in a number of handicraft arts," the very nomenclature of which being made up of non-Hindu words, shows their foreign origin. They introduced candles, paper, glass, and household furniture and saddlery. They improved the knowledge of the people in music, instrumental and vocal, medicine and astronomy, and their example was followed by the Hindus in the perversions of both these sciences, astrology, and alchemy. Geography and history were first made possible departments of knowledge and literature by their example. They made roads, aqueducts, canals, caravansaries, and the post office, and introduced the best specimens of architecture, and improved

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our gardening, and made us acquainted with a taste of new fruits and flowers. The revenue system as inaugurated by Todarmal in Akbar's time is the basis of the revenue system up to the present day. They carried on the entire commerce by sea with distant regions, and made India feel that it was a portion of the inhabited world with relations with all, and not cut off from all social intercourse. In all these respects, the civilisation of the united Hindu and Moslem powers represented by the Moguls at Delhi, was a distinct advance beyond what was possible before the tenth century of the Christian era.

More lasting benefits have however accrued by this contact in the higher tone it has given to the religion and thoughts of the people. In this respect, both the Mahomedans and Hindus benefitted by contact with one another. As regards the Mahomedans, their own historians admit that the Sufi heresy gathered strength from contact with the Hindu teachers, and made many Mahomedans believe in transmigration and in the final union of the soul with the supreme spirit. The Mohorrum festival and saint worship are the best evidence of the way in which the Mahomedans were influenced by Hindu ideas. We are more directly concerned with the way in which this contact has affected the Hindus. The prevailing tone of pantheism had established a toleration for polytheism among our most revered ancient teachers who rested content with separating the few from the many, and established no bridge between them. This separation of the old religion has prevented its higher precepts from becoming the common possession of whole races. Under the purely Hindu system, the intellect may admit, but the heart declines to allow a common platform to all people in the sight of God. The Vaishnava movement however has succeeded in establishing the bridge noted above, and there can be no doubt, that in the hands of the followers of Ramananda, especially the Kabirpanthis, Malikdasis, Dadupanthis, the followers of

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Mirabai, of Lord Gauranga on the Bengal side, and Baba Nanak in Punjab in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the followers of Tukaram, Ekanath and Namdev in the Decan, Babalalis, Prananathis, Sadhs, the Satnamis, the Shiva-Narayans and the followers of Mahant Rama Charan of the last two centuries—this elevation and the purification of the Hindu mind was accomplished to an extent which very few at the present moment realise in all its significance. The Brahmo and the Arya Samaj movements of this century are the continuations of this ethical and spiritual growth. Caste, idolatry, polytheism and gross conceptions of purity and pollution were the precise points in which the Mahomedans and the Hindus were most opposed to one another, and all the sects named above had this general characteristic that they were opposed to these defects in the character of our people. Nanak's watchword was that he was neither Hindu nor Mahomedan, but that he was a worshipper of the Nirakar or the formless. His first companion was a Mahomedan, and his teacher is said to have been also a Mahomedan. Lord Gauranga had also Mahomedan disciples. Mahomedan saints like Shaik Mahomed, Shaik Farid and Mahomed Kazi were respected both by Hindus and Mahomedans. The abuses of polytheism were checked by the devotion to one object of worship which in the case of many of these Vaishnava Sects was supreme God, the Paramatma, and the abuses of caste were controlled by conceding to all, Hindus and Mahomedans alike, the right to worship and love the one God who was the God of all.

In the case of the Sikhs, the puritanic spirit even developed under persecution, into a coarse imitation of the Mahomedan fanaticism directed against the Mahomedans themselves; but in the case of the other sectaries, both old and new, the tolerant and the suffering spirit of Vaishnavism has prevailed, breathing peace and good-will towards all.

Such are the chief features of the influences resulting from the contact of Mahomedans and Hindus in Northern

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India. They brought about a fusion of thoughts and ideas which benefitted both communities, making the Mahomedans less bigoted, and the Hindus more puritanic and more single-minded in their devotion. There was nothing like this to be found in Southern India as described by Dubois where the Hindu sectarian spirit intensified caste pride and idolatrous observances. The fusion would have been more complete but for the revival of fanaticism for which Aurangzeb must be held chiefly responsible. Owing to this circumstance, the work of fusion was left incomplete; and in the course of years, both the communities have developed weaknesses of a character which still need the disciplining process to be continued for a longer time under other masters. Both Hindus and Mahomedans lack many of those virtues represented by the love of order and regulated authority. Both are wanting in the love of Municipal freedom, in the exercise of virtues necessary for Civic life, and in aptitudes for mechanical skill, in the love of science and research, in the love and daring of adventurous discovery, the resolution to master difficulties, and in chivalrous respect for womankind. Neither the old Hindu nor the old Mahomedan civilisation was in a condition to train these virtues in a way to bring up the races of India on a level with those of Western Europe, and so the work of education had to be renewed, and it has been now going on for the past century and more under the *pax brittanica* with results—which all of us are witnesses to in ourselves.

If the lessons of the past have any value, one thing is quite clear, *viz.*, that in this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mahomedans join hands together, and are determined to follow the lead of the men who flourished in Akbar's time and were his chief advisers and councillors, and sedulously avoid the mistakes which were committed by his great-grandson Aurangzeb. Joint action from a sense of common interest, and a common desire to bring about the fusion of the thoughts and feelings of men so as to tolerate

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small differences and bring about concord—these were the chief aims kept in view by Akbar and formed the principle of the new divine faith formulated in the Din-i-ilahi. Every effort on the part of either Hindus or Mahomedans to regard their interests as separated and distinct, and every attempt made by the two communities to create separate schools and interests among themselves, and not to heal up the wounds inflicted by mutual hatred of caste and creed, must be deprecated on all hands. It is to be feared that this lesson has not been sufficiently kept in mind by the leaders of both communities in their struggle for existence and in the acquisition of power and predominance during recent years. There is at times a great danger of the work of Akbar being undone by losing sight of this great lesson which the history of his reign and that of his two successors is so well calculated to teach. The Conference which brings us together is especially intended for the propagation of this 'din' or 'Dharma,' and it is in connection with that message chiefly that I have ventured to speak to you to-day on this important subject. The ills that we are suffering from are most of them, self-inflicted evils, the cure of which is to a large extent in our own hands. Looking at the series of measures which Akbar adopted in his time to cure these evils, one feels how correct was his vision when he and his advisers put their hand on those very defects in our national character which need to be remedied first before we venture on higher enterprises. Pursuit of high ideas, mutual sympathy and co-operation, perfect tolerance, a correct understanding of the diseases from which the body politic is suffering, and an earnest desire to apply suitable remedies—this is the work cut out for the present generation. The awakening has commenced, as is witnessed by the fact that we are met in this place from such distances for joint consultation and action. All that is needed is that we must put our hands to the plough, and face the strife and the struggle. The success already achieved warrants the expectation that if we persevere on right lines, the goal we have in view may be attained. That

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goal is not any particular advantage to be gained in power and wealth. It is represented by the efforts to attain it, the expansion and the evolution of the heart and the mind, which will make us stronger and braver, purer and truer men. This is at least the lesson I draw from our more recent history of the past thousand years, and if those centuries have rolled away to no purpose over our heads, our cause is no doubt hopeless beyond cure. That is however not the faith in me; and I feel sure it is not the faith that moves you in this great struggle against our own weak selves, than which nothing is more fatal to our individual and collective growth. Both Hindus and Mahomedans have their work cut out in this struggle. In the backwardness of female education, in the disposition to over-leap the bounds of their own religion, in matters of temperance, in their internal dissensions between castes and creeds, in the indulgence of impure speech, thought, and action on occasions when they are disposed to enjoy themselves, in the abuses of many customs in regard to unequal and polygamous marriages, in the desire to be extravagant in their expenditure on such occasions, in the neglect of regulated charity, in the decay of public spirit in insisting on the proper management of endowments,—in these and other matters both communities are equal sinners, and there is thus much ground for improvement on common lines. Of course, the Hindus being by far the majority of the population, have other difficulties of their own to combat with; and they are trying in their gatherings of separate castes and communities to remedy them each in their own way. But without co-operation and conjoint action of all communities, success is not possible, and it is on that account that the general Conference is held in different places each year to rouse local interest, and help people in their separate efforts by a knowledge of what their friends similarly situated are doing in other parts. This is the reason of our meeting here, and I trust that this message I have attempted to deliver to you on this occasion will satisfy you

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that we cannot conceive a nobler work than the one for which we have met here to-day.

The Bombay Social Conference--Satara, 1900.

As President of the First Bombay Provincial Social Conference held at Satara in May 1900, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade delivered the following inaugural address:—

Gentlemen,—The idea of holding periodical gatherings in each Presidency for the discussion of provincial matters of public interests is a legitimate offshoot of the great national gatherings which have now become an institution of the land. This year these gatherings have been held in all the three Presidencies, and it is obvious that this success indicates a healthy growth of public sentiment. In the Madras Presidency, the political gatherings in that Province have always been accompanied by the friends of social reform utilising the occasion, on the analogy of the great national gatherings of the Congress and the Conference to meet together, for the discussion of social subjects, and though hitherto in the political Conferences held in this Presidency, it has not been found possible to follow this example, it is a matter of great satisfaction to find that our Satara friends have realised the necessity of supplementing the work of the political Conference by inviting the friends of social reform to come together and take stock of our gains and losses in the social sphere of our activities. Owing to the circumstances under which this work had to be undertaken at Satara, we have had to content ourselves with a very brief programme, but it is to be hoped that the seed sown to-day will bear a rich fruit hereafter.

ADVANTAGE OF SUCH GATHERINGS.

I know there are those among us who see no advantage in holding local or national gatherings of this sort for the consideration of social topics. There are others who think

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that though such gatherings may have their uses, they should not be joined together in place and time with the political meeting, as they only serve to detract the attention of the workers, and lead to no practical results. It may be of use to attempt a brief reply to both these objections.

As regards the first difficulty, it seems to me to arise from a confusion of ideas, which is very prejudicial to the right appreciation of our duties, both in the political and social sphere. The underlying assumption is that in politics, our duties consist chiefly in stating our wants and grievances to strangers who have been placed by Providence in command over us, and who are ill-informed about our real condition. Politics in this sense means simply formulating claims for gifts or favours which require no other action on our part; while in the social sphere, our duties lie more exclusively with the regulation of our own actions, in which outside help is not needed for guidance or control. As I understand it, this distinction between the two spheres of our activities is based on a radical mistake. The integrity of any human being cannot be broken up into separate spheres of activities of the sort contemplated by those who raise this objection. For the sake of convenience, you may say that the rose has its beauty and its fragrance, but you can no more separate the fragrance from the beauty, and any attempt to do it can only end in the destruction of both. What is true of the individual, is true of the collections of individuals, whom we may call by any name, tribe, class, or community. These communities are organisations, and you can no more separate the activities, except provisionally, and for the time. Every little village in our land, however poor it may be, has its temple and its "chowdi," its resting place, and watering place, and every town or city must have its township or civic life made up of interests which are not wholly political, not exclusively social, or religious, or commercial. The shops and the bazaars, the temples and the theatres, the schools and the hospitals, the courts

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and the barracks, the young and the old, the men and the women, the poor and the rich—it is this variety and concourse which constitute the interest of village, town and city life. Some may rule, others obey; some may advise, others follow; but the distinction is only provincial, and not in the nature of things. You cannot even build a house of your own where you do not keep a place for strangers, or the way-farer. You have to provide for the God's place of worship, a place where the thirsty, hungry and the sick have to be cared, and there is no man so poor and so selfish that he does not share in all these varied interests and recognise their claims. Each concern has to be attended to in its own time, and in its own way, but it is the whole collection which makes it a human interest. What is true in our private concern is equally true of our public life. Politics is not merely petitioning and memorialising for gifts and favours, Gifts and favours are of no value unless we have deserved the concessions by our own elevation and our own struggles. "You shall live by the sweat of your brow" is not the curse pronounced on man, but the very condition of his existence and growth. Whether in the political, or social or religious, or commercial, or manufacturing or æsthetical spheres, in literature, in science, in art, in war, in peace, it is the individual and collective man who has to develop his powers by his own exertions in conquering the difficulties in his way. If he is down for the time, he has to get up with the whole of his strength physical, moral and intellectual, and you may as well suppose that he can develop one of those elements of strength and neglect the others, or try to separate the light from the heat of the sun or the beauty and fragrance from the rose. You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economical system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideals are low and grovelling, you cannot succeed in social, economical or politi-

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cal spheres. This inter-dependence is not an accident, but is the law of our nature. Like the members of our body, you cannot have strength in the hands and the feet if your internal organs are in disorder; what applies to the human body holds good of the collective humanity, we call the society, or state. It is a mistaken view which divorces considerations, political from social and economical, and no man can be said to realise his duty in one aspect who neglects his duties in the other directions.

THE FAMINE CRISIS.

As an example, the present crisis of the famine may well be considered. If our social arrangements were as perfect as they might be made, half the terrors of famine would vanish, and the political problem would be much simplified. There is no question which is purely political any more than social, or economical, or even religious and they make a fatal mistake who suppose that these are separate departments in our composite nature. The same forethought, the same resolution, the same historical spirit, the same comparative scrutiny and the same strenuous endeavours are needed, in all the spheres of our activity and, therefore, it will not do for us to say that in politics, our duties are clear, but not so in other spheres. The whole man has to be developed and perfected for his own advantage and the glory of God, and it is only a conception like this which can strengthen our efforts, and crown them with real success. It is on this account that when we take stock of our wants, our mind must be open on all sides; the eyes must see and the ears hear, the hands move, and the feet support. This can only be done by our devoting attention to all claims. Owing to our difficulties of every day life of toil and sorrow, we cannot always find time for all things. When we therefore meet for one purpose, of taking thought of our political condition, that is just the time when we have the spirit of unselfish devotion stirred up in us to approach our internal man in its most tender moments, and there is an obvious con-

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venience in seeking to utilise the advantages of time, place, company, and the enthusiasm which springs from association with equals, and you will thus see why the Congress and Conference gatherings have been joined together. If I had the choice, we should long since have added other spheres of work so as to make the national gathering really national in name and aims. The claims of some kind of work might be more absorbing than those of others, but each must have its time and place and proportional attention devoted to it, and I am glad to see that these considerations have weighed with our friends in inviting us to this gathering at Satara on the present occasion. But it may be said that our social fabric is not the work of human hands like the political institutions under which we live, and that in regard to these social customs, the law has been laid down from time immemorial, and we have only to follow it, and it is not for us to attempt changes to suit our exigencies. This is another of those misconceptions for which there seems to be no excuse except a false pride, which makes us cherish dangerous delusions. As a matter of fact, the social arrangements at present are admittedly not those for which we can plead the sanction of the great law-givers whose names we revere in lip worship, but whose behests we disobey at every step. Most of the customs which we now profess to follow run counter to the practices observed in the old times when the institutes were written. The dependent status of women, the customary limits of the age of marriage, the prohibition of marriage to widows in the higher castes, the exclusive confinement of marriage to one's own division of the sub-castes into which the country has been split up, the ignorance and seclusion of women, the appropriation of particular castes to particular professions, the prohibition to foreign travel, the inequalities made by the license enjoyed by men and the abstentions enforced on women, the jealous isolation in matters of social intercourse as regards food, and even touch, indiscriminate charity to certain castes, for all these, and many more alienations from the old stan-

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dards, you cannot hold the old law-giver responsible. They are the work of human hands, concessions made to weakness, abuses substituted for the old healthier regulations. They were advisedly made by men whose names are not known to our ancient history. They are interpolations made to bolster up the changes introduced about the times when the country had already gone from bad to worse. They were innovations for which no sanction can be pleaded. It may be, they were made with the best intentions. Admittedly they have failed to carry out these good intentions, if any, then entertained; and in seeking to upset them, and restore the more healthy ideals, they were superseded. The reformers of the present day are certainly not open to the charge that they are handling roughly with time-honoured institutions. It is rather for the reformers to take their stand as defenders of these ancient ordinances, and denounce those who have set God's law at defiance to suit their own purposes.

THE INEVITABILITY OF REFORM.

But even if this were otherwise, and even if it could be shown by a long special pleading that the changes made are, to some extent, proper deductions from the old texts, it is quite plain that no lapse of time can bar the way of reform where such is needed by the exigencies of our present difficulties. Above all mere ordinances and institutes stands the law eternal, of justice and equality, of pity and compassion, the suggestions of the conscience within and of nature without us. We can no more resist the stream of these influences as working for righteousness than we can roll back the tide. All real prudence would dictate that we should take full measure of these influences and decide how far we must accommodate ourselves to the inevitable. All classes of society, reformers and anti-reformers alike, unconsciously admit the force of these considerations. The only difference between the two consists in the fact that while the latter yield unconsciously and under pressure, the

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former seek to use conscious effort to accomplish the same purpose; and between the two, the victory must be for those who do not wish to drift, but wish to be guided by the admonitions of their inward monitor, and the lessons of past history. People will visit England whether their elders like it or not; and the force of circumstances will prevail. The education of women will similarly be encouraged as each year rolls on. The limits of age for marriage will be raised. Intermarriage restrictions will be dissolved. Caste exclusiveness must relax, and greatest freedom predominate in all transactions between man and man. As prudent men, the question for us will be, shall we float with this current or resist it? As these influences are providential, our duty is clear, and this duty becomes more pleasant when we find that in so acting, we are not only obeying God's law, but, also returning to the ways of our forefathers, overstepping the obstacles put in by our fathers in the way.

There is one objection still which hampers the way of reform. Granted that reform is desirable, it is still claimed that only the ecclesiastical heads of the different communities and the caste elders alone have legitimate authority to act in such matters, and that is not for the miscellaneous crowd of people like ourselves to claim this privilege. To a certain extent the caste elders and even the Acharyas are moving in the right direction. In the great caste Conferences, held in all parts of India, the Kayastha, Vaishya, and other organisations that might be named without number, there are visible signs of the dead bones heaving with the life of a new spirit. Even the Acharyas in the South, when moved by native rulers, and in some cases when not so moved, have spontaneously put forth efforts to promote what is right and proper. There is, therefore, no occasion to quarrel with these agencies. They, however, have their vested interests at stake, and it will be more than human if they look at these things in the same light as

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those who feel the pinch are disposed to regard them. Their co-operation should be welcomed, but the question does not close here. The duty is cast upon us to see that the commonwealth to which we belong, is not endangered by any vested prejudice. We can never forego the right of every human being to act in concert with others of his own way of thinking, and make the effort to better our condition with the light that is given to us, and with the help that religion and history afford us. Of course, our powers are limited, but the work of education consists in increasing the strength of those powers by propagating both by precept and example, what we feel to be right and proper. We may fail, or even miscarry, but the effort will do us incalculable good, and the very failure will serve as a warning. This is the law of all progress, and we can claim no exemption from it.

Lastly, it has been said that we are so split up into sects and divisions, castes and sub-castes, that no common concert is possible for the best of us, and that if we mean real work we must begin with castes and sub-castes, and not indulge in the dream of joint action at least for many centuries to come. This argument is double-edged, and has been used by those who do not feel with us, to damp our energies in the political as also the social sphere of action. When we examine it more carefully, we find that it is more fallacious than true. Castes and sub-castes have, no doubt, their particular preferences and dislikes, their own evils and iniquities to account for, and as we see everywhere from the reports of the Social Conference, their best men are manfully struggling to cure these evils. It should, however, not be forgotten that this caste difficulty is the main blot on our social system. The great fight has to be maintained here, and not on the outskirts. Quite independently of this circumstance, the differences between the castes merge into minor matters by the side of their great similarities. In the social sphere of our activities, all castes and even creeds are alike defective.

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in not recognising the claims of justice and equality, and according the respect and freedom due to the female sex and cherishing the abuses claimed by men as men; and by the members of one class of men to the disparagement of other castes. This furnishes the common platform on which all can act, and it is only by the education received on this common platform that we can command the elevation and freedom which alone will help us to be taller, wiser, and better individually and collectively.

I have thus attempted to forestall by anticipation many of the objections which might be, and are, urged by those who are not disposed to be friendly to the work of social emancipation. With the work that has been done in the different provinces by more than a hundred associations that are in full sympathy with the cause of social progress, it is not my purpose here to deal. The reports of the Conference for the last 13 years furnish a living record to which all can refer with advantage. It is a record which does not allow large achievements in accomplished facts, but to those who can read between the lines the spirit that animates this work, there is a land of promise opening its vistas before them in a way to encourage the most despondent. To go no further back than the past five months, I find from the notes of events kept with me that even in this year of distress some seven re-marriages took place, 3 in the Punjab, 1 in Bombay, 1 in the North-West Provinces, 1 in Madras, and 1 in the Central Provinces. In Bengal, where the widow marriage movement commenced in Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's time, as many as 46 marriages were celebrated, 30 were celebrated since and 41 more were celebrated among the Brahmos, making a total of 117. Including the Central Provinces and the Berars, the Bombay Presidency has during the last 30 years, since the movement began, shown more than a hundred such marriages distributed equally between the Gujeratis and the Deccanis. The Punjab and the N.-W. Provinces show a total of more than

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thirty, and Madras presents nearly the same figure. The total of marriages would, therefore, be about 300 throughout India in the several provinces in the higher castes. Miss Manning's "Indian Magazine," in one of its recent numbers, gave the total number of Indian residents, mostly students studying in England, to be 315, of whom nearly half, 141 were Hindus, 61 Parsees, 79 Mahomedans, and 22 Native Christians. These figures show how the wind is blowing, and how the stream of events is steadily on the right side. The native papers in the Punjab show that during the last five months some 7 admissions of converts from Christian and Mahomedan faiths were made by the Arya Samajas, and there is an active controversy going on for the wholesale admission of some hitherto despised castes. The success of the Bethune College in Calcutta, the female schools and colleges at Jullunder, Poona, Ahmedabad, and Mysore has been full of promise in this as in previous years. Among the legislative events, next after the passing of the Mysore marriage laws, the most noteworthy event during the past five months has been the enactment of the Hindu Gains of Learning Bill by the Madras Council. The local Sabhas such as the Deshamukha and Kunbi Sabhas in Berar, the Rajput in N.-W. P., the Sowrashtra in the Madras Presidency, and Khattris in the Punjab have held their meetings and passed resolutions in favour of marriage reform under good auspices. Many instances of late marriages have taken place throughout the country, also of intermarriages in different parts of India, the most noticeable on our side being Mr. Javeri's daughter's marriage the other day, and the intermarriage between the families of Malad Bhagvat last year. This is, no doubt, a brief record, but as observed before it is full of promise.

The present crisis through which our part of the country is passing under the stress of plague and famine has intensified the necessity of taking adequate steps for alleviating the distress

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suffered by all classes. There are particular directions in which all social reform organisations might work with advantage in such a crisis. Many thousands of poor orphans have been rendered homeless, and although they are supported through famine by private and Government charity, the time is coming when, with the rains on us, this charity will cease to flow, and the unclaimed orphans will have to be provided for when the distress is over. The Missionary societies have pledged themselves not to effect conversions while the distress is at its height, and they are prepared to give over the children to those who will claim them. The rest who will be unclaimed will have to be cared for by these societies, and people everywhere must consider the question of how to deal with these poor children. Freedom to return to their community is a charity which we all can display if we have the largeness of heart to understand the issues involved. The economical question here becomes one of religion and social amelioration. Equally affecting is the claim which has been urged on behalf of hundreds of child-widows who have been rendered miserable in consequence of the famine and the plague visitation. In normal times their condition was bad enough; but their misery has been aggravated by the misfortune of these hard times, and those who have any heart to feel for their wrongs, might well be asked to take thought as to how their misery might be alleviated. The question of postponing marriages to the latest limit of marriageable age, the age of puberty while these visitations are upon us, will not fail to attract the attention, both of the reformers and of those who profess to be indifferent to this subject. These and other matters will, I doubt not, engage the attention of friends who are assembled to-day. We shall not be able to take any immediate action, but if these matters are allowed their claims on our thoughtful consideration when we go to our places, the work of reform cannot fail to lead to some useful results. For this, and work like this, concerted action is needed, and concerted action is only possible, under existing circumstances, when we think

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and work together. A committee consisting of all those who sympathise with the progress of reform, is, therefore, sorely needed in this part of the country to co-operate with similar workers elsewhere and it is with this view that our work to-day will chiefly consist in forming such a committee, and laying down the lines on which it is to work. This is a duty in which, I trust, you will all join, and join with a heart that will suffer no disappointment, but will strain every nerve each within his own sphere to bring about the practical well-being of our people in which the well-being of every individual is involved. This is the message that I was commissioned by friends elsewhere to communicate to you here, and I now commend this subject to your anxious care, in the full conviction that the work is one in which we can all co-operate with advantage, and in which no progress is possible without such co-operation.

Fourteenth Social Conference—Lahore, 1900.

VASHISTHA AND VISHWAMITRA.

About this time last year I had occasion, at the inauguration of the Conference held at Lucknow, to dilate on a text of Nanak, in which he proclaimed himself to be neither a Hindu nor a Mahomedan. To-day, I find myself in the extreme North-West corner of India, in the land of the five rivers, the original home of the Aryan settlers, who composed the Vedic hymns, and performed the great sacrifices. We are met to-day in the land of the Rishis, where Vashistha and Vishwamitra lived and flourished at a time when the caste institution had not taken its root in our Indian soil, when men and women enjoyed freedom and equality, asceticism had not over-shadowed the land, and life and its sweets were enjoyed in a spirit of joyous satisfaction. Punjab during its eventful history has well deserved the compliment that it is the land of the Rishis. The question then naturally arises, who were these Rishis? What was the condition of society when they lived? What thoughts

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stirred them and what actions ennobled their lives and their struggles? For most of us, long habit has rendered it impossible to imagine a state of society, where men were not split up into petty divisions of caste with its artificial barriers, limiting men's activities and narrowing their sympathies. It is a revelation to many of us to be taken back to two or three thousand years ago, to a state of society when class divisions such as Brahmins and Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras were unknown or not well established, and the only distinction recognized in practice was between the Aryans and non-Aryans. To illustrate the gulf which separates our own times from the days when the Rishis flourished, we need only mention the fact that the daughter of the King of Vidarbha was given in marriage to Agastya. Another Raja, by name Lomapada, gave his daughter in marriage to one Rishyashringa. The king Trinabindu also thus gave his daughter to Pulasti, and Bhagiratha gave his daughter to Koutsa Rishi. The king sharyati's daughter was given in marriage to Chyavanya Rishi. Instances where the Brahmins gave their daughters in marriage to kings were also not uncommon. Thus Shukracharya's daughter Devayani was given in marriage to Yayati and Kri-twi to Aunha. Independently of marriage alliances, stories are told where Rishis, who were born in royal houses or were Rajarshis, became by their sanctity and devotion entitled to be called Brahmarshis. One Priyamedha was so elevated, and Shini, Garga, and Traiyaruni were also so promoted to the status of Brahmarshis. Also Mudgala and Gritsamada, who were before kings, became thus Brahmins. The Brahmins on their side felt no scruple in learning the Dhanurveda or archery. Agasti Muni, as is well known, was skilled in Dhanurveda and conquered the non-Aryan king Ilvala and the Kalakeyas, who were pirates on the sea-coast. Agniveshya was also noted for his skill in archery and he was the teacher of Dronacharya, himself a great Brahmin commander in the wars of the Mahabharata. His son Ashwatthama and his brother-in-law Kripa were similarly renowned. Instances where Brah-

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mins caused the ruin of the kings of the day by their curses are, no doubt, more frequent than those where kings cursed the Brahmins and brought about their ruin. As illustrations of the first class, we may mention stories about King Nahusha and Ven Raja. Nahusha, as is well known, had by reason of his superior merits become the occupant of Indra's throne, but he made the Brahmins carry him in a palanquin; and Agastya Muni resented the ill-treatment and cursed him which led to his downfall. King Ven was similarly dethroned. Similarly Vashistha's curse against Sahasrarjuna enabled Parashurama to lop off his numerous hands. Vashistha is also mentioned as having cursed Raja Kalmashpada, and Raja Trishanku became Chandala in consequence of the curse. On the other hand Vashistha himself did not escape unharmed. There is besides the story of Ambarisha, who was persecuted by Durvasa and in the result Durvasa had to entreat Ambarisha to grant him pardon and withdraw the Sudarshana which perpetually followed him and gave him no rest. As regards the women, numerous stories are told of their remaining unmarried throughout their lives and of their engaging themselves in the pursuit of devotional exercises or in the study of philosophy. The story of Amba, who remained unmarried all her life, is well known. She wanted to marry with Shalva, but he would not take her and she would not accept the choice made by Bhishma for her. The daughter of Kunigarga also remained unmarried during life. Gargivachaknavi, Vadavapratitheyi and Sulabhamaitreyi—all these are historical names of women who passed their lives in celibacy and engaged in discussions on philosophic subjects in the court of Janaka.

Perhaps the most instructive of these ancient stories is that which is connected with the rivalry of Vashishtha and Vishvamisra. Both these names occur in the Vedic hymns, and though their rivalry is noticeable even in these early hymns, they furnish no authority for the legend which gathered round their names in the period which succeeded the compo-

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sition of the hymns. Vashistha is a great exponent of Brahmin orthodoxy. The legends seek to make out that Vishvamitra was not by right a Brahmarshi. He was only a Rajarshi and aspired to be a Brahmarshi. Vashistha would not support him in this ambition and that accounted for their strife. Throughout the story Vishvamitra represents the view of those who try to admit the non-Aryans into the Aryan community and seek to elevate them. The story of Trishanku, for instance, notwithstanding its exaggeration, has a moral of its own. Vashistha had without justice condemned Trishanku to be a Chandal simply because he aspired to go to heaven by the force of his merits. Vishvamitra took up his cause and performed the Yagnya, because Trishanku had saved his wife and children during a great famine. The result was that Trishanku was accepted in heaven notwithstanding the curse of Vashistha. The story of Shunashepa, who was the son of a Brahmin and was purchased as sacrificial victim to be offered to Varuna in the place of the king's son, who was first promised, is also full of the same liberality on the part of Vishvamitra, who saved the Brahmin's life by his mediation. The result of the conflict between Vashistha and Vishvamitra was a complete victory on the part of the latter, for Vashistha admitted Vishvamitra's claim to be a Brahmarshi. Vashistha's line was continued by his grandson Parashara. Krishnadwipayana, Vaishampayana, Yajnyavalkya, Shukra Muni, and Jaimini all belonged to the orthodox side. Vishvamitra's family was connected by alliances with that of Bhrigu, Jamadagni and Parashar. The great Rishis who colonised Southern India were undoubtedly Agastya and Atri who with their wives Lopamudra and Anusuya occupy a prominent place in the story of the Ramayana. King Rama stopped in their Ashram, and Valmiki's description of these Ashrams presents a picture of these holy settlements, which does not lose its charm even at the present day. These settlements were the pioneers of civilization in Southern India. There were similar establishments in other parts of India on the borders of the civilized king-

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doms. The Rishi, with his wife and his numerous pupils, kept herds of cows, cultivated the land, and founded colonies or cities and helped the Rajas from the North to establish their power in the South. Jamadagni's story of the conflict with Kartavirya and the subsequent wars between Parasharam and the sons of Kartavirya no doubt refer to such expansion of power. King Rama himself was helped by Agasti in the final struggle with King Ravana. Parashuram is said to have similarly carried on a war with the Rakshasas which was put an end to by the mediation of Vashistha. The early Rishis were great both in peace and in war. In this respect the Rajarshis were as great as the Brahmarshis. Rasabhadeo, for instance, had one hundred sons, of whom nine devoted themselves to meditation and philosophy and eighty-one followed the karma-marga, and the remaining ten ruled over kingdoms. King Janaka was great as a sovereign ruler and greater still as a saint. Vamadeo was noted for his piety, devotion and knowledge which came to him in his mother's womb. The Brahmin Rishi Balaki was taught higher philosophy by Ajatshatru, the Raja of Kashi. It may be seen that there was no monopoly of learning in those early times and Rajas and Brahmins sat at the feet of each other to learn wisdom. There was in fact no permanent division of functions between the two orders, and therefore they were somewhat like the temporal and spiritual lords we know of in England. They could interchange places and did in fact so interchange them in numerous instances.

This brief account of the time when the Rishis flourished in this country naturally leads to the inquiry as to how it was that in course of time Brahmin Rishis came practically to monopolise the title and deny it to the Rajas. The story of Vasistha and Vishwamitra furnishes some clue to a solution of this difficulty. The great names of Agyastya and Atri, Vashistha and Jamadagni, Bhrigu and Bharadwaja, Parashar and Vamdeo, Vaishampayana and Yajnyavalkya, Valmiki and Vyas, Kapil

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Muni and Shuka Muni naturally carried influence with all classes of people. The Rajarshis were not much known for their authorship, and when these old families succumbed to foreign conquerors in the early period of the Christian era, the new Rajput or Jat conquerors had no hold on the popular mind, and the Brahmins retained or increased their hold on the affections of the people. The Puranic literature which had its birth about this time confirmed this superiority of the Brahmins and the result was that the term Rishi came to be applied only to Brahmins as being the only literary or cultured class of the time. Their predominance continued unchecked except so far as the Vaishnava movement came to the relief of the non-Brahmin classes. The Vaishnava movement has struck its deepest root in the Punjab, where the ten Gurus from Nanak to Guru Govind Sing have effected a change, the like of which no other part of India can exhibit. The Granth Sahib has taken the place of the old Vedas and Puranas and the Gurus and their descendants occupy the place of the Brahmins. Since the establishment of the British rule new forces have been in operation and the road is now again open by which the best men of all classes might aspire as in the past to be the true Rishis of the land. A movement which has been recently started in the Punjab may be accepted as a sign that you have begun to realize the full significance of the need of creating a class of teachers who may well be trusted to take the place of the Gurus of old. The chief point, however, that is to be considered in this connection is who should be these Gurus of the future. It is with this view that I have endeavoured to place before you a brief account of the true Gurus of the past, namely the Rishis who were both Brahmarshis and Rajarshis, only distinguished from one another by their individual inclinations and abilities. We must keep that ideal before us if we mean to prove ourselves the worthy descendants of our earliest ancestors. Of course the teachings and the methods and the subjects taught in these days must be made to suit our new exigencies and environments, but the spirit animating the teachings must be the same as that

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which led the first settlers to cross the Vindhya Range, and establish their colonies in the South. By reviving our ancient traditions in this matter we may hope in the near future to instil into the minds of our young generations lessons of devotion to learning, diversity of studies and personal loyalty to the teacher without which no system of school or college education can ever bear any fruit. This, however, is not all. In addition to these lessons, our new teachers must know how to introduce their pupils to a correct appreciation of the forces which are at work in the wider world outside and which, in spite of temporary checks or seeming reverses, represent all that is best in human efforts for the elevation and happiness of man. Our teachers must enable their pupils to realize the dignity of man as man, and to apply the necessary correctives to tendencies towards exclusiveness, which have grown in us with the growth of ages. They must see that our thoughts, our speech, our actions are inspired by a deep love of humanity, and that our conduct and our worship are freed where necessary from the bondage of custom and made to conform as far as possible to the surer standard of our conscience. We must at the same time be careful that this class of teachers does not form a new order of monks. Much good, I am free to admit, has been done in the past and is being done in these days, in this as well as other countries by those who take the vow of lifelong celibacy and who consecrate their lives to the service of man and the greater glory of our Maker. But it may be doubted how far such men are able to realize life in all its fulness and in all its varied relations, and I think our best examples in this respect are furnished by Agastya with his wife Lopamudra, Atri with his wife Anusuya, and Vasistha with his wife Arundhati among the ancient Rishis, and in our own times by men like Dr. Bhankarkar on our side, Diwan Bahadur Raghunatha Row in Madras, the late Keshab Chander Sen and Babu Pratap Chandra Mozumdar and Pandit Shivanath Shastri in Bengal, and Lala Hansa Raj and Lala Munshi Ram in your own province. A race that can ensure a continuance

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of such teachers can, in my opinion, never fail, and with the teachings of such men to guide and instruct and inspire us, I, for one, am confident that the time will be hastened when we may be vouchsafed a sight of the Promised Land.



PART III.

EDUCATIONAL.

Primary Education and Indigenous Schools.

(*Poona S. Sabbha Quarterly, Vol. V, No. I, July 1882.*)

Now that, within a month or so, Dr. Hunter, the President, and the other members of the Bombay Committee of the Education Commission will hold their sittings, and examine the local witnesses in regard to the present state of public instruction in this Presidency, it is time that we should pass in review the various systems of elementary education which have been in operation in different parts of British India during the last 25 years, and, by contrasting their results, furnish the ground-work of fact on which the authorities, more directly concerned with the practical working of this Department, may be expected to proceed in its future reorganization consequent on the labours of the Education Commission. In the words of the Government of India's Resolution appointing this Commission, the main object of this inquiry is to ascertain "the present state of elementary education throughout the Empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved." The other heads of inquiry occupy only a subordinate place, and it were much to be wished that these distracting topics had not been pressed upon the attention of the Commission, and the scope of the present inquiry had been limited to the one subject about which there is no difference of opinion, and which in consequence is in a condition to be profited by the deliberations of those who have been selected by Government for this great responsibility. The Missionary societies, with whom this agitation commenced four years ago with the formation of the Edinburgh and London General Councils on Education in India, had their own objects to pro-

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mote in complicating the scope of the inquiry, and forcing the hands of Government to an abandonment of its advanced liberal attitude. It was at their suggestion that the cry against the higher secular, that is, not professedly religious, education was raised, and their spokesman, the Reverend James Johnstone, has been indefatigable in his efforts to secure the help of British public opinion to back up the missionary propaganda. The Government of India has, be it said to their credit, withstood these temptations placed in their way; yet the agitation in England has not wholly been without its reflex influence upon the policy of the Government as enunciated in this Resolution. For it has to some extent prejudged the results of the inquiry by laying down the position "that, owing to a variety of circumstances, more progress has been made upto the present time in high and middle class than in Primary Education." We shall show further on in the sequel that this assumption is not true, and should not have been made on the eve of an inquiry such as has been ordered by the present Resolution. This declaration of the Government of India, accompanied as it is with an expression of its wish that "the different branches of Public Instruction should move forward together, and with a more equal step than hitherto,"—and the announcement made further on of its inability "to find funds sufficient to meet the full requirements of the country in the matter of Primary Education,"—and the suggestion that every available private agency should be called into action to assist the public funds in connection especially with high and middle education," on the ground that "the resources of the state ought to be so applied as to assist those who cannot help themselves, and the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education,"—this declaration of policy in fact begs the whole question at issue, and leaves to the Commission but little scope for independent advice.

Lort Macaulay has in his essay on Warren Hastings satirized the action of the Court of Directors in England who,

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in their instructions to the Company's Servants in India, recommended them to govern the people "leniently" but ordered them at the same time to "send more money" to England. We are disappointed to see this inconsistency reproduced in this Resolution of the Government of India in regard to primary instruction. The Education grant has been raised from time to time during the last 70 years. The charter of 1813 required the East India Company to sanction a grant of £ 10,000 a year for the encouragement of education. This grant was increased seven or eight-fold in 1833, and at the next renewal of the charter in 1853, the grant was again raised seven or eight-fold, at which figure it has remained unchanged, except with slight alterations, to the present date, although during the last 30 years the revenue of British India has been doubled by conquest, annexations, and additional taxation. In strict justice, the Government should have made up its mind to follow the example of the old East India Company by increasing its grant in proportion to the increase of revenue. A Government which can afford to spend 20 crores on a useless frontier war, and deems it just to maintain a garrison at the cost of half the net revenue, and has to remit for Home Charges the other half, cannot fairly plead its inability to supplement the existing grant for education so as to raise it to its old proportion under the Company's rule. The whole question of the improvement and extension of Primary Education is one of ways and means rather than of policy, and we cannot but regret that, by its assumptions and limitations, Government has to a great extent given a wrong direction to the labours of the Commission, and forced upon it discussions of side issues which will only serve to thwart their deliberations upon the main problem. The Missionary blast has provoked a counter-blast from the leaders of Native opinion, and already His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rava, Dewan C. Ranga Charlu, the Honorable Justice Mutuswamy Iyer, and the Honorable Kristodas Pal have entered the lists against the Reverend James Johnstone, Revd. Mac-

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kichan, and the great English authorities Lord Hallifax, the Duke of Argyll, and others who have been induced to countenance the Missionary cry. This conflict of views will, as a matter of course, infect the members of the Commission. Lord Ripon also has unconsciously played into the hands of the missionaries when, in his Convocation speech, he committed himself to an expression of his individual view that mere secular, that is, not professedly religious, education must fail in effecting any good. The Brahma Samaja people took up the cry and exaggerated it. The Roman Catholic bishops in Southern India have, with a wiser instinct, preferred the present neutral policy of Government to what they reasonably apprehend will be substituted in its place, if the Protestant Missionaries succeed in pulling down the state establishments, and setting up in their place their own dogmatic schools. This apple of discord has only embittered the strife, and it does not require a prophet to foretell that the deliberations will end in a Babel of views, where agnostic professors and Missionary fanatics, Natives and Europeans, Hindus and Mahomedans, the advocates of Primary and Secondary education, and of State Schools against Private Schools, will only agree to differ. It is this circumstance which heightens our regret that such a noble opportunity of useful and practical work should have been spoiled by this unnecessary intrusion of foreign matters, and the rousing of irreconcilable prejudices. This confusion would have been avoided if Government had, following former precedents, come forward with a determination to supplement the existing grant with a proportionate increase, and called upon the Commissioners to report after inquiry what practical steps should be taken to utilise this grant to the best advantage of Primary Education.

In practical life, however, it is of no use to regret what is past and irrevocable. We must reconcile ourselves to the conditions of the situation, and accept under protest the limitations which the Government has been pleased to fix on its own

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resources in this respect. The practical question we have to face, and which includes all other questions, may be thus briefly stated;—"How, with the existing resources, public and private, we can so distribute the funds at our disposal as to secure the extension and improvement of Primary schools, without unduly prejudicing the interests of higher education." It is necessary in this connection to give a brief outline of the leading facts connected with the working of the educational department. The funds, private and public, devoted to the actual work of instruction in the ten administrative divisions of British India, may be roughly stated to be one and a quarter crore of rupees. Of this sum, about 11 lacks are spent on University education i. e. the Arts Colleges, European and Oriental; 40 lacks are spent on high and middle class schools; and 73 lacks are spent on Primary education. These figures only represent the actual cost of instruction in the Institutions directly managed by Government or aided by its funds. The charges for direction and inspection, as also the cost of technical schools, and miscellaneous expenditure, do not enter into this total. The charges of management and inspection also vary from 10 to 15 per cent in the different provinces. The total sum disbursed for educational purposes thus exceeds a crore and a half of rupees. Of the sum of $1\frac{1}{4}$ crore of Rupees spent on instruction nearly 60 Lacks of rupees, placed at the disposal of the Educational Department, represent the expenditure of Public funds on the three classes of institutions, Arts Colleges, High and middle class institutions, and Primary Schools, and nearly 64 Lacks represent the contributions of Private funds to the same purpose; so that Government already secures for every rupee spent out of public funds more than a rupee's contribution from private funds. Of the net expenditure of 60 Lacks from public funds, $6\frac{2}{3}$ Lacks are spent upon the Arts Colleges, $16\frac{1}{2}$ Lacks are spent upon high and middle class schools, and $37\frac{1}{2}$ lacks upon Primary schools. Of private expenditure, $4\frac{1}{3}$ lacks are spent on the colleges, $23\frac{2}{3}$ lacks are spent on high and middle class schools, and $35\frac{2}{3}$ lacks on Prim-

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ary schools. The expenditure on Primary Education is thus more than 150 per cent greater than on collegiate, high, and middle class institutions together, whether we take the gross expenditure collectively, or separate the public and private funds, and take their proportions distributively. In this connection we do not separate the expenditure on Government Institutions proper, as distinguished from aided private schools and colleges. The following statement will shew the separate expenditure on Government, aided, and unaided institutions throughout the ten administrative divisions of British India, as also the different sources from which the funds spent are provided.

The figures for thousands are omitted.

		Provincial revenue.	Local.	Municipal grant.	Endow- ments.	Subscrip- tion.	Fees.	Other sour- ces.
	Total.							
Government Insti- tutions.	5,635	2,213	1,709	258	152	29	1,034	204
Aided Institutions.	5,829	1,529	180	79	192	597	2,096	1,156
Unaided Institu- tions.	942	...	42	...	47	152	368	313
	12,406	3,742	1,931	337	391	778	3,498	1,673

It will be seen from this statement that, out of an actual expenditure of a quarter and a crore of rupees, the Provincial revenues, representing the Imperial grant, amount to less than 30 per cent of the total expenditure, while the remaining 70 per cent are made up of private voluntary contributions, and local taxation. The voluntary contributions, consisting of fees, endowments, subscriptions, and other sources, represent more than 50 per cent of the total expenditure, while the local and Municipal taxation comes to about 20 per cent of the whole

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expenditure. Confining ourselves to the expenditure on Government Institutions of all grades, we find that out of a total expenditure, ranging from 56 to 60 lacks, 35 per cent, or 20 lacks, come from local taxation, 13 lacks or 23 per cent from voluntary contributions, chiefly fees and endowments, and about 43 per cent represents the expenditure from provincial funds. In other words, whether we take the whole expenditure, or only that portion of it which represents the cost of Government Institutions, the contribution from provincial funds is a little more or less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the entire expenditure. For every rupee paid out of Imperial funds, the Government thus succeeds in securing two rupees of private contributions.

As regards the distribution of the expenditure on the different classes of Institutions, we have already stated above that, as far as Government Institutions are concerned, about 11 per cent of the total expenditure of 60 lacks represents the charge of the collegiate Institutions, about 37 per cent is the charge for high and middle class schools, and 56 per cent is the charge for Primary schools. Taking the whole expenditure upon Government, aided, and unaided schools to be one and a quarter crore, the percentages are 9 per cent for colleges, 32 per cent for high and middle class schools, and 59 per cent on primary schools. In either view it can not be said with any justice that the so called higher education absorbs more than its fair proportion of public funds. Of the aided and unaided Institutions maintained at a cost of 64 lacks of rupees, the colleges absorb less than 5 lacks, the high and middle class schools about 23 lacks, and the Primary Schools about 40 lacks. The sum granted in aid of private institutions out of public funds comes to about 18 lacks of rupees, a considerable portion of which represents the charge of European and Eurasian education.

These figures, representing the expenditure on various classes of schools, must be studied along with the statistics of the number of schools and scholars in the different classes of

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Institutions. The following statement will furnish these figures for the latest year available.

GOVERNMENT.			AIDED.		UNAIDED.	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
Arts Colleges.	35	2,547	23	1,156	9	412
High & Middle class Schools.	1,378	37,202	1,900	46,311	363	14,719
Primary Schools.	14,160	5,03,604	46,355	7,33,777	13,403	2,08,249
	15,573	5,43,353	48,278	7,81,244	13,775	2,23,380

The totals given above are much smaller than those mentioned by the Reverend James Johnstone in his address before the East India Association. According to his authority, there were 678,000 pupils attending Government Institutions, 8½ lacks attending aided Institutions, and about three lacks attending unaided Institutions, making a total of 18 lacks and more, and exceeding the figure given above by nearly 3 lacks. Whether we accept the smaller or the larger estimate, it is clear that the progress made in the extension of Primary education since 1854 transcends beyond all measure the much slower growth of collegiate and secondary instruction. To quote from Mr. Howell's note, it appears that in 1854 there were in all the Government Institutions 40,000 pupils receiving instruction, and the total expenditure incurred by Government was something less than 10 lacks. At that time there were 14 colleges in existence, and of the remaining institutions a very large proportion of scholars was found in the English Schools; for primary education, as understood at present, was not then undertaken by Government except to a small extent in the North Western Provinces and in Bombay. Lord Stanley, in his despatch of 1859, attempted a review of the educational changes inaugurated after the despatch of 1854. In para 31 of that despatch, it is stated that in those early years

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(1854-59) “ the Government Colleges were attended by a total number of 2,873 students, the high Schools were attended by 9,000 students, and the Inferior or Primary Schools were attended by about 40,000 students”. The corresponding numbers given for 1881 show that in the 35 Government Colleges there were only 2,547 students, while against 40,000 scholars in Primary schools there are now no less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of pupils in Government Institutions. The numbers attending the zillah schools have increased from 9,000 to 37,000 so that while the expenditure on education by Government has been raised from 10 lacks to 75 lacks, that is nearly eightfold, the numbers attending colleges show no increase, while the students attending the secondary schools have multiplied four-fold and those attending Primary schools have multiplied sixteen-fold. If we include the schools aided by public funds in the number, we have 4,000 college students, 83,000 students receiving secondary instruction, and 17 lacks receiving primary instruction. In other words, while the students attending colleges have increased 50 per cent only, those attending high and middle schools have increased 400 percent, while the Primary scholars have increased 4,000 percent. These figures, compiled from official returns, cannot but fail to show beyond all doubt that the higher departments of education have not, as stated in the Resolution, advanced disproportionately to the injury of primary education. The lion's share of the additional funds placed at the disposal of the Educational Departments has been appropriated strictly, and to some extent even beyond the requirements of the Despatch, to the spread and improvement of Primary education. If further progress in the same direction is contemplated, Government must do what it did thrice before, increase its grant from Imperial funds. Even on the grants-in-aid principle, it is clear that the sums raised by the people by compulsory and voluntary efforts exceed the sum contributed by Government out of Imperial funds. Taking Government and aided schools together, we find that while Government contributes only $37\frac{1}{2}$

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lacks from Provincial funds, the amount of fees, endowments, and subscriptions, representing voluntary contributions, comes to about 40 lacks, while in addition the people raise by compulsory taxation 22 lacks. This difference between the popular and Government contributions exceeds 25 lacks, which sum the Government is bound to make good if it is anxious to carry out the terms of the Despatch in the spirit as well as in the letter.

The summary furnished above of the principal statistics of education throughout British India will prepare the reader to follow us in the detail account which we shall now proceed to give of the development of public instruction in this Presidency. During the first twenty years after the conquest of the Deccan, very little help was extended directly by Government, except that it maintained the Sanscrit college in Poona, from the Daxina endowment of the Peshwas, and the Elphinstone Institution with its branches in Bombay. It was in 1840 that, for the first time, the work of public instruction was deemed to be of sufficient importance to be placed under the charge of a Special Board. At that time there were two collegiate Institutions, the Elphinstone Institution and the Poona Sanscrit College, three English Schools corresponding to our present High and Middle Class Institutions, and 92 vernacular schools. The attendance in all these schools was less than 6,000 boys. When the Board of Education was organized, Government sanctioned an annual grant of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lack of rupees for general education, and during the 15 years of the Boards' management the progress made in the spread of education will be seen from the fact that, in 1854-55 there were as before two colleges, the one in Poona and the other in Bombay, costing in all Rs. 90,000 a year, 11 English schools costing Rs. 24,000 a year, and 240 Vernacular Schools, attended by about 19,000 scholars, and representing a cost of 54,000 rupees a year. The proceeds of fees reached the sum of 28,500 rupees, of which sum nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ were contributed by the colleges and high schools, and 8,000

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rupees by the vernacular schools. About the close of 1854, and in the early part of 1855, the Board of Education made way for the Director of Public Instruction, and in Mr. Howard's first report of his administration we find that the Departmental charges for general instruction reached a total of Rs. 175,000 of which Rs. 62,000 were appropriated to the two Arts Colleges, about 26,000 Rupees to the 15 English schools, and about 87,000 Rupees represented the cost of the 322 inferior, that is vernacular schools, and the attendance in all these institutions slightly exceeded 25,000 scholars; so that between 1840 and 1856 the colleges did not increase in numbers, and their cost to Government did not also increase. The English schools had increased from 3 to 15, and the Vernacular Schools from 92 to 322, and the scholars attending these schools had increased from 5,000 to about 25,000. This was the condition of the Department in the first year after the promulgation of the Despatch. The way in which the Department has grown on all sides since that time is familiar to every educationist in this Presidency, and it is needless to enter into details regarding them. The following statement, showing the condition of Primary, Secondary and Higher education, the number of schools and scholars, and the charges incurred from public and private funds in respect of these three grades of Institutions, will present at one view all the more salient features of this growth from 1840 to 1880.

YEARS.	GOVERNMENT PRIMARY.		HIGH AND MIDDLE CLASS.		ARTS COLLEGES.	
	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.	Colleges.	Scholars.
1840	92	5,000	3	206	2	650 *
1855-56	322	23,000	15	1,446	2	1,400 * .
1870-71	2,223	119,803	146	18,033	3	303
1880-81	4,225	253,842	159	11,149	3	332

* This includes the school department in Elphinstone institution.

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YEARS.	CHARGES OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS.		CHARGES OF SE- CONDARY SCHOOLS.		CHARGES OF COLLEGES.	
	Public.	Private.	Public.	Private.	Imperial.	Private.
1840-41						
1855-56	65,000	11,000	24,000	6,000	69,000	15,000
1870-71	186,956	487,105	153,345	232,250	89,353	37,150
1880-81	262,819	819,542	142,452	226,924	80,164	51,627

From this statement it will be seen that, so far from any undue increase having taken place in the institutions for higher education in this Presidency, the Government Arts Colleges have stood at their old numbers, and the expenditure incurred on account of them has doubled over what it was 25 years ago, when they were first properly organized, while the fees and endowments have been trebled. The high and middle class schools have increased considerably in numbers, but still there are not as many first class high Schools as there are districts in the Presidency, while in the number of Primary schools and scholars the increase has been tenfold, i. e. from 332 schools to 4,225, and from 23,000 scholars to 253,842 scholars. As regards the relative cost of superior and inferior instruction, it has been ascertained that the total charge of collegiate institutions in this Presidency does not exceed Rs. 131,791, of which sum about Rupees 80,164 come from the Provincial Funds. As regards the secondary Middle class and high schools, the total charge is nearly $3\frac{3}{4}$ lacs of Rupees, of which nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs only come from Provincial Funds. Taking both these institutions together, it appears that, out of nearly 5 lacs spent from all sources on higher education in this Presidency, over $2\frac{3}{4}$ lacs were derived from endowments, fees, and Municipal Funds while the Provincial Funds contributed nearly $2\frac{1}{4}$ lacs, and this contribution has been yearly decreasing. In regard to Primary schools, the Provincial Funds contribute a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, out of a total

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expenditure of about 11 lacks, and this Provincial contribution and total expenditure show an yearly increase. If the contribution from Provincial funds towards Primary education appears relatively to be less than that made to higher education, it is to be remembered that nearly seven lacks of Rupees of the local cess are devoted to this purpose exclusively. Altogether the total sum spent on Primary education exceeds by a considerable margin the Provincial and total expenditure on higher education. We have thus shown that what is true of the whole of British India is none the less true of this Presidency, namely that Primary education has received proportionately greater stimulus from the heads of the various departments than either the secondary or collegiate education, and that the position laid down in the Government of India's Resolution in this matter, as regards the unequal advance of higher and lower education, is not correct. We are free to admit that Government is justified in seeking to utilize its funds to the best public advantage, but there is really no reason to doubt, that its officers have faithfully carried out the instructions of the Despatch, and if Government will only provide an additional grant for Primary education in the way we have suggested above, nothing can be more in keeping with the lines hitherto followed than a further development of popular instruction in this Presidency as well as in other parts of India.

Though we have found it necessary thus far to vindicate the action of the Educational authorities in this Presidency from the implied censure passed upon them by the Government, yet we feel no doubt that Bombay has not kept pace with Bengal and other parts of India in promoting the cause of Primary education by taking advantage of the indigenous machinery available at its hands in the same way as has been successfully accomplished elsewhere. This subject of indigenous education may safely be said to be the weakest point in the policy adopted by the officers charged with the

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spread of education in this Presidency. While everywhere else in India the most strenuous efforts have been made to secure the cooperation of the people in this connection, the ruling principle with the Bombay officers has been to cry down the indigenous systems, and insist upon the claim of the Department to have an exclusive monopoly of Primary Education throughout the Presidency. The result is that Bombay stands alone in having the largest number of Government Primary schools, and the smallest number of primary aided schools. This difference is not one of names, but represents a waste of energy and of money which, if it could be saved by anything that we can here urge, would be a most important departure from the previous traditions, and would further remove to a great extent the difficulty of funds, which is at present pleaded as a reason why Primary Education is comparatively at a stand-still. While in Bengal out of $12\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of rupees spent from Provincial Funds more than 8 lacks are devoted to the subsidizing and support of aided schools, in Bombay out of a total expenditure of nearly 6 lacks from the same source, less than a lack is devoted to aided institutions. In Madras the proportions are more nearly equal. In fact there is not another Province in British India where the disproportion between the expenditure on aided and Government institutions is so great as in this Presidency. As a consequence we find, that during the last 10 years, while the number of aided Primary schools in Bengal has increased from 3,839 to 39,665, and in Madras they have increased from nearly 3,000 to 4,000, here in Bombay the aided Primary schools, excluding a few Missionary institutions and a still smaller number of indigenous schools, are conspicuous by their absence. All our schools are Government Departmental schools as far as they are recognized by the Department. Corresponding with the growth of the schools has been the increase of the number of scholars. The scholars in this Presidency attending Primary schools have increased only 75 per cent in 10 years, while in Bengal they have in-

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creased 600 per cent, and in Madras 1,600 per cent. The expenditure in Bengal is about twice that of Bombay, while the expenditure in the Madras Presidency is the same as that in Bombay. Compared by large results it follows from these figures that our expenditure has not been equally fruitful as in the other Presidencies. This subject of indigenous schools must be approached in another spirit than that which has recommended itself hitherto to the Bombay authorities. A few statistics of indigenous institutions will illustrate our position better, and suggest the line of reform in which we wish the Department to move in the future.

The numbers of pupils attending the government and indigenous schools in nine Districts of this Presidency in 1841 and 1871 will be seen from the following table.

Name of the District.	Year.	Number of pupils in Government Schools.	Number of pupils in indigenous Schools.	Total.	Year.	Number of pupils in Government Schools.	Number of pupils in indigenous Schools.	Total.
Ahmednagar and Nasik. Khandesh. }	1841	1,375	72,79	8,654	1871	42,863	4,583	47,446
Surat... ..		630	3,002	3,632		9,474	1,525	10,999
Kheda		466	3,460	3,926		12,102	2,126	14,228
Ahmedabad ...		413	6,674	7,087		9,456	5,890	15,346
Ratnagiri... ..		782	2,197	2,979		6,645	3,732	10,377
Tanna		661	3,821	4,482	Tanna & Colaba }	10,334	2,104	12,438
Poona		2,460	3,195	5,655		8,596	3,273	11,869
Total.....		6,787	29,628	36,415		99,470	23,233	1,22,703

This statement makes it evident that, 40 years ago, there were more than four times as many pupils receiving instruction in indigenous schools as in government schools, and that

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after 30 years' Departmental work the Government schools contain nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ times more pupils than those in indigenous schools. The absolute number attending indigenous schools in the Poona and Ratnagiri collectorates shows a positive, though small, increase in 30 years, while the total fall off in the attendance of all indigenous schools is less than 20 per cent. This is a very striking testimony to the great hold which the indigenous system has upon the popular mind. Entering more into details, we find from the appendices attached to Mr. Howard's first report, that in 1855-56, there were in the nine Districts of the Deccan Division, 1194 indigenous schools attended by 25,149 scholars, who paid in fees about Rs. 50,000 to their masters. In the Gujerath Division, there were in the same year 749 schools attended by 34,411 scholars in that year. The fees in these indigenous schools were, and still as a rule continue to be, more than twice as heavy as those charged in Government schools; the average number of scholars in these schools was 20 in the Deccan, and 50 in the Gujerath Districts, and the masters earned about Rs. 40 a year in the Deccan and 80 to 90 Rs. in Gujerath. In this same year, Dr. Peet reported that there were 428 schools in the Tanna and Ratnagiri collectorates. In the Belgaum District in a census taken about the same time, it was found by Captain Lester that, against 31 Government schools attended by 1893 boys, there were 227 indigenous schools attended by 4470 boys. The latest figures available for indigenous schools are those for 1875-76, from which we find that, in that year just preceding the famine, there were in all 2714 indigenous schools attended by 61,448 scholars. In the Ratnagiri District the number of indigenous schools and scholars actually exceeded the corresponding figure of Government institutions, and in Dharwar and Belgaum Districts the indigenous schools were nearly equal in numbers with the Government schools, while in Sind, the indigenous schools still exceed those supported by Government. Later information collected from official sources warrants the supposition that the existing number of indigenous

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schools exceeds considerably the figures given above for 1875-76, and is nearly 4,000, which is the latest figure for Government schools, and that the scholars attending them are nearly a lack in all. These facts and figures are proof of a wonderful vitality in the indigenous system of education, for without some such natural adaptation to the wants and inclinations of the people it can not be lightly supposed that these schools, competing as they do with the comparatively free Government Schools, without any help from the State, and without any prestige or organization, could have maintained their ground so long, and so well. Even now the city of Poona is said to find work for about 100 schools of this sort, and Sholapoor supports 38, while the island of Bombay has more than 100. It is all very well for official Inspectors to cry down the instruction and discipline in these schools, but those who rate them so low have yet to explain the anomaly of their continued and popular existence against such odds. We believe, and we make this declaration after wading through an immense mass of official reports from the days of the Board to our own times, we believe that these schools have suffered from the same sort of prejudice which, in a certain class of minds, is begotten of official pride and prejudice against every indigenous effort. There are some minds which can not be made to believe that qualified efficiency is possible outside the sacred fringe of the official hierarchy. It is the good fortune of Bengal and Madras that this prejudice has taken no deep root there, and that under strong administrations, Inspectors and Directors of all grades have been obliged to accommodate themselves to the ascertained wishes of the people. In Bengal, the *Guru Mahashaya*, corresponding to our *Pantoji*, has secured a recognition for himself, and the Department there has found that, by seeking the cooperation of these almost hereditary teachers, they have been able to utilize their funds to the greatest practical advantage with the smallest expenditure. In Bengal, a grant of five lacs has been found sufficient to support, with their own independent receipts, 40,000 School Mas-

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ters. The grant is spent partly by way of stipends or subsidies to the salaries paid to the masters, but chiefly by means of payments for results, tested at the great central examinations for scholarships. In Burma the Buddhist priests, and the monks with their monasteries, are utilized in the same manner for state purposes. In Madras, the Pyal schools come under the same category, and these are visited and encouraged by a class of officials who are there called inspecting school masters. We fail to see why some such beginning should not be made in our own Presidency. It needs no argument to show that a vernacular school master, paid wholly by the state, and prevented from taking any fees in money or in kind from his pupils or from his pupils' parents, must cost three times as much at the least as a man who is free to make his living on the appreciation of his work by those who send their children to learn under him. In the old native tradition a teacher is expected to teach for the love of the thing, and for the honor conferred by it, as much as a preacher or a Doctor or a Lawyer, and the payments made to them were honorariums given more from a sense of duty than by way of hire. A small subsidy paid to such a man to guarantee his position against ordinary risks would be of permanent benefit to him without destroying his independence. Now that the Government is so anxious without increasing its grant to increase the funds devoted to Primary education, we cannot conceive any more advantageous method of attaining this end in the Presidency, than of adopting the Bengal plan of dealing with these indigenous schools. We know it has been said time out of mind, and will be said again, that these indigenous masters know and can teach nothing, they are lazy and careless and irregular, they enforce no discipline, and do not understand the right method of teaching. To all these objections we have only one answer to give, namely, that the grown-up men of this generation have all been taught in their young days by indigenous school masters, and every one of them cherishes or ought to cherish the wholesome discipline that

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he had to undergo. As regards the choice of subjects, we believe official authorities make too much point of the crammed book-knowledge of the elements of grammar, geography, and history which are taught in Government schools. These subjects are learnt to be forgotten by the vast majority of boys, while others which are of much more importance in practical life are little attended to. This reproach has been to some extent removed of late years by a change in the standards, but even now the difference is admitted to be considerably in favour of indigenous schools. No body can be better judges of the wants of the children put to school than their parents, and as long as parents persist in adhering to the indigenous system, it is useless to speak about a defect here and a defect there, which can be only remedied by actively interesting the official Inspectors in this too long neglected part of their duty.

Besides, it should be remembered that, as things at present stand, nearly 85 percent of the Brahmin and other high caste boys receive the rudiments of education in the existing schools. The class that has now to be reached is the agricultural community forming the back-bone of the population. They require first to be better fed and clothed and housed before they can be asked with advantage to educate themselves. A knowledge of the rudiments of reading and writing sufficient for their daily life is all that can be expected at present, and this knowledge the indigenous system of schools provides satisfactorily and cheaply. A few picked boys might be helped by free scholarships to pass through the higher grades of instruction, but for the majority the simplest rudiments will suffice for many generations to come.

The financial argument, however, appears to us to be the strongest in this connection. There are about 26,652 towns and villages in this Presidency, and each zilla has

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about on an average 1100 villages. At present there are on an average about 130 schools in each zilla, that is to say, there is a school in one out of nine villages. The remaining eight villages are yet to be provided with schools. From the census returns for 1872, we find that, out of a total of 26,652 towns and villages in this Presidency, about 9,813 villages have a population of less than 200 inhabitants, about 8,913 villages have a population between 200 and 500 souls, and about 4,774 villages have a population between 500 and 1,000 souls, so that out of 26,652, 23,500 villages or nearly 85 percent have less than 1,000 inhabitants. The remaining 3,000 with a population exceeding 1,000 souls are under the present system provided with schools. The extension of popular education, therefore, means practically the establishment of vernacular schools in villages whose population is below 1,000. Of these villages for our present purposes we may safely exclude for the present nearly 10,000 with a population of less than 200 souls; for these villages cannot be expected to secure a sufficient number of children of school-going age to provide from fees adequate remuneration to a private school master. In a population of less than 200 souls, there will be hardly 15 boys of school-going age, and even if the parents of these boys paid fees at the usual rates which prevail in private schools, the amount will be insufficient to encourage private adventure in this direction. Villages with a population ranging from 200 to 1,000, number about 14,000, and it is to this class of villages that the work of extending primary education must at present be confined. In other words we have to provide for about 14,000 more schools in this Presidency. The school-going boys in the Presidency being roughly $\frac{1}{7}$ of the male population, number about 11 lacs, out of whom the present Government and aided schools provide for $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. The indigenous schools provide for a little less than a lac. These deductions leave about 75 percent of the children of school-going age, numbering between 7 and 8 lacs, and inhabiting about 23,000 villages, as the numbers for which

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provision has yet to be made. On the system which at present prevails in Bombay, 14,000 additional schools will cost 14 lacs of rupees at the least, allowing $8\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. a month for each school. On the system we advocate, and the success of which has been so satisfactorily established by the experience of Bengal, we feel confident that with an expenditure of four lacs of rupees, every village, with a population exceeding 200 souls, can be provided with a school. We should first incorporate the existing indigenous schools by extending a small capitation grant for every boy in regular attendance, and an additional grant on the payment by results system for every boy whom these schools send up for the free scholarship examinations. We should in the next place encourage the establishment of more private schools, either by the class from whom indigenous schoolmasters come, or from certificated teachers who should be licensed to open schools on their own account, and make their own arrangements for receiving payments in kind or money from the villagers, the amount so derived being subsidized by a state gratuity, ranging from 2 to 5 rupees a month, according to the numbers attending the school, and its results at the free scholarship examinations. Hundreds of trained and certificated young men who now complain of a want of occupation will volunteer to devote themselves to the work of instruction on these terms. These schools will, it must be allowed, not admit of inspection and examinations by the present establishment. It is our firm impression, however, that it would be labour wasted to apply to these schools the standard examination system at present followed. The time spent by the Deputy Inspectors in attaining an impossible accuracy in the fixing of marks for each subject, in the case of each individual boy examined, is needlessly wasted, and might be better utilized in examining the pick of the boys from these schools for scholarships to be held at the central Talooka or Town school.

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These scholarship examinations will furnish a self-acting check upon the efficiency of these schools and will stimulate the efforts of private teachers to excel each other in the same way that the entrance examination of the University stimulates the efforts of the high schools all over the country. If additional establishments were wanted to help the Deputy Inspectors, we should advocate the adoption of the Madras plan by which the services of inspecting school masters are utilized to visit and encourage the indigenous private schools within their circle. Even at present, we find that the proportion of so-called untrained to trained masters is as 1268 to 1912, the untrained being in the majority. In the Poona and Sholapoor Districts, for which we have obtained detailed figures, we find that out of a total of 634 masters, only 161 are trained. Of the whole number of 634 masters, 347 or more than 50 percent draw less salaries than 8 rupees per month, so that practically the present system does not depart as widely from the one we advocate as those, who are not conversant with its details, are prone to imagine. As the average income of indigenous school-masters varies from 40 to 80 Rupees per annum, and as the fees levied in these Schools are generally twice as heavy as those in Government schools, we cannot be far wrong in estimating that, with an average expenditure of 30 Rs. all round for each school, a subsidy of four lacs will suffice to secure the foundation of 14,000 additional schools in this Presidency. In Bengal the sum of 5 lacs is found sufficient as a grant in aid for 40,000 schools. The same grant ought to be, therefore, able to suffice for the establishment of $\frac{1}{3}$ that number of schools in this Presidency. This is our solution of the main problem proposed by the Government of India for the deliberation of the Education Commission, and we commend it to the attention of its members, as its practical success is guaranteed by the experience of Bengal. It ensures a broad foundation for the healthy and systematic development of public instruction, it conserves and directs national energies

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and economises state expenditure without involving any sacrifice of the help at present extended to higher education.

The last point with which we shall conclude these observations relates to the question of the ways and means by which additional funds can be secured for extending Primary Education on the principles laid down above. We think we have made out a fair case to justify the Commission in urging upon the Government of India the necessity under present circumstances of increasing the Provincial grant by Rs. 2,500,000 at the least, so as to make it up to one crore on condition that this increase should be devoted to Primary Education exclusively. Such a concession would be in keeping with the spirit of the Despatch and the grant in aid rules; for, as we have already shown, the Government expenditure on the three grades of educational institutions comes to about 50 lacks, while the compulsory and voluntary payments from other sources exceed 60 lacks. In case, however, Government adheres to its declared inability to allot additional funds for this purpose, it becomes necessary to inquire how the four or five lacks required for the establishment of Primary Schools in every village of this Presidency with a population exceeding 200 souls can be raised. There are several ways by which these additional funds can be secured. The most eligible that occurs to us is the allotment of $\frac{1}{2}$ in place of the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the one anna local cess now made over to the Educational Department for Primary schools. The proceeds of the $\frac{1}{3}$ share amount to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacks, and if the payment was increased to 50 percent of the local cess, the yield would be 11 lacks, or nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacks more than the present amount. When the Local Funds were first started, the extension of education was, equally with public works of local utility, held out as an inducement to the people to contribute. As a matter of fact, the funds set apart for public works are to a considerable extent directed to other purposes, especially for the relief of many burdens which properly fall upon Imperial funds. The

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3½ lacks so obtained might be supplemented by increasing the Municipal grants in the large towns. The total expenditure on Education from Municipal funds at present comes to about Rs. 80,000, of which about Rs. 44,000 appear to be under the control of the Education Department. The Police contribution from Municipal funds exceeds one lack of rupees. As under the new Resolution of the Government of India, the Municipalities will be relieved of this Police burden, it will be fair to require these Municipal towns to raise their contribution by 50,000 rupees, so as to bring the Municipal grant for educational purposes to nearly one lack of Rupees. At present it cannot be denied that the town populations derive a larger advantage from the expenditure of the Educational Department than the rural villages; 179 towns with a population of 28 lacks have at present 756 schools attended by 81,000 scholars, while 26,473 villages, with a population of 135 lacks, have 2970 schools attended by 145,000 scholars. This disproportion ought in all fairness to be corrected to some extent under the new arrangement. By thus increasing the proportion of local cess appropriations and the Municipal grants, we shall secure the necessary additional funds required for the extension of Primary education in the rural districts.

As some objection might be raised by the District officers to the larger appropriation proposed by us, it will be necessary to suggest other methods for attaining the same end. In this view it must be borne in mind that the Local Funds in the hands of the Department have a large balance to their credit as yet unappropriated. In March 1881, this balance was nearly 5½ lacks. It was considerably larger in the years preceding the famine. Taking it at the figure shown in the accounts of 1880-81 we do not see any reason why this balance should be allowed to lie idle for years together. It might be as well invested in Government securities, either the whole of it, or a considerable portion of it. By this appropriation a permanent fund of Rs. 20,000 will be

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secured by way of interest from year to year without affecting the principal. Besides this local fund balance, we find from the accounts now before us that the Department actually effects a very large saving from the Budget allowance, which amounted in 1878-79 to Rs. 110,000. In 1879-80 the saving from Provincial Funds was Rs. 73,000, and in 1880-81 the amount again exceeded one lack of Rupees. We might safely estimate, therefore, that the annual savings from Provincial allotments exceed Rs. 75,000 a year. The local fund allotments show also considerable savings. The average for three years exceeds Rs. 50,000. These savings, together with the interest on the unexpended balance, will amount to Rs. 150,000 which are ready to hand for the spread of Primary education. The Provincial and local fund allotments are no doubt appropriated to definite purposes, and cannot be diverted to other ends, but this technical difficulty can be got over by inducing the Government to sanction a larger nominal allotment, which will permit these annual savings to be devoted to the establishment of Primary schools. Besides this Rs. 150,000, we think it is possible to raise the fees in all the high and middle class schools. We have satisfied ourselves on this point by a reference to the authorities in charge of colleges and high schools. The fees paid by the students in the Poona College for instance do not exceed Rs. 5 a month, while in the local high school they range from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 rupees, and in the Elphinstone high school, they are as high as 5 Rs. The yield of fees from colleges, high schools and middle class schools at present is Rs. 180,000 and this can safely be raised to Rs. 225,000. There can be no injustice in a moderate increase of these fees, especially as the interests of poor students will be provided for by increasing the percentage of free scholars from 5 to 15 per cent. This increase of fees, if judiciously managed, will secure half a lac of rupees. At present the Provincial funds pay Rs. 222,616 lacks out of a total expenditure of Rs. 501,167 on arts colleges and high schools, while on Primary schools an equal expenditure from Provin-

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cial funds is supplemented by $8\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of expenditure from other sources. By gradually raising the fees this disproportion will, to a certain extent, be remedied, and it will set free at least half a lack of rupees from higher instruction to be devoted to the extension of Primary schools. Another half a lack will be obtained from an increase of the municipal grants. We have thus sketched out a plan by which $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of Rupees can be secured to help the extension of Primary education. The Inspection and direction charges at present exceed 2 lacs of Rupees, which represents upon an expenditure of 24 lacs the high proportion of 10 percent. The expenditure on colleges also comes to about two lacs, most of which represents the salaries of Professors. By the substitution of native for European agency both in the Professorial and the Inspection staff to a greater extent than has been contemplated hitherto, we may well hope to effect a saving of Rs. 25,000 at least per year, without affecting the quality of the work done at present. In the other Presidencies, native Inspectors and Principals of colleges have been found to give equal satisfaction with the European officers employed by the Department, and there is no reason why the same experiment should not succeed equally well in Bombay. We have thus suggested means by which a sum of nearly three lacs of Rupees of additional funds can be made available without touching any single institution at present in existence. This fund properly managed ought to suffice for the establishment of at least 8,000 schools in the rural districts on the plan suggested above, which will make it possible to have a school in every village which has a larger population than 500 souls. This will afford work to the Department for at least 20 years to come, by which time we might be well able to see our way to secure an additional grant from the Imperial funds, or obtain other resources by which the lower limit of villages with a population ranging from 200 to 500 might be reached. We must bring these observations to a close here, and we trust that the Members of the Education Commission will take into their serious consid-

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ration the several suggestions we have ventured to make, and give effect by their recommendation to the only economic plan that appears to us to be practicable under existing circumstances of carrying out the beneficent views of the Government of India, without adopting any reactionary measures, or dislocating the existing machinery of the Department, and jeopardizing the considerable success which has attended the efforts of Government in furnishing a complete system of national education for British India. As a matter of fact, the so-called higher classes are but a small speck in the dead level of poverty which is the normal condition of society in this country, and even the few rich families that do exist do not take any advantage of the existing system. It is the middle, or rather the hereditary literary and mercantile classes, about 10 per cent of the whole population, which appreciate the present system of instruction, and in the work of Indian regeneration the real leadership belongs to this class of society. Until they are permeated by the leaven of new ideas, it is useless to expect any general or lasting progress. They alone can furnish the teachers who will undertake the work of popular education. India's present circumstances, social and economical, require that these agencies should be allowed to operate freely in all directions, and it becomes as much the duty of Government to help the middle classes to obtain higher education, as to assist the lower to secure primary instruction. When the richer classes increase in numbers, and in their appreciation of the responsibilities of rank and position, and endow institutions in the way the richer classes in other countries have done, it will be time to consider the subject in the spirit which has found expression in the Resolution of the Government of India. The Educational Despatch recognized this double duty of Government in the most explicit terms, and it certainly never contemplated any withdrawal of state help from higher instruction, till this could be done without retarding the general progress of the people. Any precipitate action on the part of Government can only end in handing over

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the charge of higher education into the hands of the Protestant Missionary societies, whose chief end is the propagation of their faith. This consummation is naturally unwelcome not only to the mass of the Native population, but also to a large majority of the Christian community as is evidenced by the protest of the Catholic Bishops. The political and religious effects of such a reactionary policy will be disastrous, and as we have already shown, the Government is really not placed on the horns of the imaginary dilemma which it has needlessly conjured up as a justification for the abandonment of its present neutral position.

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(*Poona S. S. Quarterly Vol. V, No. I, July 1882.*)

There is unfortunately an impression abroad that the object of the Government of India in appointing an Education Commission, in deference to certain influential agitation at home got up by English Missionary bodies, is to transfer the moderate funds, at present devoted to High Education, to the further support of Primary Education, and to leave the former to take care of itself. The plea put forth by the Missionary societies in justification of such a proceeding is that it is the duty of Government "to extend the benefits of education to those classes of the community who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name, by their own unaided efforts," or, in the words of Sir Charles Wood, the author of the Educational Despatch of 1854, "that the resources of the State should be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and that the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education." H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, representing the best native feeling on the point, has urged on the other hand that it is equally the duty of Government to take care of high, as well as of low, education in all countries,

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and especially in a country so circumstanced as India, where there is not such a marked difference in wealth between the upper and lower classes as in England, and where higher education is chiefly sought for by people whose means are extremely limited. This controversy appears to us to have originated in a comparative ignorance and fallacious misrepresentation of facts, which the inquiries of the Commission will not fail to enlighten and correct, and we need urge no apology, therefore, for proposing to contribute our quota to the discussion in this place.

The funds devoted to the education of nearly 200 millions of its subjects by the British Indian Government are so modest, that it is greatly to be regretted, the policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul should be thought of, instead of allotting something like an adequate proportion of the revenues raised to such an important purpose as national education. The British Indian Government raises from the people an yearly revenue of close upon $68\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. per head, and spends on their education about $\frac{3}{4}$ million, or less than 8 pies per head per annum. This miserably small expenditure from the public revenues on national education is not very creditable to a civilized government. If the Indian Government is really anxious to carry out the scheme of a truly national education, as foreshadowed in the Despatch of 1854, it will best satisfy the world of its sincerity by allotting an increasing share of the public taxes to the support of education. This is its highest duty and its greatest safety. The absolute amount devoted by Government towards public education is in itself so small that the question of the relative claims of higher and lower education on state support really does not arise for practical consideration; for even if all higher institutions were closed, the saving would be only a fraction of what national education justly demands. As the question, however, has been raised, it is necessary to expose the fallacies underlying all analogies drawn from England in their application to India.

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The Governor-General in Council, in para 12 of the Government Resolution appointing the Education Commission, says :—"It has been not unfrequently stated that the wealthier classes do not at present pay enough for the education of their children. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to think that a good deal of misapprehension exists as to the real truth in this matter ; but it is one into which the Commission should make careful inquiry. It is, no doubt, right that persons in good circumstances should pay the full cost of their children's education, or at any rate that no part of this should fall upon State Funds." In reply to this the Maharaja of Travancore has observed :—"The argument that the higher classes are able to look after themselves, but that the lower classes are not, is a false one, for the difference in wealth between the higher and lower classes is not greater than the difference of cost between higher and lower education." This is especially true of a country like India, where the High Schools and Colleges are chiefly filled by the children not of the upper ten, or ten thousand, but of the poor middle classes of society whose average income will be found to be between £ 3 and £ 4 per month. We have obtained returns from half a dozen High schools and one of the Colleges, showing the approximate incomes of the parents whose children are attending the higher classes in these institutions, and we find that more than 75 per cent of the students in the Mofussil High Schools belong to families whose monthly income does not exceed 50 Rs. a month. With the exception of Colleges and High Schools situated in the three great Presidency towns, (Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras) which are partly attended by sons of wealthy men, all the other Government High Schools and Colleges are chiefly attended by the children of persons of very limited means, (viz. Government Servants, Vakils &c) whose average income will be found not to exceed the limits given above. The Government of India partly acknowledge this, for in their Resolution above referred to, they say in para 12 :—"Hitherto those who have been most ready

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to take advantage of superior education have frequently belonged to families of comparatively limited means, and there should be, in the opinion of the Government of India, no such sudden and general raising of fees as to carry high education beyond the reach of those classes who at present *bona fide* seek for it, or to convert the Government Colleges into places to which only the higher classes can procure admission."

Speaking of the Bombay Presidency, with which we are fully acquainted, and the figures for which are available to us, we affirm that, notwithstanding the humble means of the classes availing themselves of high education, they have been paying a larger and larger portion of this cost of their education, (as will appear from the figures in the following Tables for 1870-71 and 1880-81, taken from the Bombay Government Reports on Public Instruction), and that on the whole, the Colleges pay at present 36 per cent, and the High Schools as much as, or nearly, 50 per cent of their entire cost to Government.

TABLE No. 1.
Cost of Government Colleges (Arts and Professional.)

Years.	No. of Institutions.	Charges.		
		Provincial Revenues.	Fees and Endowments.	Total.
1870-71	6	1,46,304	44,235	1,90,539
1880-81	6	1,59,708	84,020	2,43,728
Increase.....	0	13,404	39,785	5,318

TABLE No. 2.
Cost of Government High Schools.

Years.	No. of Institutions.	Charges.		
		Provincial Revenues.	Fees and Endowments.	Total.
1870-71	10	76,574	78,500	1,55,074
1880-81	19	1,21,722	1,11,202	2,32,924
Increase.....	9	45,148	32,702	77,850

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It will be seen from these tables that the fees and proceeds of endowments in Colleges have nearly doubled in the course of the last ten years, and in High Schools the proceeds from these sources have increased half as much again. There has been no increase in the number of Colleges, and the increase in the number of High Schools is merely nominal, as nine of the schools, which were called in 1870-71 English Schools, are now styled High Schools. The middle classes cannot, therefore, be charged with receiving their education free of cost, and the voluntary payments made by them represent a very high percentage on income, almost approaching the European, or rather the English, standard; for, on the Continent, education is actually much cheaper than in India. The rate of College fees levied in this Presidency ranges from Rs. 10 to Rs. 5 a month, and of High School fees from Rs. 4 to 1½ a month. These rates are high enough, considering the means of the people who have to pay them, and will not appear low even when compared to the fees paid by the higher classes of such a rich country as England. In support of this position we quote the testimony of one of the highest authorities on the subject. Principal Wordsworth, in his report on the Elphinstone College for 1878-79, says "It is often said by ignorant and prejudiced persons that the State in India gives a nearly gratuitous education to pauper boys, who are thus raised into positions of life for which they are wholly unfitted. The fact is, that high education is much more nearly gratuitous in England than it is in India, owing to the liberality of royal and episcopal benefactors in ancient times, and the cost of such an education as our young men receive in Indian Colleges is higher than the cost of a similar, though probably much superior, education in France and Germany at the present time. I believe that an Indian parent who maintains a boy at College, and pays Rs. 120 annually in College fees, makes a greater proportionate sacrifice than a parent in the same position in either of the two countries just mentioned.

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The cost of maintenance is probably higher, but the actual fees for instruction are less. It would be easy to apply the same test to Oxford and Cambridge expenses. I have called attention to these facts because an opinion appears to prevail that the education of the middle classes of India is assisted by the State to a degree which is unknown in other countries."

The munificence of royal and priestly donors commended by Principal Wordsworth is the work of seven centuries. We cannot count as many decades in this country, and yet the leaders of our middle classes have made good use of their wealth. The wealthier portion of the merchants and other representatives of the middle classes of this Presidency have made large contributions to High education in the shape of donations to the University, and to the funds of Colleges and High Schools.

Names of Government Institutions,	Annual proceeds of endowments.	Capitalized value.
Arts Colleges	22,500	5½ lacks.
Law class	2,028	½ lack.
School of Art	5,000	1½ lacks.
High Schools	7,204	2 lacks.
Middle class schools	3,150	1 lack.
Scholarship and prizes	1,000	2½ lacks.
University	8,000	2 lacks,
Private donations to Educational Buildings		16 lacks.

These figures prove that not only are the middle classes paying their full share for the educational advantages they enjoy, but that they are making an ample return to posterity by their large contributions towards the establishment of permanent foundations.

It is to be noted, moreover, that for a population of close upon 20 millions, there are only 6 Government Colleges (both Arts and Professional), and 19 High Schools. These numbers are certainly modest, and the state provision for High Educa-

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tion cannot be said to be over-liberal. There is not more than one Government High School in every Zilla, and some Zillas are still without a High School. These Government High Schools, one in each district, serve as model schools to Private Institutions—models in discipline, efficiency, and *morale*. The Bombay Government in their Resolution on the last Report on Public Instruction say, "Of a total of 4,398 so-called 'Government Institutions' (as distinguished from aided and inspected Institutions,) only 99 with 9,698 scholars are entered in the Provincial Budget, Government paying all charges including pension and leave allowances of teachers, and crediting fees and other receipts as revenue. The remaining 4,299 Schools with 255,764 scholars are borne on Local Budgets." Again, "The 99 State Institutions include the six Government Colleges, or classes affiliated to the University, a few Special Schools of Medicine, Engineering, Forestry, Agriculture, and Art, the Government High Schools, of which approximately one is maintained in each district as a Model School, six Training Colleges for Teachers, and two exceptional Camp Schools. *This State Establishment is moderate in scale*, (the Italics are ours), and it must again be understood, that the gross cost does not fall on the State. The Budget receipts under Education are derived from this part of the system, and they represent a very considerable percentage of the total expenditure."

Suppose Government resolves to sever its connection to-morrow with these Colleges and High Schools, what savings does it expect to make by this step? Surely it will have to make grants to these institutions as to other private European and Missionary Schools, and, looking to their far greater efficiency, we are certain that the grants they will be entitled to, under the grants-in-aid Rules, will not much fall short of the expenditure now incurred for them as Government Institutions. The total state expenditure in this Presidency on aided Institutions in 1880-81 was Rs. 1,16,447, against Rs. 3,79,529 expended from private sources, that is, the state contributed about

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$\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the total cost of aided schools. If all Government Institutions were similarly subsidized, they will, by reason of their superior efficiency, earn 50 per cent of the total expenditure, which is the present contribution from private sources in High Schools. The great superiority of all Government Institutions of the higher class—Colleges and Schools, to private, and especially Missionary, Colleges and Schools will be seen from the following Tables extracted from the official reports for 1880-81. By the proposed with-drawal of direct Government support, that superiority will be either lost, or, if retained, it will entitle them to very large grants, and the saving effected by a change of system will be only nominal.

Results of Prescribed Examinations of the University 1880-81.

Nature of Examination.	Number Passed.		Percentage of passed scholars on total number on Rolls.	
	Government Institutions.	Aided Institutions.	Government Institutions.	Aided Institutions.
(1) Arts Colleges				
Master of Arts	3	1	33'33	16'16
B. A.	30	4	46'87	44'44
First B. Sc.	2	0	100'00	0
F. A. and Previous Examinations	134	45	50'00	42'05

No Professional Private or Aided Colleges.

(2) High Schools Matriculation	191	180	6'46	6'17

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Results of Inspectorial Examination of Government and Private High Schools 1880-81.

Name of School.		Percentage of passed on numbers presented.
[a] Government or under Government management		
1.	Elphinstone High School.	33
2.	Poona " " " " " " " " " "	26
3.	Satara " " " " " " " " " "	28
4.	Ratnagiri " " " " " " " " " "	47
5.	Sholapur " " " " " " " " " "	42
6.	Thanna " " " " " " " " " "	38
7.	Dhulia " " " " " " " " " "	20
8.	Ahmednagar " " " " " " " " " "	24
9.	Nasik " " " " " " " " " "	13
10.	Surat " " " " " " " " " "	27
11.	Ahmedabad " " " " " " " " " "	28
12.	Bhownagar " " " " " " " " " "	46
13.	Brooch " " " " " " " " " "	40
14.	Nariad " " " " " " " " " "	44
15.	Rajkot " " " " " " " " " "	44
16.	Junagad " " " " " " " " " "	58
17.	Nawanagar " " " " " " " " " "	73
18.	Belgaum " " " " " " " " " "	53
19.	Dharwar " " " " " " " " " "	32
20.	Karwar " " " " " " " " " "	21
21.	Kolhapur " " " " " " " " " "	62
22.	Karachi " " " " " " " " " "	75
23.	Hydarabad " " " " " " " " " "	61
24.	Shikarpur " " " " " " " " " "	36
[b] Private Missionary High Schools.		
1.	Free Church High School Poona	9
2.	General Assembly Do. Do. Bombay	18
3.	Free General Assembly Do. Do.	15
4.	Robert Money Do. Do. Do.	8
5.	St. Mary's Do. Do. Do.	22
6.	Surat Irish Mission Do. Do.	27
7.	Ahmedabad Irish Mission Do. Do.	25
8.	Belgaum London Mission	29

We hope thus to have established the following positions.
 (1) The Government Institutions for high education are utilized not by the rich classes, but by the middle and poor classes. (2) These classes pay in fees and endowments as large a percentage on their income as in England. (3) They are besides steadily laying the foundation of independent

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schools by large endowments. (4) The Government provision for higher instruction is at present on a very moderate scale. (5) The withdrawal by Government of this support will effect no financial saving. (6) The total provision for education is so small that no mere adjustments and appropriations can prove of any service. (7) The withdrawal of state support under these circumstances will only deteriorate the quality of education.

For the several reasons set forth above, it follows in the words of the Educational Despatch, that in this Presidency at least, the time has not arrived for Government to make over the charge of high education into the hands of local, private, or missionary agencies. Para 62 of the Educational Despatch 1854 runs thus :—

Par : 62. "We would look forward to a time, when any general system of education, entirely provided by Government, may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government Institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the state ; but it is far from our wish to check the spread of education, in the slightest degree, by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay, and we therefore entirely confide in your discretion, and in that of the different local authorities, while keeping this object steadily in view, to act with caution, and to be guided by special reference to the particular circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India."

If the Colleges and High Schools in this Presidency were abandoned now, we do not doubt that many of the Colleges surely, and the High Schools probably, will cease to exist, as there are at present no organized and responsible local bodies which can take care of them. No doubt, the Municipal corporations of the great towns are the proper authorities who should take charge of them. But Municipal corporations in

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this Presidency, and we believe the same is true of the country generally, are still in their infancy, and they are mostly the nominees of Government; they have not yet learnt to understand and administer efficiently Municipal affairs in other departments, and the elective franchise is yet to be tried as an experiment. When this experiment succeeds, when the Municipal Committees are no longer the nominees of Government, but become the responsible representatives of the people, when they come to understand and feel their responsibilities in these educational, as in all other Municipal, matters, it will be time for Government to make over the educational Institutions, high and low, of all the Municipal towns to their management; and we are certain, they will look after them, and tend them with much greater care than it is possible for Government to do. We believe that under Lord Ripon's rule this happy time is not far distant.

It may be urged in some quarters that, in this Presidency, there are many graduates of the University, and other educated persons, who would come forward to ensure the maintenance of High Schools, and even of Colleges, were these institutions transferred to their charge, and liberal state grants given to encourage them in their efforts. They have already in Bombay, Poona, and in some other towns, established private High Schools, and might safely be trusted to do the same everywhere, if Government withdrew its competition. But if we look to the past history of these private Schools, to the way in which they have been managed, to their extremely short lives, and to their inherent instability, we cannot but be convinced that it will be altogether unsafe, if not positively dangerous, to entrust the high education of the people solely to private adventure. In the first place, all the private High Schools we have, or once had, were started by persons, who established them as a means of livelihood. They have been used solely as the stepping-stone to the ladder which led to fortune. As soon as the managers secured their entrance into

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some other more lucrative walk of life, the risky enterprise was neglected, and the school collapsed under the neglect. In addition to this inherent defect, private schools, established by individuals for commercial gain, can never as a rule compete with public schools established by the State or by Municipal Corporations, for this, if for no other reason, that their managers can never hope in this country, for a long time to come, to guarantee to their teachers the pay, the pension, and the permanency, that the State or Corporations at present can, and may be expected hereafter to do. Moreover, a government, especially a foreign government, incurs much risk in handing over high education solely to private and irresponsible agencies. If it be true that the educated classes are the brains, and the destined leaders of the people, it is the duty, and no less the interest, of the State to see that a sound and useful education is imparted to the *elite* of the rising generation, that its tone is unexceptionably moral and healthy, and that the instructors are men in whom it can place implicit confidence. Without these guarantees, the Government acts unwisely in its own interests in leaving the education of the youth of the country to the care of irresponsible teachers. The history of Ireland and of Russia, where educational agencies hostile to the State have long been at work, should be a warning to all governments.

For different, but equally cogent reasons, it will be impolitic in the highest degree to hand over the charge of instruction to the sole care of Missionary societies. Under no conceivable circumstances can the education of a great nation like the Hindus be solely or chiefly entrusted to persons, who have come to this country to destroy the national faiths, and to convert the nation to Christianity, and whose work is supported by the charitable contributions of pious people from foreign countries. Such a dereliction of the state's chief duty is opposed to all modern conceptions, and to the solemn pledges of Parliament and Royal Proclamations, and the spirit of the

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Despatch of 1854. The proposal is in short so strange and so inappropriate in the case of a country, which yields to the State a yearly revenue of some 65 Millions sterling, that it cannot be seriously entertained. The Hindus are not like the savages of the Sandwich and Society Islands, without a religion of their own, and so easily liable to be converted *en masse* to a nominal Christianity. On the contrary, they have their own national faiths, numerous schools of philosophy, and an extensive and profound controversial literature on all the most abstruse and insoluble metaphysical problems, which have ever occupied the human mind, and which they have debated with an earnestness and a logical acumen, quite unsurpassed in any other country of the world. They have had among them religious teachers and reformers like Sakyamuni, Shankaracharya, Madhavacharya, Ramanuja, Kabir, Tukaram, Ramdas, Tulsidas &c., whose teachings have exercised a powerful and living influence in forming the national mind, and who for purity of life, nobility of thought and sentiment, and devotion to truth, stand in the very foremost rank of the religious teachers and moral preceptors of the human race. We are aware that, in the estimation of some persons, the mission schools find favour because they do not, like government schools, hold aloof from religious education, which too often means the teaching of Christian dogmas. But at the same time it should be borne in mind that a nation, with such a strong religious leaven of its own, and under the guidance of such noble teachers as those named above, is not likely to neglect the cultivation of its religious and moral nature, and there is no danger of its becoming a nation of materialists. As the Maharaja of Travancore has well observed, "there is no dearth of religious teaching in India. It can be had for the asking, and often without the asking." The science of the West has no doubt exploded popular superstitions and physical errors, but the philosophy of religion, and the religious yearning, stand as untouched as ever, as truth always does through all revolutions of thought. It is a gross calum-

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ny on the part of missionary advocates to say that the government system of education in India has produced a race of unbelievers and atheists. The Brahma Samaj Church, the Prarthana Samaja Church, the Arya Samaja Church with their numerous branches, founded and supported wholly by natives educated at the Government Colleges, show how false the accusation is, and are plain evidence that the Christian Missionaries are not the only religious people on the face of the earth. Regular instruction in moral and religious precepts is necessary in all schools, but at present it can be safely left to the numerous *Hardasses, Puraniks, Samajists, Bhanjanis*, and other professional religious teachers among the Hindus, as also among the Musalmans, and other sects. When the people themselves are able to take care of their own education, they will, no doubt, establish regular religious classes in their schools.

From what has been said above in defence of the existing system of Government education, we do not wish to be understood as in any way opposing mass instruction in our advocacy of higher education. It is no doubt essential to the progress of the nation as a whole, that the education of the masses should go hand in hand with the education of the higher classes. In fact, no nation can be said to be civilized, where the mass of the people are sunk in deep ignorance and superstition. We only wish to assert that Government would be committing a serious error in severing its connection with high education, and looking only after the education of the masses. Naturally the diversion of the funds, now devoted to higher education, to further primary instruction would create much misunderstanding with regard to the intentions of Government, which would be poorly compensated for by the small funds that could possibly be thus saved. Hitherto, without disregarding the claims of higher education, substantial progress in primary education has been achieved, at least in this Presidency, since the establishment of the Local Cess

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on land in 1863-64. The following table gives the comparative figures for 1863-64 and 1880-81.

Expenditure on Primary Education.

Years.	Description of Institutions.	No. of Institutions.	No. on the rolls.	Total Expenditure.	
				Imperial Funds.	Local Funds.
				Rs.	Rs.
1863—64	Primary Schools.	764	42,843	74,828	97,619
1880—81	Do.	4,027	2,42,151	2,45,852	9,03,661
Increase.....		3,263	1,99,308	1,71,024	8,06,042

The increase in the number of institutions and of scholars has been enormous, and the Provincial grant to primary education has been increased from $\frac{3}{4}$ th of a lack to $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacks, and the local funds, from all sources, have increased by 8 lacks. Out of the total Government grant to Education in this Presidency, viz. Rs. 10,89,000, the following sums were devoted in 1880-81 to high, low, professional and technical education :

1. Arts Colleges.....Rs. 92,039
2. High and Middle Class
Schools.....,, 130,888
3. Primary Schools.....,, 245,852
4. Professional Colleges.....,, 67,609
5. Grants-in-aid
to Private Institutions },, 118,447

So that the Government grant to primary education was greater than the grants to the Arts Colleges and High and Middle Class Schools put together. The proceeds of the Local Cess in this Presidency are now (1880-81) Rs. 22,38,000, of which only $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, viz. Rs. 7,46,000, is devoted to education

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the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ rds are spent on local public works. We suggest that cess proceeds should be equally divided between education and public works, which would render additional funds to the extent of Rs. 3,73,000, available for primary education. All primary Schools within Municipal limits should be made over to Municipalities, and a clause should be introduced into the Municipal Act, making Municipal corporations liable for their maintenance, Government making them grants under the Grants-in-aid rules. There are 161 Municipalities in this Presidency, of which 11 are City Municipalities, and the remaining are what are called Town Municipalities. Of the former, seven have an annual income of over one lack of Rupees, viz, Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Surat, Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkar. In their case, we think, in addition to primary education, high, technical, and industrial education of the people within their limits should have a claim on their purse, and they should be bound to set aside a certain fixed proportion of their income towards the maintenance of high, secondary, and industrial schools. We have not the least doubt that the representatives of the people, constituting Municipal Boards, would most willingly undertake the sole care and maintenance of primary Schools, and contribute a share towards the cost of high and industrial Schools within their respective limits. Already the Municipal contributions to education are about Rs. 81,000 per annum in this Presidency. This contribution may in course of years be indefinitely increased, without giving rise to the slightest dissatisfaction. The Government of India in para 11 of their Resolution say:—"It is especially the wish of Government that Municipal bodies should take a large and increasing share in the management of the public schools within the limits of their jurisdictions. The best way of securing this result should be considered by the Commission." We give it as our decided opinion that a clause in the Municipal Act, making the maintenance of primary schools, and in the case of the larger Municipalities, part maintenance of high and industrial schools in addition, a part of the duties

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of Municipalities, would be received with satisfaction by all people, and be productive of the greatest good to the cause of education. The following table shows what savings will be effected by making Municipalities pay for their own schools:—

Number of schools and scholars within Municipal limits supported from Local Funds.		Receipts from Fees and Municipal grants.	Yearly recurring expenditure from Local Funds.	Net loss to Local Funds after deducting receipts.
502 (Schools.)	55,783 (Scholars.)	Rs.—As. 70,170—1—5	Rs.—As. 2,85,224—9—8	Rs.—As. 2,13,399—9—0

The savings under this arrangement would amount to over two lacks on primary schools alone. The partial maintenance by the larger Municipalities of High and Industrial schools within their jurisdictions, would save at least half a lack more.

As the country progresses in civilization, the number of Municipal bodies is sure to increase, so that every considerable town in the country will have a Municipal Corporation of its own. The aid thus afforded to education by Municipal bodies will in time be very considerable, and will set free large funds, which may be applied to the education of the rural population. Municipal income, being town income, is principally derived from trade, and house taxes, and is chiefly contributed to by the middle and richer classes, the very people, whom the Government desires to see contribute more largely than they do at present for purposes of education. Government would show more wisdom if it were to make the people contribute to primary education in the mode which would be most acceptable to them, than in making over to them Colleges and High Schools, for the sole and independent maintenance of which they possess as yet, neither the ability, nor the knowledge, neither the machinery, nor the necessary pecuniary means.

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Considerable savings may also be effected by the abolition of the European Educational Inspectorships, and the substitution of native inspectors on smaller pay. There are five European Educational Inspectors in this Presidency on from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1500 a month, and the total cost of their salaries (exclusive of travelling allowances) was in 1880-81 Rs. 53,400. We affirm, without fear of contradiction, that natives, fully competent to carry on the duties of Educational Inspectors, can be found willing to take up these posts, on half the salary given to Europeans. Government would be only doing justice to the natives of the country by appointing competent persons to these places, and would save more than a quarter of a lack a year by such an act of justice, which saving will be available for expenditure on primary education.

It must also be borne in mind that there is a limit to the practical extension of primary education, and that unless education is made compulsory in this country, which no one advocates for the present, there will too often be no scholars for the additional schools that may be opened by Government. The great mass of the people do not care at present for education. The present Dewan of Mysore (Mr. Ranga Charlu) truly says:—"The agricultural classes regard it (school education) as destructive to their industrial character, and any abortive attempts to force it on them would only make it more repulsive." Both high and primary education should be allowed to grow with their natural development, in accordance with the needs and demands of the people, and Government should not be in a hurry to abandon High Schools and Colleges, and establish additional primary schools for which there will be no demand, at least not in sufficient numbers to justify the additional expenditure. A great parade is made of the population figures by certain parties, showing that as the population of British India is 200 millions, the number of children of school-going age must be between 20 or 25 millions, while the number of children in Government, aided, and

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inspected schools is only 2 millions, so that more than 18 millions of children are supposed to be uneducated, and allowed to grow up in ignorance and darkness. No doubt this picture, if true, is very sad. But we must look at the question as practical men, and not as dreamy philosophers. Is it in human power, even by the expenditure of 18 millions sterling, to educate these 18 millions of children? We devoutly wish it were. People fancy that if they can only open Schools in every parish, in every hamlet, and in every lane, they will all be filled with children. But this is a mere delusion. The matter is not so easy of accomplishment. National prejudices, national customs, and national habits, cannot be swept away in a day or a year. Of the 18 millions of children without education, half are females, and the vast majority of the other half are children of the laboring classes. It will take many long years before the parents of these children will be *in a condition* to send them to school. The great mass of these people is extremely poor, and lives almost from hand to mouth. What it wants is not education, but work and employment. Almost all the native industries and trades have been killed by British commerce and British manufactures, and it looks like mockery on the part of Government to offer to the laboring classes *education*, when what they sadly want is *food*. Until the material condition of these people is improved, there will be no great demand for education. Having disposed of the fallacious argument regarding the supposed 18 millions of children of school-going age who are without schools, we are free to confess that primary education is, in this Presidency at least, happily still capable of a limited extension, owing no doubt to the superior energy and intelligence of the Maratha and Gujarathi races. Looking to the great expansion primary education has already attained, (5343 schools, with 3 lacks of scholars in a population of 23 millions,) an increase of 2000 or 2500 schools within the next 20 or 25 years, is all that can be looked for. The additional funds required to maintain these schools, can be easily obtained either by increasing the

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educational share of the cess, or by making the Municipalities support the schools within their limits.

Briefly to sum up the latter half of our article, we think a strong case has been made out to prove that the time has not yet come for a change of system, that the private agencies are not at present, and Missionary agencies will never be, competent substitutes for the Government organization in respect of high education; that Primary schools, within the limited sphere open to them, are more likely to benefit by the transfer, and that this extension of primary education can be secured without diverting funds at present devoted to the support of higher education. The state's highest interests and its very safety recommend the same policy, and we are sanguine enough to hope that the results of the inquiry now being carried on will set this question at rest for a long time to come on a satisfactory footing.

"Why Graduates Die Young?"*

(*Poona S. S. Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, April, 1894.)

[The adjourned annual general meeting of the Bombay Graduates' Association was held on Sunday the 15th April 1894, in the hall of the Framji Cowasji Institute, the Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani presiding. The president formally introduced the lecturer to the audience.]

The Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade then said:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—This time last year your worthy President discussed the aims and purposes of the Graduates' Association in what may conveniently be regarded as the foreign department of its activities, in which it was brought to a contact with the Secretaries to Government and high questions of State politics. Our lines this year have fallen upon more quiet times, and I propose chiefly to dwell upon the home depart-

* This address was delivered before the Graduates' Association, Bombay, on 15th April 1894.

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ment of our existence as a corporate body, upon the responsibilities we have undertaken, and the extent to which we have been able to satisfy the reasonable expectations of those who have a right to require us to account to them for the trust reposed in us. There is a tendency in some quarters to regard associations such as these as being disposed to be very critical in finding the faults and shortcomings of the powers that be, and in being blind to their own weaknesses and failures. We have been told by a high authority that a new spirit of unrest and insubordination is abroad, and that foreign wine is being poured into our old vessels, filling the heads with maddening fumes and endangering our mental stability and moral sanitation. This view of the late Viceroy of India has been echoed in the University halls of Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad.

RECENT CRITICISMS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Complaint has been made of the exclusively literary character of our studies, which result in turning out men unfit and inapt for the practical work of earning their own bread, and swelling the ranks of the unemployed who are supposed to be no less a danger here than in London or Chicago. A friendly voice from Sind laments that our schools and colleges are singularly wanting in the variety and interests of the public school and university life of England. An eloquent Archdeacon of this diocese warns us that we misconstrue the essential conditions of liberty when we divorce it from obedience to law. The Rev. Dr. Miller also thinks that we are lacking in decision of character because we do not bend our neck to the discipline of strict obedience in our early days. Our own learned Vice-Chancellor asks us not to be led away by the catch-words of European politics, lest in our too eager pursuit of phantoms, we might neglect the more solid underground work of developing our character on the broad foundations of ethical introspection, and a severe spirit of self-condemnation. We have reason to be grateful to all these

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well-meaning advisers, and in deference to them we shall, on this occasion, eschew politics altogether, and examine for ourselves the secrets of our own internal life, noticing as we go the rocks ahead, as also the beacons of hope that may cheer us on the way.

THE LOSSES AND GAINS OF THE YEAR.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the main question, let us briefly count our losses and gains during the past twelve months. We have lost some of our best men of light and leading. One of them typified all that was most noble in our past, and the most hopeful in our future, one who, by his gentleness and culture, secured for himself a place as prophet and guide in our own community, and inspired equal confidence in the hearts of his European associates. The other was a finished product of the combination of Western energy and Eastern thought, and lived, worked, and suffered with a nobleness all his own. As long as our community produces such characters as those I have referred to, we need not despair of the situation, for, they indicate that the new seed is not altogether thrown away on barren ground. As regards our gains they have been considerable. The University Constitution has been modified so as to allow two vacancies to be filled up each year in the body of the Senate by the graduate-electors. The Legislative Councils also have been enlarged in such a way as to secure admission of elected representatives from Guzerat, Bombay and the Carnatic and distinguished graduates have been elected by large public constituencies in the local Council, and your worthy President has had the honour of being elected for a seat in the Supreme Legislative Council. The University has also been fortunate in having secured a second native Vice-Chancellor to succeed the late lamented Mr. justice Telang. You will thus see that while our losses have been considerable, our gains have on the whole been of a kind to encourage us in our work.

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THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S RECENT ADDRESS.

The most notable event of the year, so far as the graduates of this University are concerned, was the address the first of its kind, given by the learned Dr. Bhandarkar, in his capacity as Vice-Chancellor of this University. That address, notwithstanding its length and the discursive character, is so permeated with the genuine earnestness of its author, that it has made a deep impression all over the country. It has been the subject of thoughtful consideration among all those who take interest in the cause of native education. There is no doubt an undertone of pessimism and self-condemnation running through the whole address to which exception might be taken in many quarters, and it may be said that some of the controversial points noticed in it might well have been omitted as being unsuited to the place and occasion. I do not think, however, that these features in any way detract from the value of the exhortation which was intended to excite attention to our own shortcomings, and this purpose it has most successfully achieved. In response to a general feeling, I placed myself in communication with friends here and in the mofussil, and I am glad to be able to state that out of some 400 friends to whom letters were addressed, about one-third or 140 sent replies to the two questions put to them, viz., how far the Vice-Chancellor's observations about the heavy mortality among Hindu graduates were correct, and secondly what to my mind is a more serious question, how far graduates ceased to cultivate any love for study after they entered upon their life's career. To my mind the practical importance of these points overshadows all other considerations. The premature deaths of young men, so well endowed and trained, is a national calamity, and the premature mental exhaustion of those who remain behind, furnishes, if possible, a still greater cause of anxiety. The Vice-Chancellor stated that the premature mortality amongst the Hindus was dis-

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proportionately larger, being forty-four and twenty-two per cent as against $16\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ among the Parsees, and he attributed this difference to bad social customs, sedentary habits, poverty of food, and not to the strain of studies in the university curriculum to which these deaths are popularly ascribed. He also found fault with the languid interest taken by the graduates in the prosecution of any favourite branch of study in after-life, and their distaste for literary work. These were serious blots and flaws in our armour, and coming from such an authority they challenge attention. The method pursued by him admitted of mistakes being made because, to all appearances, he chiefly relied upon his own impressions and those of a few personal friends.

INDEPENDENT STATISTICS.

As it was necessary that these points should be more carefully scrutinised, I deemed it proper not to trust to one's own impressions, which naturally accorded with those of the Vice-Chancellor. The 140 friends, who have turned their attention to this subject at my invitation, held meetings in their own several places at Godhra, Baroda, Sholapur, Ratnagiri, Bhownugger, Ahmedabad, Indore, Belgaum, Amraoti, Bombay, Poona, Kolhapur, Karachi, Junagadh, Dhulia, Hoshungabad, Dharwar, Gwalior, Ujein, Shikarpur, and communicated their joint or several opinions, accompanied with full detailed statements. These statements were summarised by me here, and checked by local knowledge, and by reference to official reports, such as the University calendars, and the reports on the native press and publications. Among my correspondents there are all classes of men, Gujerati and Deccani Hindus and Parsees, and all shades of opinion were fully represented. As the Mahomedans, and Christians, Jews and Sindhis form very small minorities of the graduate group, they are excluded from consideration here, as no fair comparisons can be made where the initial base numbers are so small. The remarks which follow represent the substance of the views elicited

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from competent persons who are deeply interested in a right understanding of the exact situation. Taking all the graduates up to the close of 1893 and excluding last year's graduates who took their degree in January 1894, we have a total of 2,198 graduates in all. Out of this number 105 are M. A. s ; 1328 B. A. s ; 32 B. Sc. s ; 5 M. D. s ; 424 L. M. & S. s ; 1 M. C. E. ; and 303 L. C. E. s ; and out of the 1,433 B. A. s. and M. A. s. 356 are LL. B. s.

NUMBER OF THE GRADUATES.

47 per cent of the total are Deccani Hindus ; 25 per cent. Parsees ; 17 per cent Guzerati Hindus ; 6 per cent Christians ; Mahomedans less than 2 per cent ; and Sindhis slightly over 2 per cent. Excluding Christians and Jews, Mahomedans and Sindhis, we have 99 M. A. s ; 1231 B. A. s ; 28 B. Sc. s ; 5 M. D. s ; 330 L. M. S. s ; 278 L. C. E. s ; and there are 330 LL. B. s belonging to the first two classes. The following statements will show the relative proportion of Guzerathi Hindus, Parsees, and Marathi Hindus in the case of each degree.

	Marathis.	Guzerathis.	Parsees.	Totals.
M. A. s.....	46	13	40	99
B. A. s.....	718	249	264	1231
B. Sc.s.....	10	9	9	28
M. D. s.....	3	...	2	5
L. M. S. s.....	86	50	194	330
M. C. E.....	1	...	...	1
L. C. E. s.....	180	51	47	278
LL. B.s.....	190	71	69	340

It will be seen from these figures that the Parsees show a preponderance in the Faculty of Medicine, the Deccanis show larger proportions in the Law and Engineering Faculties, as also in the Arts Faculty, so far as the B. A. degree is concerned, but the Parsees rank very high in the M. A. degree, far above their proportion in the B. A. degree. Taking all the 1,972

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graduates together, about 102 Marathi graduates, 18 Guzerati graduates, and 21 Parsee graduates (in all 141) belonging to all Faculties have died prematurely. The proportion of deaths upon the total number of graduates is 7 per cent. The following statement shows approximately the ascertained number of premature deaths among the Marathi, Guzerati and Parsee graduates in all Faculties.

	Marathi.		Gujerati.		Parsi.			
	Total.	Deaths.	Total.	Deaths.	Total.	Deaths.	Total.	Deaths.
B. A.s.....	718	67 (9½)	249	13 (5½)	264	8 (3)	1231	88 (7)
M. A.s.....	46	11 (21)	13	...	40	5 (12½)	99	16 (16)
L. M. S. s...	86	16 (19)	50	4 (8)	194	5 (2½)	330	25 (7½)
M. D. s.....	3	1	...	...	2	...	5	1
M. C. E.	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
L. C. E. s.	180	7 (4)	51	1 (2)	47	3 (6⅓)	278	11 (4)
B. Sc. s...	10	...	9	...	9	...	28	...
Total...	1044	102 (10)	372	18 (5)	556	21 (4)	1972	141 (7)
LL. B. s.	190	17 (8½)	71	4 (5½)	69	5 (7)	330	23 (8)

THE LESSON TO BE GAINED FROM THESE STATISTICS.

It may reasonably be urged that the statistical method is not adapted to such an inquiry, but though the conclusions based on statistics are not absolutely to be trusted, their comparative value cannot be denied. The statement given above suggests the following inferences :—(1) The lowest percentage of deaths occurred amongst the L. C. E.s taking all the classes together. Next to them, the lowest death percentage is amongst those who contented themselves with the simple B. A. degree, (7 per cent.), which is also the average for the graduates in all the Faculties. The L. M. S. graduates come next with 7½ per cent. The LL. B.s have 8 per cent. deaths, and the highest death-rate is shown by the M. A.s being 16 per cent. The highest of all is amongst the M. A. LL. B.s *viz.*

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9 out of 24 or nearly 33 per cent. (2) Of the three communities under consideration, namely, Marathas, Guzeratis, and Parsees, the Guzeratis show the least unfavourable results under most heads. Not a single Guzerati M. A. has died; while the Parsee deaths are $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the Deccanis 24 per cent. Similarly, the proportion of deaths is the smallest in the Guzerati L. C. E.s and is highest amongst the Parsees. The Guzerati LL. B.s also show the smallest percentage of deaths, $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; while it is 7 per cent. amongst the Parsees; and $8\frac{1}{2}$ amongst the Deccanis. (3) The general average is 4 per cent. for the Parsees; 5 per cent. for the Guzeratis; and 10 per cent. for the Deccanis. This average rate is reproduced in the B. A. deaths which are respectively 3, 5, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. among the Parsees, Guzeratis, and Deccanis respectively. The general rate for the Parsees is lowered by the very large number of Parsee graduates and the low percentage of deaths, is in the Medical Faculty. If this Faculty were excluded, the Guzeratis on the whole show the most favourable result under all heads. (4) The Mahratta community shows the worst percentages under all heads. The deaths in the Medical Faculty are 19 per cent.; in the M. A.s they are 24 per cent. among the simple B. A. s they are 9 per cent; in the LL. B.s $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and their general average is 10 per cent. (5) The fact that the studies for the M. A. degree press peculiarly hard upon the graduates, especially the study of Sanskrit, is shown by the remarkable coincidence, if it can be so called, that out of 15 Bhagwandas. Scholars as many as 10 have died. During the last ten years, this scholarship has not been awarded in seven years, and no candidate appeared in the remaining three years. This is a result which surely ought to arrest the attention of the University. (6) The same conclusion is confirmed by the higher rate of death in the M. A.s than in the B. A.s and the still higher mortality among the M. A. LL. B.s than among the B. A. LL. B.s. These conclusions, it will be seen, do not in many respects agree with those which the learned Vice-Chancellor laid down

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in his address when he compared the different mortality rates of the B. A. and M. A. graduates among the Marathi, Parsee, and Guzerati communities, and ascribed the difference to the fact that the Parsees possessed certain advantages not enjoyed by the Hindoos.

DR. BHANDARKAR'S CONCLUSIONS DISPUTED.

According to the Vice-Chancellor, the difference in mortality was due to the prevalence of certain social customs among the Hindoos, which did not obtain amongst the Parsees, and to the lazy and bad habits of the Hindoo graduates. In the Vice-Chancellor's opinion, the element of poverty had some, though not a great, place in these results, and he was of opinion that they were not due to any overstrain of studies and examinations. It was very unfortunate that the Vice-Chancellor should have confined his enquiry to only two classes of graduates in Arts, and even in respect of them, selected the first eighteen years of the University as the basis of his calculations. This selection was doubly unfortunate, because in the earlier years of the University, the Mahratta graduates distinctly took the lead, and the Guzeratis as also the Parsees did not figure prominently in those days. Moreover, the Vice-Chancellor apparently took no account of the normal differences in the health statistics and life expectations of the several communities compared. Naturally greater havoc was made by death in the community from which most of the early graduates were drawn. Far be it from me to under-rate the essential differences between the several communities, and I should be sorry to be regarded as in any way extenuating the faults and the shortcomings of the community to which I belong. None is more fully alive than myself of the supreme importance of the social factor, and the necessity of reform in our domestic arrangements. At the same time no useful purpose is served by imperfect generalizations not based on a wide survey of facts. It is admitted that in regard to the social habits, the improvement noticeable in the Parsees is comparatively

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of a recent date. A writer in one of their own medical journals has fixed this date within the last twenty years. The love of out-door games for which the Passees at present are so deservedly noted, is also a feature of their life which does not date back more than twenty years. The generations of Parsees who graduated before 1880 were no doubt better circumstanced than the Hindoos, but the difference was not so notable then as it is now. As this inquiry is concerned chiefly with the period of life between the age limits of twenty to forty years, or at the most 45 years, it is important to note the health statistics of the Hindoo and Parsee communities generally in so far as they bear upon the subject. The Census report of 1892 shows for this Presidency the decennial death-rate for the whole population (which, by reason of the Hindoo element preponderating, is determined by the Hindoo rate of mortality) to be 12 per 1,000 in the period between 20 and 30 years, and 18 per 1,000 between 30 and 40 years, for males. This gives an average mortality rate of 30 per thousand for the general population between the 20 years' age limit of 20 to 40.

THE CAUSES OF EXCESSIVE MORTALITY.

The excess mortality amongst graduates of all classes must, therefore, be ascribed to other causes than those which are operative in a general way on the several communities. Properly speaking, the graduates come from families presumably belonging to the middle classes, and their mortality rate certainly ought not to be higher than the general rate, as their lives may be said to be picked lives. Comparing the Hindoos and Parsees separately, it has also been ascertained that, while the Hindoo mortality rate before twenty and after forty is higher than that of the Parsees, for the period between twenty and forty, the Hindoo expectation of life is better than that of the Parsees. Out of every 10,000 Hindoos there are 2,440 persons alive between these ages as against 2,135 Parsees between the same period out of 10,000 people of that community, so that the general chances in favour of the Parsees are not

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more favourable than those of the Hindoos. It should also be borne in mind that in the Island of Bombay the general mortality rate for the Brahmins, taking a period of fifteen years from 1878 to 1893, was 22 per 1,000 against 20 per 1,000 for the Parsees, and in 1893 the percentages were equal in both communities—about 23 per 1,000. I have taken the Brahmin rate because it is this community of the Hindoos which contributes the largest number of students to our colleges. It will thus be seen that there are no essential or at least very striking differences between the natural and normal conditions of life and mortality in the general population of the two communities. The absolute excess of mortality among graduates of all classes and the frightful excess of mortality among one class of the Hindoo community must, therefore, be attributed to other causes than those to which attention was directed by the learned Vice-Chancellor in his address. These conclusions are generally borne out by the detailed examination of the mortality figures given above of the Maratha, Guzerathi, and Parsee graduates in all Faculties. I have advisedly taken the whole period of thirty years of University life in this Presidency so as to widen the range of observation, and eliminate all accidental causes which, as shown above, might otherwise affect the results. I freely admit that such a selection of the whole period is also open to objection, as it includes young men of 20 and 25 years, and reduces the average death-rates. We are, however, concerned with comparative rates of mortality, and these are not affected. The general conclusions to which the table given above leads us are satisfactorily explained by the method followed by me in this investigation, and, I think, it will be admitted that these results are more entitled to general acceptance as being less liable to error than any more restricted inquiry would furnish us with. The figures given above show clearly enough that there is no striking difference between the Hindoos and Parsees as such. The Guzerati Hindoo graduates do not compare unfavourably with the Parsees on the whole. The other class of Hindoos,

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the Marathi graduates, who constitute nearly 50 per cent of our University students, show results which though not as bad as they were described to be, yet are certainly unsatisfactory in the extreme. The causes at work which produce this diversity of results between one section of the Hindoos and the Parsees on one side, and another and by far the largest section of the Hindoos on the other, must be sought elsewhere than in any characteristic of social customs and bad and lazy habits of the Hindoos generally. What these causes are becomes more plain when we find that they are operative among the Parsees also to a sensible extent, though not so disastrously as among the Mahrathi Hindoos. It certainly cannot be said that the Guzerati Hindoos possess better physique or marry later in life or consummate their marriages at a more advanced period. These social causes are, no doubt, operative upon the whole community, but their bearings are not very obvious upon the particular inquiry with which we are now concerned. The Mahratta population certainly enjoys a better climate and a better physique than their Guzerati brethren, and are more disposed to take physical exercise. They have also more robust traditions, which exercise an important influence in such matters. The proximate causes, therefore, of the differences noted above must be sought in other directions than those with which we have been made familiar in the Vice-Chancellor's address.

POVERTY A CAUSE OF PREMATURE DECAY.

(1.) The most operative among these causes of excess mortality among the Mahratta community is the abnormal poverty of many of those who take advantage of the University system of education. The Mahratta Brahmin community, which is the most ambitious in this respect, is distinguished from the Guzerati and Parsee community by the abnormal proportion of poor students amongst them. Among the Guzeratis, the poor Brahmin element is not so preponderant, and the castes from that province who chiefly

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avail themselves of the University education are better endowed with means to carry on their studies. The result is that the majority of the Mahratta Brahmins, especially from the Konkan, pass their students' life both in schools and colleges under difficulties which are imperfectly realized by those who have not been among them. The Vice-Chancellor was fully aware of this fact and admitted that it was a potent factor to a certain extent, but he evaded the difficulty by finding fault with the Brahmin parents for starving the education of their children, while making more sacrifices for providing the marriage expenses of those same children. This was to a certain extent very hard upon those parents who certainly deserved a better recognition of the great sacrifices they make for the education of their children. Men like Principal Wordsworth and Sir Alexander Grant were more generous in their appreciation of this noble trait in the Brahmin character. It is moreover not easy to understand how borrowing money for marriage expenses proves that poverty was not operative as a very powerful agency in undermining the constitution of the Mahratta graduates, especially the Konkan portion of them. But in many cases the poor graduates have no parents to fall back upon. With Scotch pertinacity they leave their homes, flock into the large towns, and, while studying hard for themselves, manage to earn their living by working extra-hours, or by depending upon the charity of others. This is a feature of student life in this country which the English people very naturally fail to understand. No wonder that young men so brought up in the prime of life succumb to the first serious disorder which attacks their system. This is not a mere matter of inference. A careful scrutiny has been made into the life's history of a majority of the prematurely-deceased Mahratta graduates, and it has been found that the deaths of more than half of them can be traced directly to their having been brought up under circumstances of poverty and hardship and subjected to an overstrain which they were not able to bear against. It may be of use to mention the names of some

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of those who can be easily identified by their friends still living :—Messrs. Agashe, M. A. (Bhagwandas Scholar) ; Apte, M. A. (Bhagwandas Scholar) ; Bhandarkar, B.A.L.C.E. ; Damle ; Dharup ; Divekar ; Chirmule ; Gadgil, B. A. LL. B. ; the four Gokhale brothers ; Joshi, B. A. ; Keparkar, B. A. ; Kshirsagar, B. A. ; Mirajkar, B. A. ; Dr. Puranik, B.A. L.M. & S. ; Tullu, M. A. LL. B. ; Vaidya, M. A. LL. B. ; Bal, B. A. ; Patvardhan ; Bhide, M. A. ; Modak ; Atre ; Joshi ; Paranjape ; Marathe ; Bapat ; Kolatkar ; Sathe ; Joshi ; Sulkar ; and many others whose names are not mentioned here for obvious reasons, as some of their relations may not like such notice. Inquiry has been made into the causes of the deaths of some fifty of them, and it has been found that most of them died from consumption or brain fever. It is a wonder that these men should have kept up as long as they did under the effects of such a system of study and examinations. Some of them died almost after taking their degree ; others pulled on till the cares and worries of life and overwork in their profession hurried them off. I have counted the average age of sixty of these deceased graduates, about whom information was available and I find that the average age of these sixty graduates was below 35, *i. e.* they died within ten years of their leaving the University. If these specially unfortunate deaths are excluded, the mortality rate among the Mahrattas would be as favourable as the Guzerati graduates show, and there will be no disproportion which can be urged against them to their disadvantage.

OVERSTUDY FOR COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS.

(2.) Of course poverty does not explain the whole of the disproportion of mortality. Other causes also play their part in the results, and the chief of these causes is over-study and the strain caused by the stiff system of frequent competitive examinations in subjects which have to be mastered in a foreign language, and which tax the powers of the students with burdens and anxieties beyond their endurance. The Vice-

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Chancellor himself admits the truth of this position to some extent, but he thinks that it is absolutely and above all necessary to ensure in the successful candidates thoroughness and complete mastery over the course of study prescribed at all the examinations. This is not the policy on which the older universities in Europe dispense their pass degrees. It is in the honors course that thoroughness is exacted in special subjects. The pass degrees can never be intended to serve as tests of a man's mastery in the whole course of study. The system of examination which requires a man to pass in every paper at the risk of losing one whole year and getting no credit for the subjects he may have mastered and passed in is a system which requires a justification better than what has been usually urged in its behalf. There is no earthly reason why if a man has passed in five out of six subjects and failed in the remaining one, he should be required to face the chance year after year of again passing or failing in all subjects instead of being permitted to appear in the one or more subjects in which he may have failed. This curious system is greatly responsible for the stiffness of the results which prove so cruel to many a poor hard-working student and for the extensive prevalence of cram which it directly encourages. The same remark applies to the courses of study laid down by the University. One has only to compare the syllabus of the subjects in the Bombay and Calcutta Calendars to satisfy himself about the truth of this remark. It appears to be the aim of the authorities here that the student should not travel out of his prescribed course of books-study. These cover such an extent of prescribed reading that the professors find it hard to go through them within the terms assigned, and the students are not able to understand the general bearings of the prescribed studies by enlarging their reading outside their course. The Syndicate has now before it for consideration protests from heads of colleges who complain of the length of the English books prescribed, as also of the history and moral

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philosophy course for this year. This is a very apt illustration of the burdensome character of the prescribed curriculum. These remarks do not reflect my views only, for that circumstance is not of much moment. In their justification I might urge that they represent the views of a very large number of the correspondents who have favoured me with their opinions. I might mention the names of Professor Mehta of the Baroda College, Mr. Dalal, Professor Joshi of the Indore College, Mr. Tapidas of Baroda, Professor Apte of Kolhapore, Dr. Dhurandhur, Dr. Shah of Junagadh, Mr. Bhatawadekar of Bombay, Dr. Khory, Mr. Mahajani of Amraoti, Mr. Bhide of Ratnagiri, Mr. Dastur of Poona, Mr. Kanitkar, Mr. Agashe of Dhulia, Mr. Lele of Gwalior, Dr. Kantak, and many others.

THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM TOO SEVERE.

(3.) The increased rate of mortality in the graduates who pass the higher examinations, *i. e.*, among the M. A.s and LL. B.s and the Bhagwandas scholars furnishes a sure test that, in attempting to secure thoroughness as it is called, the University system directly tends to produce the unhappy result of killing many of the brightest students who come within its influence. This circumstance is operative, not only among the Hindoos, but also amongst the Parsees and the Portuguese and the Europeans. A very large fraction of the latter class has succumbed as easily as the Hindus to the same influence. It may be said that many of these last deaths were due to accidents; the same explanation might be urged on behalf of the Hindoos. Accidents pure and simple are very few. The so-called accidents are really the occasions when the weakened system gives in without a struggle. I have, therefore, not thought it necessary to make any allowance for accidents, because it was not possible to study the life-history of each graduate. The large results are not much affected by such disturbing causes, or if they do affect, they affect all communities alike.

(4.) The worst results of such a faulty method have yet to be described. The Vice-Chancellor found fault with the gra-

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duates generally for the languid interest they felt in literary pursuits in after life. To a certain extent the observation is true, but the true etiology of what I call nervous vital exhaustion and atrophy of energies must be sought in the deeper recesses of our educational system. The bow is too much bent, and when it is relaxed, it refuses not to bend again except under pressure and enforced orders. The professors are blamed for the want of interest shown by the students; the professors on their side blame the students. Neither party is much to blame, and the true responsibility lies with the system which weighs down the professors and students alike, and forces them to move round and round in a narrow groove and prepare mechanically the victims of the examination without rest and without reprieve. In a word the students exist for the University, and the University, it is thought, has not been created for the students and has no business to adapt itself to local needs and aptitudes. This is the worst result of all, and it is not too much to say that, instead of educating and informing the minds they are burdened with a load which students and professors alike are anxious to throw away, never to submit to it again. I have thus tried to show what is in my view, and in the view of many friends, the actual condition of affairs. Improvement in our social economy is as dear to me as to many others, and there is no doubt our bad social system and bad and lazy habits have much to do with our general weakness in the struggle of life, but the proximate causes in such matters are the only ones within our reach to remedy, and I have tried to place them before you in a way which I hope will deserve your most serious attention.

THE LITERARY LABOURS OF GRADUATES.

Notwithstanding the fact of this general languid interest in studies, it deserves notice that there is a considerable percentage of graduates who have displayed most praiseworthy activity in the pursuit of their special studies and in the composition of vernacular books. I have taken particular pains to analyse

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the statements of the reporter on native publications during the past twenty-five years, and I shall now proceed to summarise the results of this enquiry. In this respect the Mahratta graduates, as might be expected, from their more ambitious character and traditions, show the best results. The Guzeratis come next in order, and the Parsee graduates rank third. Among the Mahratta graduates we may mention Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. Pandit, the Kunte brothers, Mr. Telang, Mr. Apte, Mr. Vaidya, Mr. Kanitkar, Dr. Sakharam Arjoon, Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawadekar, Dr. Kirtikar, Mr. Tilak, Mr. S. M. Ranade, Mr. Apte, Mr. Agarkar, Mr. Kelkar, Mr. Bhide, Mr. Bhanu, Mr. Gadgil, Mr. Bodus, Professor Kathawate, Mr. Agashe, Mr. Modak, Mr. Sane, Dr. Garde, Mr. Chiplunkar, Mr. Wagle, Mr. Gole, Mr. Lele, Mr. Vaidya, Mr. Deshpande, Mr. Mahajani, Mr. Natu, Mr. Pavgi, and Mr. Godbole. Among the Guzerati graduates, Mr. Trivedi, Mr. Kothare, Mr. Desai, M. Dvivedi, Dr. Shah, Mr. Setalwad, Mr. Tripathi, Mr. Pandya, the Dhruva brothers, Mr. Marphatia, and Mr. Gujar. And among the Parsees, Mr. Dalal, Mr. Sanjana, Mr. Wadia, Dr. Burjorjee, Mr. Dustoor, Mr. Kohiar, and Mr. Naegamwalla. About fifty names in all may be mentioned as having done most useful service in various departments of literary activity. As regards the work turned out, it is no doubt open to the remark that much of it is translation and reproduction. But nothing in the way of original effort can be expected under existing conditions when the highest duty of young India is to assimilate all that is noble in the old Sanskrit and the modern English literature and make it a part of the thought and language of the common people. After this general remark one may be permitted to notice the work of Dr. Bhandarkar, whose ancient history of the Deccan may take rank with any similar attempts by English scholars. Mr. Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Civilization* and the *Six Darshanas*, Mr. Telang's *Bhagvat Gita* and the *Papers on Rmayana*, Mr. S. P. Pandit's translation of the *Vedas* and the edition of the *Atharva Veda*, the two *Dictionaries*

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by Mr. Vaidya and Mr. Apte; the translations of many of the plays of Shakespeare by a number of authors; the books on Hindoo Law and the Medical works in vernacular by different medical graduates; the translations of Political Economy into Guzerati and Marathi by Mr. Agashe, Mr. Desai, and Mr. Setalwad; the translations of the works of Herbert Spencer and Mill, and Professor Max Muller, Sir Henry Maine, Fawcett, Buckle, Lubbock, Goldsmith, Seely; and the Scientific series by Marathe, Gole, and Shah; the histories of Persia, Egypt, Russia, Turkey, India, Carthage; Dr. Kirtikar's papers on Botany and Natural History; the translations of Bhaskaracharya's astronomy; the translations of great Sanskrit kavyas and dramas both into Guzerati and Marathi; the publication of old Marathi Bakhars; essays in Marathi by Mr. Chiplunkar; travels in England and Europe by Pavgi and others; proverbs by Mr. Bhide; the Biographies of Demosthenes, Cobden, Abraham Lincoln, and others; the edition of Vag-bhat with translation, editions in Marathi of the works of Ramdas, Tukaram, Dnyaneshwar, Mukundraj. All these works indicate considerable activity on the part of many of the graduates. Counting the names of the authors, I find that about ten per cent of the Mahrati and Guzerati graduates devote themselves in after-life to the pursuit of literature and to the diffusion of knowledge among their own people. The noble enterprise of Mr. M. C. Apte in the matter of publishing old Sanskrit works has won for him the esteem of all who value the spirit of self-sacrifice he has shown. There are besides a number of Hindoo and Parsee graduates who conduct monthly magazines and newspapers. The number of such periodicals and journals comes to about twenty. I know that it has been said, and said with some justice, that the publication of books and papers is not a true test of literary activity and that many graduates work hard each in his own subject without finding it possible or easy to publish the results of his studies. No other more practical and objective test could, however, be thought of to measure how far the graduates as a class led

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or did not lead a life of sloth and pleasure. It has been calculated that about 5 per cent of English graduates take to literary pursuits. If this proportion be correct, the 10 per cent, shown above of Hindoo graduates engaged in literary activities show work which is most continuous and valuable. If the Mah-ratta graduates show a heavy proportion of mortality, they also show better work under this head and their over-activity has brought on in the case of some of them premature death. On ascertaining the views of individual graduates, I find that nearly two-thirds among them do not admit the allegation that they cease to study after graduation. They plead that they do keep up their studies, but their want of means and books and their residence in out-of-the-way places prevent them from carrying on their studies with a definite aim and on a system. As might be expected, the graduates in the educational department are better situated in this respect than those who are engaged in service and in the professions in other departments. Among the professional graduates the Medical profession shows the best results, the Lawyers rank next, and the Engineers come last.

WHERE THE PATH OF DUTY LIES.

I have thus summarized the replies received to my questions from friends here and in the mofussil on the two points which appear to me to be very important in our permanent interest for us to consider. It now remains only to say what is our practical duty in this connection. The poverty of the Mah-ratta students, which produces such unhappy results, may lead some people to maintain that the poor student should not venture out of his element and ambitiously strive to secure the benefits of higher education. The Educational Department apparently shares this view and discourages poor students by raising the fees and prohibiting the award of free student-ships. A writer in the *Indian spectator* also takes his stand on the same ground and trusts that things will adjust themselves after better experience. The native community, how-

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ever, has all along entertained a decidedly opposite view on this point, and I think that, notwithstanding the great havoc committed by death in the ranks of these poor students, they constitute an element of strength which we cannot forego. It has been the Brahmin's privilege to be poor and ambitious and it is a privilege which has stood us well and must be cherished. Under the circumstances, enforced bachelorship, till the period of study is over, is the only practical remedy in our hands, and that remedy is in keeping with old traditions. We can certainly confine all our University prizes and scholarships to the competition of bachelors in preference to others as a commencement without hardship to any one. Enforced residence in colleges should, therefore, be encouraged and made general, and physical exercise should be made a part of college discipline and allowance should be made for success in it along with literary qualifications. This is the direction in which we must work if we would avoid lagging behind in the ranks in the struggle with stronger races. Secondly, our next efforts should be directed towards simplifying the course of studies and diminishing the stiffness and the frequency of examinations. The Graduates' Association has much useful work before it in this direction. The present system of high pressure has been shown to lead to very undesirable results, and we must turn a new leaf if our progress is to be ensured on a sound basis. Thirdly, the University should not, as at present wean away its children after their graduation, but should adopt measures by which it can retain its elevating connection with the graduates in their after life and conversation. This can best be done by encouraging a modified scheme of University Extension. The efforts made in England in this connection are chiefly directed to the education of people who have not had the advantage of belonging to any University in their younger days. This class is not at present desirous in this country of receiving the benefits of higher education. The graduates, however, scattered all over the country feel the want and require and deserve help. They

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want access to good libraries. This help the University can render to them by organizing a scheme to allow the graduates the use on small payment of select standard works in different subjects. Committees can be formed here which will guide special studies in political economy, moral philosophy, languages and antiquities, mathematics, sciences and other departments, who might superintend and guide people in the mofussil in their studies by permitting written questions and answers and periodical visitations. Some such idea the Graduates' Association apparently had in view in circulating the literature on University Extension, and the hint may well be followed up. Lastly we might have sub-committees of the Senate, or independently of the Senate, consisting of the veteran graduates who have made their mark, who should form themselves into bodies for the encouragement of Marathi and Guzerati authorship and the award of distinctive titles for successful research. This is too large a subject to be discussed at this stage of the inquiry. Committees of this sort have been tried and have generally proved failures for want of earnestness and system. But a small beginning may be made with advantage in connection with the University, the model to be kept in view being the academy in France or the different Law, Medical, and Engineering Societies in England. In all these ways we may be able to effect good if we only realize our duties and responsibilities in this matter. I have advisedly taken up this subject for the present address because I feel strongly on the point, and it is in no contentious spirit that I have ventured to present before you a side-light view of the internal economy of our existence as men charged with a special duty, the dangers that we have to avoid and the grounds of hope that we may be permitted to entertain in our efforts at self-improvement. If anything that I have said here to-day encourages the further consideration of the subject in a practical way, I shall consider myself amply rewarded.

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On University Reform (Examinations).

[I]

(*Poona S. S. Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, July & October 1895.*)

[A motion was made at a special meeting of the Senate of the University of Bombay on 6th September 1895 as follows:—"That candidates failing at any University examination but obtaining in any subject at least 45 per cent. of the aggregate marks obtainable in that subject should be excused from examination in that subject at any subsequent appearance in that examination. Candidates passing under this provision shall not be classed."]

Mr. Justice Ranade, in speaking to the motion, said :—Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen of the Senate,—It will be useful to refer briefly here to the circumstances under which the proposition, which I have the honour to move for your consideration, comes up before you in its present form. In the Vice-Chancellor's address at the Convocation meeting in 1894, considerable stress was laid by him upon the strain of studies under which our students labour, and to which they too often succumb, being prematurely cut off in the prime of life. The strain of studies was admitted as a fact by all those who took part in that controversy. The only difference in our views related to the causes which disabled the students to bear the strain. Last year about this time, a large number of the Fellows of the University submitted for the consideration of the Syndicate two proposals by which this strain of studies might to a considerable extent be lightened and made bearable. They took the form of the proposition I have now the honour to move, and the other proposition which succeeds it in the agenda paper. A majority of the Syndicate, however, declined to take any action in respect of these suggestions, or even to refer them to the Faculties for their opinion. The gentlemen who had made these suggestions, finding that the Syndicate was thus immovable, made a special requisition for a meeting of the Senate to consider these same propositions. I cannot but think that in this and in some other matters it would have been more graceful on the part of the Syndicate, if, before setting their face against these suggestions, they had referred them

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for consideration to the Faculties, for in that case, we should have had now here the benefit of the mature deliberation of the several Faculties instead of the bare refusal of an executive body like the Syndicate to consider the matter. This is, however, by the way. Those who made the requisition were, in consequence of what had happened before, obliged to stick to the form of the propositions as they were placed before the Syndicate. If they had changed the wording, or altered in any respect the details of the suggestions made by them, they would have to wait for another year, as the Syndicate must, under existing rules, deliberate upon all propositions ere they can be brought before the Senate. To avoid this delay it was thought proper to stick to the wording of the propositions as they were placed before the Syndicate and take a vote of the Senate, trusting that in the discussion here suitable amendments might be introduced if deemed necessary. I may say at once that I and those who are with me in this matter will welcome such amendments in detail, as we are above all anxious that only the principle involved in this suggestion should be affirmed. That principle, I need hardly say, is that as far as possible, when a student has passed in any one or more subjects or group of subjects and failed in others, he should not be compelled to pass again in that same subject or group of subjects in which he has obtained satisfactory marks. Whether this limit of satisfaction should be represented by 45 per cent. marks or 50 per cent., or whether it should be confined to failure in one or more subjects, are questions of detail on which we are quite willing to take the sense of a Senate as a whole and bow to its decision. Forty-five per cent. has been fixed upon, because the limit is neither too high nor too low, for in most of the examinations in the Arts course 30 per cent. is the limit for passing in all subjects, and 45 per cent. is necessary for second class and 60 per cent. for the first class. The percentages in the B. Sc., L. C. E. and M. A. examinations are lower than the limits mentioned above. In the subject of Law the necessary pass marks are $33\frac{1}{2}$ in each

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subject and 50 per cent. are required for the total. In Medicine in the first and the second examinations the necessary pass marks are $33\frac{1}{3}$ and 45 for total, and in the L. M. the necessary marks are 50 per cent. in each subject and also in the total. I understand that in the Cambridge University the standard of pass marks is 25 in each subject and 30 on the whole, and the examination takes place in two parts which may be taken separately at the option of the students. It will be thus seen that 45 per cent., being 50 per cent., more than the Cambridge standard, represents what may be called a satisfactory limit in most of the examinations, and that is the reason why that limit has been selected. If, however, it is the sense of the majority of those who are present here that the limit in any particular examination should be 50 per cent., I shall for my part be prepared to accept such an amendment. It will be seen that we do not wish to touch the classes, but want only to provide for the passes in each examination. This point will, I hope, be borne in mind by those who take part in this discussion.

It may be said that this is a novel suggestion, which has not been before recognised by this University. In educational matters we are all Conservatives, and if it were really a novel suggestion, I should myself have felt much hesitation in bespeaking your favour on this occasion. As a matter of fact, however, there is no novelty in the proposal, as the principle has been recognised by this and other Universities. In the regulations published in our Calendar, B. A. candidates who have passed in Roman History and Roman Law are regarded to have passed the first LL.B. examination without being required to separately run the risk of a second examination. (*Vide* Bombay Calendar, 1894-95, N. B. to regulation 31st, p. 44.) Similar concessions are made in regard to the B. Sc. examination in favour of candidates who have passed M. A. and B. A. examinations in certain subjects which come under the B. Sc.

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course (*vide* N. B. to regulation 35th, p. 49); and a like exemption is allowed in regard to certain subjects in the L. C. E. examination (N. B. to regulation 27th, p. 80); and also in First examination in Medicine (N. B. to regulation 4, p. 67). The principle on which these exemptions are allowed is a very correct principle, and if its correctness has been accepted in the manner stated above, its more general extension may be objected to on other grounds, but certainly not on the ground that the principle is a novel one and not recognised by the University. If the principle is recognised as a wise one in reference to examinations in different Faculties, I fail to see how its recognition in respect of the same Faculty and the same examination, can be deemed to be out of the usual line. In the sister University of Madras, students are allowed to pay fees in proportion to the subjects in which they wish to appear any year, and in this way they are permitted to pass separately in groups of subjects. (*Vide* Madras Calendar for 1894, pp. 59 and 79.) In the medical examinations in England the same practice prevails to a large extent. In the Cambridge University the Arts course is divided into two parts, any one of which may be taken separately. There is, therefore, no novelty in the principle advocated.

I am fully aware that there is not much force in the argument that a change is not novel if one cannot show that it is also a desirable and necessary improvement. The prevailing impression seems to be that which Professor Muller gives expression to in his letter to me. He thinks that the number of students who pass in a subject one year and fail in it the next year is very small and not worth legislating for. If the number of such students were really very small I should agree with this opinion. The case, however, is just the other way. The number is not small, and is, in fact, so considerable that there will be no excuse for our further indifference in this matter. I arranged to consult the views of a large number of those who are practically acquainted with the working of

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our colleges, and they fully bear out what I have stated above. Of course everything depends upon the basal number or standard with which we compared these figures of second failures in subjects in which the candidates have once passed. It is obvious that we cannot accept the figures for first failures as a basis for comparison. By the condition of the inquiry the comparisons can only be made with the totals of second or third failures. The Principal of Samaldas College has furnished me with returns showing that during the last two years 1892-93 and 1893-94 out of 19 second failures in the different Art examinations as many as 14 failed in subjects in which they had passed once and five failed in other subjects than those in which they had passed before. The Professor of Mathematics of Baroda College has sent a return which shows that for the same two years out of 98 students who failed twice, 23 failed in the subjects in which they had passed before and 65 in other subjects. The Professor of Sanskrit in the Ahmedabad College has sent a return which shows that out of 23 students who failed twice, 12 failed in subjects in which they had passed before and 11 in other subjects. Professor Muller of the Eiphistone College has sent a return from which it appears that out of 103 students who failed twice, 26 failed in the subjects in which they had passed before and 77 failed in other subjects. Professor Kathawate of the Deccan College has sent a return from which it appears that out of 32 students who failed twice, 13 failed in subjects in which they had passed before and 19 in other subjects. The returns from other places have not been prepared in a handy way.

STATISTICS OF FAILURES.

In the following statement is shown the number of students who have failed second and third time in several examinations held by the Bombay University in 1893-94. In the third column is given the number of such students as have

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failed in the subjects in which they had passed previously, and the fourth column gives the percentages:—

FOR 1893 AND 1894.

Name of Examination.	No. of Students failing 2nd & 3rd time.	No. of Students failing in subjects in which they had passed.	Proportion of failures in 3rd column to those of 2nd.
Matriculation 1892-94	188	144	76 p.c.
Previous Ex. in Arts	353	148	41'9
Intermediate Ex. for B.A... ..	38	15	39'4
2nd B.A. (under old rules) ...	36	10	27'7
LL.B. (under old rules)	54	32	59'25
M. A.	1	1	100'
First Ex. in Medicine.....	9	3	33'3
Second Ex. in Medicine.....	15	8	53'3
L. M. & S.	29	15	52'
F. C. E.	...	...	...
S. C. E.	2	1	50'
L. C. E.	...	...	...
2nd B. Sc.	5	2	40'
2nd Ex. in Agriculture	2	2	100'
Total.....	732	381	52'

On University Reform (Examinations).

[2]

[A motion was made at a special meeting of the Senate of the University of Bombay on 13th September 1895 as follows:—"That in the Arts' Course the three examinations necessary before graduation be reduced to two and that the Syndicate be requested to propose such a re-distribution of the subjects in the present Arts' Course as may be necessary in consequence of such reduction in the number of examinations."]

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade, in speaking to the motion, said:—Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen of the Senate,—The proposition for the consideration of which this meeting of the Senate has been convened on the requisition of a large number of Fellows stands as follows:—"That in the Arts' course the three examinations necessary before gradua-

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tion be reduced to two and that the Syndicate be requested to propose such a re-distribution of the subjects in the present Arts' course as may be necessary in consequence of such reduction in the number of examinations." Like the other proposition which was discussed last Friday, the present proposal also was submitted to the Syndicate, but as that body refused to entertain the proposal, or refer it to the Arts' Faculty, the requisitionists had no choice in the matter but to bring it before a special meeting of the Senate. In anticipation of this discussion, it has been observed in some quarters that the change from two to three examinations was so very recently made, that unless a very strong case were made out, it would be almost puerile to pluck by the roots the freshly planted tree to see how it was growing. I accept this warning in good part though I may be permitted to observe that the warning is a little out of place and date, because the change was not recently made, as some people suppose it to be. It was made as far back as 1879 under circumstances of so special character that even men like the late Mr. Justice Telang said that they rued the day when, in a spirit of pedantic love for the teaching of science, the Arts' course was disturbed. None outside a small coterie of friends defended it at the time, or are prepared to defend it even now. More than fifteen years have elapsed since that day, and it cannot be said with justice that we are acting like children in taking stock of the effects of that change at this distance of time. I am, however, prepared to concede that, whether the change was made recently or more than fifteen years ago, the Senate have a right to expect that a strong case must be made out before it is called upon to revise the arrangement then sanctioned. The whole subject was reviewed in 1889 on the motion of the late Mr. Justice Telang, than whom we cannot cite a better authority in educational matters in this presidency. In 1889 both Mr. Telang and our present Vice-Chancellor agreed in expressing in the most emphatic terms possible the general sense of disappointment in regard to the gen-

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eral character of our graduates and undergraduates, and their inability to profit by the instruction they received. It was in consequence of this disappointment that Mr. Telang moved in 1889 a series of propositions to raise the number of years from 3 to 4 of College studies, and also to re-arrange those studies in a way which, it was hoped, would, to some extent, cure the evil. With neither of these two reforms have I any quarrel. I believe both these changes were in the right direction, and that they are likely to help our students in securing that general culture without which no man can claim to be educated in the proper sense of the word. Mr. Telang was led by the force of tradition more than by his nobler impulses to sanction the continuance of the two intermediate examinations which had been adopted under very exceptional circumstances ten years before. He, however, gave expression to his own feeling in the matter when he observed that examinations were a necessary evil, and that their number should be, as far as possible, reduced. He said he had himself no strong opinion on the subject, and if the course was not extended to four years, he would prefer one to two intermediate examinations. The Hon. Mr. Justice Telang did not stand alone in this view. The report of the Committee (signed by Dr. Mackichan, Principal Oxenham, the Hon. Mr. Birdwood, Mr. Justice Telang, Mr. Modak, and the Rev. Father Mayr, Prof Peterson dissenting) itself asserts that "the members sympathised with the desire to reduce the number of examinations as much as possible, and if the course were not extended to four years, they would be very strongly in favour of reducing the number of examinations." The proposition which I have now the honour to move seeks to correct this necessary evil of too many examinations in the spirit in which Mr. Justice Telang and the Committee expressed their views six years ago. Even in the course of that discussion a similar proposition was pressed upon the attention of the Senate by a large body of independent members, but without success. There is, therefore, nothing revolutionary, or likely to be disastrous in the present proposal.

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In this matter, however, it is not only our University authorities who have admitted the necessary evil of too many examinations, but the example of the sister Indian Universities and the great centres of learning in England and Scotland, is a more powerful argument in its favour. None of the Indian Universities have followed the example of Bombay in this matter, though their course of college studies has all along been four instead of three years. There is only one intermediate examination at the end of two years from Matriculation, and two years after a candidate passes the Intermediate, he is qualified to appear for the B. A. degree examination. Those who are in favour of the present arrangement have, therefore, to explain what is there so peculiar in the atmosphere of Bombay which necessitates this double system of examination first introduced in 1879 in this Presidency. The authorities there have not seen any reason to think that their students bring the atmosphere of the schools with them to the colleges, or that if two years' interval is allowed, they will not use their early period of study in the proper way, but pass it in listless idleness, as stated in the report of the committee of 1889. This experience of Indian Universities is a strong argument, which men who bring a fresh mind to the consideration of the subject will find it difficult to get over. Turning next to the English and Scotch Universities we find that in the Oxford University the responsions or first year's examination is not a University Examination at all. It is the Teachers' Examination, separate for each college. Then comes the Moderator's examination, and lastly the public examination, all within three years. In the London University they have only one Intermediate Examination between the Matriculation and the B. A. In the Cambridge University they have a Previous Examination in parts one or two, followed by a general examination, also divided into parts, and a special examination in one out of ten or twelve voluntary subjects. In Edinburgh and in the Scotch Universities generally, there is only one preliminary examination, and then there is

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no examination except for the M. A. degree. It may also be noted that in most of these Universities, except in the London University, there is either no Matriculation examination or only a nominal one. It is only in London and Dublin that they have a separate Matriculation examination. In all these Universities the Arts' course is three years for the B. A. degree. Whether, therefore, we have a three or four years' course, there is no precedent either in India or in England for two intermediate examinations. If in these Universities, with the experience of centuries to guide them, students are not found to be listless or idle in their first year of college attendance, one fails to see what particular element of mischief works so powerfully in this Presidency that it requires the University here to take special steps to secure the students from doing harm to themselves. Students here may be assumed to be as good or indifferent as their fellows in the other Universities. They have generally to pay heavy fees and other charges, and they cannot afford to spend their most promising years in unwearied idleness. There are idle and listless students in every place of learning, but I do not think that we have any monopoly of these irregular habits in the case of the large majority of our students. The change when it was first made was not introduced from any such considerations. It was intended to give special facilities to the study of science, and the P. E. pass qualification was deemed to be necessary as evidence of general culture for those who wished to take up science degrees. It is, therefore, evident that when the Committee in their report observed that "past experience shows that not an inconsiderable portion of the first year is wasted, and that at that period of their college life the ordinary run of students have not acquired those habits which would enable them to use their two years to good purpose," they lent the weight of their authority to an argument which neither past, nor present, experience confirmed, and that this suggestion was entirely an after-thought to which past and present experience both in India and in England gave but little count-

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nance. We have very few gentlemen commoners among our students here. With most of our students success in life depends upon the way in which they pursue their studies in Colleges, and the presumption is just the other way. If then examinations are admittedly a necessary evil, and they must be reduced as far as possible, it follows that the existing arrangement, so entirely without precedent, here as elsewhere, requires to be reconsidered. It might be said that these are only general considerations, and that for justifying the change proposed we must produce stronger evidence of actual and great evil resulting from the present practice. I shall, therefore, briefly consider this aspect of the question in this place. One illustration of this evil which lies on the surface may be adduced by an appeal to the figures of those who fail at the P. E. In 1891 the failures were 76, and in 1892 they were 68, and in 1893 they were 61 per cent. In other words the average of these years shows a percentage of two-thirds failures against one-third pass. Out of those who failed a second time, as many as 40 per cent. failed in subjects in which they had passed before, so that this additional examination results in preventing as many as two-thirds of the students from proceeding to their higher studies. The percentage of passes and failures in the London University which is our chief model for a number of years and that in our University for the past three years, are given below:—

Percentage of failures.

Examination.	London University.	Bombay University.
	1838—1888.	1891—94.
Matriculation...	43	72
Previous	...	67
Intermediate ...	28	35
B. A.....	42	57
L. M.....	24	59
LL. B.....	35	63

These figures will show how generally our examinations are much more stiff than those of the stiffest English Univer-

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sity. Out of every hundred students who appear at the Matriculation Examination here, about 28 pass. Out of these 28, about 67 per cent. are again plucked at the P. E. Thus leaving nine students to pass the P. E. Out of these nine about 35 per cent. fail at the Intermediate, leaving about 6 to pass that examination. Out of these 6, about 43 per cent. fail, leaving less than three students who pass the B. A. In the London University out of every 100 students who appear for Matriculation 43 per cent. fail, leaving 57 to pass. Out of these 57 about 28 per cent. fail, leaving 41 who pass the Intermediate. Out of these 41, about 42 per cent. fail, leaving 25 who pass the B. A. In other words our examinations are eight times more stiff than those of the London University. and this stiffness is very much increased by the additional Previous Examinations. In the other Universities the pass proportion is, if possible, larger than in London. In the above calculation I have not taken into account students who pass on second or third trial, but if the additions were made on both sides the relative disparity will still remain as marked as stated above. They talk of separating the chaff from the grain. It must be a very curious process of separation which results in leaving three grains at the bottom of the sieve. And then what becomes of these three grains? The Vice-Chancellor has told us from his place in the Convocation that from 20 to 40 per cent. of them die prematurely, the death being larger among those who pass in the higher examinations and in the Maratha Hindoo community than in others. We are thus in a curious fix. We separate the chaff till only three grains remain, and of these three grains nearly 20 to 40 per cent. die before they have in any way utilised their powers of superior cultivation. If these results satisfy the members of the Senate, well all I can say is that we are more Chinese than the Chinese themselves in our love of competitive examinations. It suggests to my mind at least a very uneasy feeling, from the contemplation of the results of a system which all our talents and abilities have been elaborating

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for so many years. It seems as if people have made competitive examination a fetish before which they fall down and worship.

I do not wonder that my native friends make this mistake, because they know no better models, but it is a very sad spectacle to see Englishmen and Scotchmen all joining together and sanctioning this holocaust in the name of encouraging higher education in this country. It is not absolutely necessary that this thing should last for ever. We might well take a leaf from the Oxford rules, and leave these intermediate examinations to the College authorities. These College examinations will be conducted by men in sympathy with the students, by men who know their students all the year round as human beings, and not as mere machines. If you must have the University to examine the work of the Colleges at an intermediate stage, one examination is quite as good as two, and we might be satisfied with it. Even in England this abuse of competitive examinations has provoked a protest which was published in the *Nineteenth Century* some years ago, signed by some 500 men of education from all ranks and professions. These examinations were denounced as mischievous, because they subordinated teaching to passing tests, they set young men to race with one another in cramming and rote, they destroyed variety and established one level of uniform teaching all over the country, they promoted superficiality and a desire for show, checked original thought, and finally they created disinclination to study in after-life. These are the necessary evils of the abuse of competitive examinations, and every unnecessary examination test that we allow to remain at work aggravates these mischiefs. It may be said that the students will have no guidance in studies. In reply I would say that the teachers are their best guides when they do not descend to be crammers, as our present system too often tempts them to be. A minor objection about what we should do with our B. Sc. degree and the Engineering degree if we do away with the P. E. may be similarly disposed of. I would leave it to the College to provide their own test examinations. The work would be done better,

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and with more efficiency. In the discussion of 1889, Sir. R West was quoted with approval by Mr. Latham as suggesting that students should be allowed to appear at the P. E. without attending any school or college. If that course is not feasible we might have a few High Schools which will prepare matriculated students for the P. E. These are, however, details on which I do not wish to dogmatise, but will leave them to be worked out by the Syndicate and the Faculties, to whom this proposition allots the work of the re-arrangement of studies. As on the last occasion, so now, I and my friends only desire that the Senate should affirm the principle of adopting a rule of one intermediate examination in the Arts' course, which works so satisfactorily in all the Indian and English Universities, and departure from which has worked great mischiefs without producing any corresponding gain to the bodily and mental health and wealth of the students in this Presidency. Examinations are means to an end, and not the end itself. The end is to have young men enjoying health and long life with a capacity and desire to work out the problems of life with the advantage of general culture, both of head and heart. This end is not promoted by our present system. It will be to some extent promoted if we leave the teacher and the student to themselves, for at least two years of the College course. The change of 1889 was made expressly with this view, but owing to the increase of studies and bad selection of text-books and the bother of two examinations that change has not produced its desired effect. The teachers in our Colleges complain of their inability to teach, within the time allowed, the books prescribed, and thus the work is hastily gone through with benefit to nobody. The amendment suggested will, to some extent, correct the evil and it is on that account that I have ventured to solicit your calm deliberation on this proposal.

PART IV.

HISTORICAL.

Currencies And Mints Under Mahratta Rule.

*(Read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
on the 16th February, 1899.)*

The Hindu Financier whose opinions were so prominently referred to in one of the articles on Indian affairs published in a recent issue of the *London Times* reflected the views of his countrymen faithfully enough when he observed that "No Government has the right to close its Mints, or to say that the Currency of the country was either deficient or redundant. That was a question solely for the Bankers, Traders and Merchants to consider. If they do not require money they will not purchase Bullion to be coined. The duty of Government is merely to Assay all Bullion brought to the Mints for Coinage and to return the value of the Bullion in Money." The Currency troubles of the past few years have drawn, in a way not known before, public attention to this function of Government in the regulation of Mints and the Coinage of the country; and the question naturally suggests itself how, under Native Rule, State Mints were established and controlled in this part of the country. The study of comparative History can never be turned to better account than when we seek present guidance from the lessons it teaches as to the way in which those who went before us practically dealt with the questions which confront us at the present time. Admittedly there are no materials at present readily available by the help of which such comparisons might be made, and the present paper is intended to bring together the information that can be collected from widely scattered sources as regards the History of the Mints under Mahratta Rule during the past two centuries.

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The materials are not very ample; but scanty as they are, an attempt to bring them together cannot fail to be instructive.

It may be remarked at the outset that though the Sacred Institutes regard the power to coin Money as a very valuable prerogative of Royalty, the most powerful Hindu Rulers to the South of the Narmada have always shown a marked tendency not to set much store upon this emblem of their Power. The Policy of one Mint and one coin current all over the Realm, with which we have become so familiar in the present century did not find much practical recognition in this or any other part of India. Mr. Macleod in his work on "Indian Currency" mentions that when British Rule commenced, there were no less than nine hundred and ninety-four (994) different Coins of Gold and Silver current in India. In an official Table published for the guidance of the Civil Courts in the Bombay Presidency the names of no less than thirty-eight (38) Gold coins and over one hundred and twenty-seven (127) Silver coins are mentioned as still so far current in different parts of this Presidency as to make it worth while to give the relative intrinsic values of these Local Currencies in exchange for the Queen's coin. Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, the writer of one of the best Bakhars of Shivaji and his Times, mentions no less than (26) twenty-six different sorts of Hons or Gold coins of different values and weights current in Southern India in the seventeenth century. Some of these apparently bore the names of the Sovereigns of Vijayanagar, such as Shivaraya, Krishnaraya, Ramaraya, etc. But many more were called after the Places or Towns in which they were coined or issued. As the Vijayanagar Kingdom had ceased to exist after 1564, these Local Currencies must have been allowed to continue by their Mahomedan successors. The Local Currencies called after the names of the places as described by the Chronicler Sabhasad, were known as the Gooty Hon, the Adoni Hon, the Dharwad Hon, the Vellore Hon, the Tanjore Hon, and the Ramanathapuri Hon. The Mahomedan Rulers in the Deccan

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issued their own Gold and Silver coins such as the Shahi Rupees and the Pada Shahi Hons which latter are mentioned by Sabhasad. After the Mogul conquest of the Deccan, the Delhi Emperors continued the old system. Though as in Northern India, they issued their own Gold Mohurs, Akbari or Almagiri Mohurs, and Silver Rupees, the old Local Currencies were not interfered with. The Government left these coins to find their own level in the Markets.

- One result of this lax system was that various coins circulated at the same time exchanging for one another in proportion to their intrinsic value. One general feature, however, is noticeable distinguishing the coinage of Northern from Southern India. Macleod has remarked that in North India Silver Rupee coin circulated most widely and the Gold Mohur was only a supplementary coin. In Southern India the condition of things was reversed, especially to the South of the Krishna river. It was the Gold coin which enjoyed the largest circulation and the Silver Rupees were only subsidiary to it. This fact is best evidenced by the Sanad grants of cash allowances issued by Shiwaji. The allowances granted were of so many Hons and not of Rupees as was the case in the later grants of the Peshwas. In the Karnatic the Government assessment was fixed, even under the Peshwa Rule, in so many Hons; and Hons were received in payment at the Treasuries. When Tippu's territory was partitioned among the three Powers in 1799, the revenues of the territories partitioned, were estimated in so many Lakhs of Hons. In the Maharashtra Country proper, the Rupee Coins of the Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi Kingdoms circulated widely in the seventeenth century when Shiwaji laid the the foundations of the Mahratta Power.

As is known to all the students of Mahratta History, it was in 1664, after the death of his father, that Shiwaji first assumed the title of Raja and at the same time coined money in his own mint. This mint was established at Raigad in 1664, and Copper and Silver coins were issued from it.

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As regards the Copper coins, the inscription on one side was *Shree Raja Shiva* (श्रीराजशिव), and on the reverse *Chhatrapati* (छत्रपति) and the Pice was called Shivarayi Pice. One thing is most noteworthy about the Copper coin. It was current throughout the Mahratta Territory, and continued to be known for a century and a half as the Shivarayi coin, though the coins struck by Shahu and Ramaraja at Satara and by Sambhaji and his successors in Kolhapur bore the inscriptions of the names of these Rulers. The Shivarayi Pice was Ten Masas (i. e. 10/12 of a Tola) in weight, and double Pice or Dhabu Pice was also coined by weighing twenty-two Masas. There was no fraction below a Pice. The subsidiary coins below the Pice were Cowries in extensive use still for small transactions. The Rev. Mr. Abbot of this place had made a curious collection of these Chhatrapati coins and he noticed a difference of letters in the inscriptions. The name Shiwa on the coins is variously spelt Shiva, Sheeva, Siva, Seeva, (शिव, शीव, सिव, सीव). In the inscriptions Shree Raja Shiva Chhatrapati (श्री राजाशिवछत्रपति), also Pati is spelt Pati and Patee (पति and पती). He consulted me about these variations and from the inquiries made it was satisfactorily shown that they indicated no difference in the locations of the Mints between the Konkan and the Deccan, and the variations were simply due to the want of education of the Goldsmiths (Sonars) who were employed in stamping the inscriptions. Copper pieces with Persian inscriptions are still found, but for the most part, the Shivarayi pice with no Persian inscriptions appears to have prevailed all over the country.

As regards the Silver rupee coined at Raigad, it is impossible to say what inscriptions it bore, as no specimens of Shiwaji's rupee coin are now available. The likelihood is that it bore Persian inscriptions because all the later coins issued under the authority of the Peshwas and the Great Mahratta chiefs bore such inscriptions. It seems to have been thought that Persian inscriptions bearing the names of the

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Delhi Emperors and the year of their reign in which the coins were issued, were essential to the currency of these rupee coins. This consideration influenced even the East India Company whose rupees issued before 1835 always bore Persian inscriptions. Even when Mahratta words were used, they were written at first in Persian characters. It was only in very late times that some Mahratta letters and figures appear on these coins. On the whole the Delhi Emperor's claims to having his name on the coins issued by the Mahratta Chiefs appear never to have been disputed. Shiwaji's seal, it is well known, bore a Sanskrit Sloka inscription, the latter half of which recited that it was the seal of Shiwaji, the son of Shahaji (**शहासुनोरियं मुद्रा शिवराजस्य राजते**). A slight change was made in the inscription after the coronation (**शहासुतस्य मुद्रेयं शिवराजस्य राजते**). The civil arrangements made by Shiwaji during his life-time were not maintained in proper order by his son Sambhaji, and they were entirely dislocated when Aurangzeb invaded the Deccan, and the Mahratta Armies had to abandon the Deccan and retreat to Jinjee in Southern India. On Shahu's return to power he set up a Mint at Satara from which Gold, Silver and Copper coins were issued. A Subsidiary Mint was opened at Rahimutpore for the coining of copper pieces. On Shahu's return to Satara, Tarabai's party retired to Kolhapur and after some struggle an independent principality was founded at that place. The Kolhapur Rajas at first lived at Panhalla, and Tarabai's son Sambhaji established a Mint at that place from which the Kolhapur or Panhalla Rupees also known as the Sambhu Rupees were coined. The Subordinate Jahagirdars of Bawada, Malkapore and Kagal also coined Rupees known after the names of those places. This Mint was subsequently removed to Kolhapur when the Rajas made it their Capital, and this Kolhapur Mint continued in working order till about 1850. The Panhalla and the other Rupees continued in circulation till 1860 when all the Local Currencies were withdrawn from circulation and sent to the Bank of Bombay

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to be coined into Queen's Rupees. Both the Mints at Satara and Panhalla issued small Silver pieces of eight, four and two annas as occasion made it necessary. These Mints were not, in one sense, open to the public for coinage purposes. Anybody who brought Bullion to the Mints was not allowed to get coins in exchange. In practice, however, the Mints were set in motion by the large Sawakars who were creditors of the State. In return, for the sum borrowed from them, these creditors were allowed to get from the Mints new-coined Rupees with the usual deduction, and these Rupees were put into circulation by the State. The names of four such Sawakars are still remembered as having carried on a very lucrative business in this connection. The Thigales and Gulwanis of Kolhapur and the Angals and Rastes of Satara are still remembered by the Bankers of these places. And the Rupees coined at their instance often bore the names of the Sawakars. The Thigale Rupees or the Gulwani Rupees were well-known coins in Kolhapur. As regards the Rastes, Malhar Bhikaji Raste, the Brother-in-law of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, gave the name to Malhar Shahi Rupees struck at Bagalkot and later on the Rastes had a Mint at Wai.

After the death of Shahu, the Satara Mint was closed or rather transferred to Poona by the Peshwas. The first two Peshwas claimed only to be the ministers of the Satara Rajas. In the time of the third Peshwa the seat of authority was transferred from Satara to Poona, and Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao gave a new development to the operations of the State Mints. He granted licenses to private persons to coin money under strict conditions in consideration of a small fee paid to the State. The first notice of such licensed Private Mints in the Peshwa's Daftar occurs in 1744 in which year one Balaji Bapuji of Nagotna was allowed a license for three years to coin copper pieces weighing 10 Masas. *i. e.*, $10/12$ of a Tola each, and the fee for the license was settled at fifty for the first, seventy-five for the second, and one hundred Rupees for the

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third year. A similar concession was granted to one Bahirawa Ram Datar of Rewadanda. Apparently the holders of both the licenses coined only Shivarayi pieces. Four years after, two Kasars of Mahuli in the Nasik District obtained a similar concession both for double and single pice pieces. The license was for three (3) years and the annual fee paid to Government was 125 Rupees. In the year 1760 it was brought to the notice of the Peshwas that the District Hereditary officers of Dharwar coined in their private Mints debased Mohurs, Hons or Rupees. Orders were issued for the stoppage of these private Mints and a Central Mint was ordered to be opened at Dharwar under the superintendence of one Pandurang Murar. He had the sole right to coin and issue Mohurs, Hons and Rupees paying to Government six pieces of each for every one thousand coined by him. The Hon was to be of three and half Masas in weight. The Mohur weighed equal to the Delhi Mohur in weight and the Rupee equal to the Arcot Rupee, *i. e.*, the English Rupee coined in Madras. Minute regulations were prescribed as to the payments of the charges to be incurred by him and the profits he was to receive. The Central Mint thus started in Dharwar in 1765 under the superintendence of Pandurang Murar led to the closure of twenty-one Mints which had been coining debased Hons and Rupees before the date of that order. These Mints were in the charge of the local Desais, and the names of the places given in the order shew how extensive was the tract of country served by these Mints. The Mints ordered to be closed were those of *Monoli, Lakshmishwar, Toragal, Athani, Shahapur, Gokak, Kitur, Yadwad, Murgud, Nawalgund, Bunkapur, Nargund, Ramdurg, Jamkhindi, Bagalkot and Chikodi*. It appears from the Peshwa's Daftur that in 1764 and 1765 the Delhi Mohur as also the Mohur struck at Surat was in value equal to $15\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees and the Aurangzeb Mohur $14\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees in value. The privilege granted to this Pandurang Murar included the whole territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and the Mint was located at Dharwar. Further regulations were made

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in connection with this Mint in 1765 and 1766. Pandurang Murar had power to call in the debased coin and issue new one of the standard weight of $3\frac{1}{2}$ masas for Hons, and one tola full weight for Rupees and Mohurs. The Hon was to be 10 Kas in touch and the Mohur to be 12 Kas in touch and equal to the Delhi Mohur in weight. For every 1000 pieces six were to be paid to the Government and one to be retained by Pandurang for his troubles. This was apparently the first serious attempt on the part of the Peshwa to check the evil of ill-regulated private Mints. To strengthen Pandurang's hands the revenue officers were ordered not to receive as Government dues any coins which did not bear the stamp of the New Mint. In 1765-66 a private license was granted to one Laxman Appaji to open a Mint at Nasik. The details of the license show that he was allowed one karkun on 20 and two peons on 6 rupees each and 10 workmen of whom one was a blacksmith, 5 goldsmiths, 2 hammerers and a carver. The rupee was to be $11\frac{1}{4}$ masas in weight being half a masa less than the weight of silver that could be purchased for a rupee. This deduction gave the licensee a profit of 45 rupees for every 1,000 coins struck and this covered the licensee's charges for manufacture and waste. In 1767-68, a license was given to two Sonars to open a Mint at Chinchwad near Poona. The rupee to be coined was directed not to be like the Surti rupee but to be like the Jayanagari or Fallchari rupees of full weight and pure silver. The stamp to be used should have the figures for the years altered annually, the Mohurs to be issued should be also like the old Aurangabadi Mohurs of full weight and fine gold of the Jayanagari stamp and the inscription for the year was to be altered annually. A similar concession was made to a Sonar at Talegaum Dabhade in 1766-67 and certain old licenses issued to Sonars at Pedgaum, Rashin, Talegaum Dhamdhere and Talegaum Induri were withdrawn. In 1768, two Sonars at Dharwar were allowed to open a Mint there with instructions that the Hon was to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ masas in weight, out of which $2\frac{3}{4}$ masas and $\frac{1}{2}$ gunja were to be pure gold of the

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Delhi stamp, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ gunjas were to be silver. The Mohur coins were to be of the Delhi standard gold, the weight being $\frac{3}{4}$ of a tola and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a masa and 1 gunja, the rest silver. And the rupee was to be of pure silver of the Delhi standard $11\frac{1}{4}$ masas in weight. In 1773, a karkun of Tukojirao Holkar obtained a license to open a Mint at Chandore under certain conditions. He was to bear his own charges out of the profits of the mints. He was to test the silver received from the traders, and then to cut it into pieces each weighing 11 masas and 1 gunja. He had to give security for the due observance of these conditions, and Tukojirao Holkar was directed to enforce the orders about the purity of silver. In 1782-83, one Dullabhashet Sonar and Govindshet were allowed to coin copper pieces in the Konkan. They had to pay a nazar of 1,200 rupees for the privilege which was conferred upon them for two years. The copper to be used was ordered to be brought from Bombay and not from Alibaug. The Shivarai pice was to be $9\frac{1}{4}$ masas in weight, and the double pice $18\frac{1}{2}$ masas in weight, and there was besides what is called Alamgiri pice which was to be $13\frac{3}{4}$ masas in weight. In 1800, the last Peshwa prohibited the use of Malkapuri rupees in Wai, Satara and Karad, on the ground that those rupees were debased.

These are all the notices which appear in the Peshwa's rojanisi daftar about the regulations of the private Mints. They show clearly how these operations were carried on in those days. Of course, besides these private Mints the Central Governments had their own State Mints under official supervision. The private Mints were intended for the convenience of the remoter districts, communications in those days not being so easy as they are now, there was ample justification for the course adopted. In the Peshwa's own Mints Malharshahi rupees appear to have been the standard. They were called Malharshahi after Malharrao Bhikaji Raste as said above. This Raste family was at first a great banking firm and Malhar-

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rao was the brother of Gopikabai, the wife of Balaji Bajirao. When the Karnatic was conquered from the Nabab of Savanur, the Rastes were appointed Subhedars and Malharrao opened a Mint at Bagalkot about 1753. There had been a Mint at Bagalkot established in the times of the Bijapur Kings, and the new Mint continued the operations. The Malharshahi rupee was under the two Madhaoraos, the standard coin and the other coins were received at a discount in relation to it. In the reign of the last Peshwa Bajirao the Chandwadi rupee took up the place of the Malharshahi, and was coined both at Poona and Satara. The Poona Mint was closed first in 1822 but had to be re-opened, and was finally closed in 1835, in which year the Bagalkot and the Shree Shikka rupees of Colaba and other Mints were also withdrawn from circulation. The Chandwadi rupee continued to be coined at Satara under the restored dynasty of the Satara Rajas, and the discount on it varied from two to three rupees in relation to the Company's rupees.

Besides the State Mint at Poona and the licensed Mints which have been noticed above, and which were at work in various parts of the Peshwa's dominions, the circumstances of the time and the difficulty of communication made it necessary that the rulers of each of the great Mahratta States in Guzerat, Central India, and the Central Provinces and the S. M. country should have their own Mints. The Gaikwad rulers in Guzerat had their own Mint in Baroda, and Sayashahi and Babashahi rupees are still current in those parts of the country, the Sayashahi being issued by the first Sayajirao Gaikwad and the Babashahi by Fattensing Gaikwad. The Sayashahi bore the inscription of a sword with *Sena Khaskhel Samsher Bahadur* (सेनाखलखेल समशेर बहादूर) written in Persian character. The Maharaja Scindia who ruled in Malwa had his Mint at Ujjain. The Maharaja Holkar had a separate Mint at Indore. The Bhosle Rajas of Nagpore coined their own money in their Mint at Nagpore. The Angrias of Kolaba struck their own

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Shree Shikka rupee so called because the inscriptions on the coin contained in Devanagari character, the letter Shree in the middle. The Patwardhan Chiefs of Sangli and Miraj had their own rupees which were distinguished by the Devanagari letters “गण” (gana) being the first letters of the name of their titular God Ganpati, stamped in their inscriptions separate. These Patwardhani rupees were called Hukkeri or Hallikeri rupees. After Sangli separated from Miraj, Miraj coined its own Miraji rupees and Sangli had its separate coinage which resembled the Hukkeri rupees. The Hukkeri rupees had about thirteen annas worth of silver in it, and the Shambhu coin of Kolhapur had the same weight of silver in it, while the Panhalli rupees had 9 to 11 annas worth of silver. The Malharshahi rupees contained the greatest weight of silver, the weight being 15 annas. The Chandwadi rupees which were most current in the central part of the Peshwa's dominions about the downfall of the rule of the last Peshwa were coined in Poona, and had in them about 14 annas of silver. The Ankushi rupee so-called on account of the Ankush or the Elephant-goad which it bore on the inscription was issued by the Rastes from their Mints at Wai. Haripant Phadake, the Peshwa's Commander-in-chief, was allowed to issue a coin called Jaripataka rupee which was unlike other coins, a square piece and not round, and it bore the emblem of the Jaripataka banner of the Marathas. In the Khandesh and Nasik districts under the later Peshwas' rule this Jaripataka coin circulated as also the Chandwadi, Bellapuri, Chambhargondi and the Berhanpuri rupees. In Alibaug the Shree Shikka rupees of Kolaba were current, and in Ratnagiri the Chandwadi and the Hukkery rupees circulated.

The respective weights of some of the coins mentioned above together with the weight of pure silver in them and their intrinsic exchange value will be seen from the following statement prepared from the official notification :—

Alibaug	...	...	...	170	144	87½
Ankushi	...	...	...	172	160	97½

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Baroda rupee	...	...	177½	150½	91
Baroda new	...	...	177	150¾	91½
Bombay rupee	...	...	180	165	100
Hukkeri rupee	...	...	172½	152	86
Halkeri new or Mirji	...	...	173¼	159	96
Old Panhalli	...	...	170½	108	65½
Shahapur	...	...	174	152	92
Old Surti (or Delhi					
Standard)	...	...	176½	173½	105
Wai Shikka	...	...	171½	157½	95½
Barahanpuri	...	...	178·8	170·2	103·2
Sayashahi old	...	...	177½	149½	90½
Janjira Colaba	...	...	171·3	134·0	81·2

These scattered remarks about currencies and mints under Mahratta rule can suggest few lessons for our guidance in the present day, as the circumstances of the times have changed so radically throughout British India. It is quite clear that a variety of currencies might have been necessary in those days when communication was difficult and authority discentralised. There are, however, decided indications that this variety was due to the lax system of Government which then prevailed. A more important lesson this history teaches us is, that the statement now so generally made that India was too poor a country for the circulation of gold coins is unsupported by the facts of the case, as they can be ascertained from the history of the Mints under Mahratta rule. Gold coins were issued and freely circulated, though no attempt was made to regulate their value in relation to silver coins. The relative value of Gold and Silver was steady in the last century, and apparently stood at 15½ to 1, which proportion remarkably coincides with the ratio which our modern advocates of Gold currency would prefer to adopt. This coincidence is remarkable and it suggests that after all the new proposals are not so revolutionary as some people imagine them to be. Even the advocates of Silver currency might borrow a leaf from the

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administration of Mogul and Mahratta rulers, and there is apparently no reason why, if the gold coins were in demand a 100 years ago, there should not be a similar natural demand for these coins in our present condition of greatly extended commercial and banking activity. We must leave this subject to be further developed by those who have made Indian Economics their special study. If their labours are in some way helped by the information here supplied, it will be all that I can claim by way of present interest for the otherwise dry subject to which I have ventured to draw the attention of the members of this Society.

Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries.

*(Read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
in June, 1900.)*

During the past two or three years, most of my leisure time has been devoted to the perusal of the Selections from the Peshwa's Diaries, commencing with the accession of Raja Shahu, and ending with the close of the reign of Bajirao II. These Selections have been prepared by Rao Bahadur Wad from the original Marathi record, and they make up in all about 20,000 folio pages, including the English summary prepared in the Daftar office. The Selections cover a period of over a hundred years (1708 to 1816-17) and they furnish most valuable materials for constructing a true history of the people of Maharashtra during the most eventful period of their annals. Our ordinary Bakhars, and works written by English historians like Grant Duff, content themselves chiefly with the narration of political events, and throw little or no light upon the condition of the people, how they lived and thrived, the pleasures which amused them, their superstitions and their beliefs, their morals, their manners and their customs. These histories do not also give a clear account of the way in which the work of Government was carried on under native rule, how the land revenue was

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assessed and collected, how the forts were guarded, how the Sayer Revenues (consisting of Mohturfa, Abkari, Salt, Customs, and tributes &c.) were administered, how the armies were raised and paid for, how the navy was manned, how the State borrowed its public debt, how civil and criminal justice was dispensed, how the departments of police, post, mint, prisons, charities, pensions, public works, medical relief, and sanitation were regulated and controlled, how trade and commerce was encouraged and learning fostered. To many, it will be a matter of no little surprise to find that only a hundred years ago all these varied activities engrossed the attention of the native rulers, and they grappled with all the problems of Government, to a large extent successfully. They even went, as some might say, out of their way, in undertaking reforms of social economy with a courage which is thought in these days by some to be outside the functions of the State. In all these respects, these State Diaries, kept by responsible officers in the Peshwa's daftar, are simply invaluable, and, though they have their own defects, in the absence of better materials, they shed a flood of light upon the real movements and the hopes and fears, the strength and weakness of the people for over a century, and for purposes of instruction and guidance, they far outweigh in value the narratives of wars and conquests, dynastic changes, and revolutions, which take up so much space in our ordinary histories.

It is proposed in this paper to introduce this vast record to the attentive student of Maratha history, and with a view to give point to the lessons which it suggests, an attempt will be made to set forth the contrast between the causes, which helped the Maratha Confederacy in the first half of the last century to spread its rule and influence over the whole of India and prevail over every country power, Musalman or Hindu, Sikh or Jat, Rohilla or Rajpoot, Kathis or Gujars, the Portuguese, the Nizam and Hyder in the Telangana and Dravid countries, and the circumstances which led, in the latter half to the gradual dismem-

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berment of that power. The dividing line which separates the two periods coincides with the transfer of sovereign power from the descendants of Shivaji and Shahu to the hands of the Brahmin Peshwas, when, on the death of Shahu, the Maratha capital was removed from Satara to Poona. The deed executed by Raja Shahu empowered the Peshwa to manage the whole government of the Empire on the condition of perpetuating the Raja's name, and keeping up the dignity of the house; and this deed was ratified, later on, by Shahu's successor Ram Raja, when he agreed to renounce all power on condition of a small tract near Satara being assigned to his own management. The battle of Panipat, which closed the flood-tide of Mahratta conquest, may be regarded as a serviceable historical boundary-mark for this period. The next 60 years bring out, one by one, the weak points in the character of the rulers and of the nation generally, and show how the fall was hastened long before the English conquest of the country in 1817. This contrast will illustrate how the later Peshwas' policy departed from the principles laid down by Shivaji and pursued with more or less fidelity by Rajaram and Shahu, and how their neglect of the true policy and their return to the old Brahminic ideals of exclusiveness and division sowed the seeds of decay, which ultimately hastened the downfall of the Confederacy.

The changes in the constitution of the Government under Mahratta rule necessarily demand our first attention. In my paper on 'Shivaji as a Civil ruler' read before the Asiatic Society, I have described at some length the principal features of the constitution of the Raj-Mandala, or the Council of the State, consisting of the eight chief ministers, including both civil and military functionaries. In the final arrangements adopted by Shivaji, there were two Sarnobats, or military members, one the Commander-in-chief of the Cavalry and the other of the Infantry. The Peshwa was the Prime Minister and executive head of the Council. The Pant Amatya had the charge of

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the revenue and account departments; the Pant Sachiva or Soornis had the charge of all correspondence and record, and the Dabir or Sumant was minister in charge of foreign affairs. Another minister, the Mantri, was in charge of the house-hold, and there were two purely civil functionaries, the Nyayadhisha, and Nyayashastri or Panditrao, who represented the judicial and ecclesiastical departments. None of these offices were hereditary, and there were frequent transfers from one office to another. The Peshwa's office, for instance, had been held by four different families before it became hereditary in Balaji Vishvanath's line, after nearly a hundred years from its first creation. The offices of the Pratinidhi and the Sachiva and the Mantri, became hereditary after passing through three different families. The office of Commander-in-Chief became hereditary in the Dabhade family after it had been held by seven or eight chiefs, including Palkar, Gujar, Mohite, Ghorpade, Jadhav and other leaders. The same remark holds good of the other minor ministers. In the official order of precedence, the Peshwa was a smaller functionary than the Pant Pratinidhi, whose office was created by Rajaram at Jinji, and Pralhad Niraji was made the vicegerent of the Raja. The fixed salary of the Pratinidhi was 15,000 Hons, while for the Peshwa the salary was fixed at 13,000 Hons. The Mantri, Sachiva, and Senapati had 10,000 each, and the Nyayadhisha had 1000 Hons only. The old Pant Amatya went over to Kolhapur, and the Satara Amatya or Rajadnya occupied a comparatively subordinate place. All these officers had Saranjams besides, and special establishments. On the permanent establishments of these great departments, there were eight sets of officers, named Diwan, Mujumdar, Fadnis, Subnis, Kar-khannis, Chitnis, Jamdar, and Potnis. By extending the principle of this subordination, certain officers, called Darakdar, Diwan, Fadnis, Mujumdar, &c. were attached to every District and every large military command. These subordinate officers were chosen by the central authority, and the commanders were required to have the work done by the hands

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of these men, whom they could not remove, and who prepared and submitted the final accounts to the central authority. The division of work was so arranged that the officers served as checks on one another, and this feature of inter-dependence and mutual control was reproduced in the arrangements about the garrisons of forts, the Subha Armar or the naval establishment, and all the great offices connected with Customs. In the case of the forts, the three principal officers were selected from three different castes, the Havildar or the head being a Mahratta, the Subnis being a Brahmin, and the Karkhannis a Parbhu. It was this constitution which kept up the Mahratta power throughout the troubled times which followed Shivaji's death. Though Raja Sambhaji did not pay much attention to these internal arrangements, Rajaram followed his father's traditions faithfully, and set up his Ashtapradhan Council even at Jinji. Shahu on his accession to the throne, changed the Councillors, but retained the Council. Though each Councillor had his separate department, he was also a Military Commander, except in the case of the Nyayadhisha and the Panditrao, and as in Shivaji's time, so under Shahu, the Pratinidhi and the Sachiva, the Mantri and the Amatya, assisted the State in its wars, as much as the Senapati and the Peshwa themselves. The Council is frequently mentioned as holding Majlasi or meetings for purposes of consultation, adopting measures of State policy, dispensing justice, and maintaining the dignity of the State, both at home and abroad. The great Council meeting, where Bajirao advocated the forward policy of marching up to Delhi, and was opposed by the Pratinidhi, is a matter of history. On Shahu's death, a change for the worse took place. The predominance acquired by the Peshwas, by reason of the great services rendered by them, necessarily tended to diminish the importance of the other members of the Council. When the seat of power was removed from Satara to Poona, these offices became hereditary, but their holders ceased to be of much importance in the councils of the State. The two successors of Shahu were not personally fitted to wield the

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authority exercised in their name by the Peshwas. Though they were honoured as titular heads of the State, their movements were kept under strict control. In fact, after the failure of Damaji Gaikwad's attempt to undo the grants of the sanads transferring the power to the Peshwa, as noted above, the Raja was kept a prisoner in the fort of Satara, and an establishment of about Rs. 30,000 a year was attached to his Court. It was not till the elder Madhaorao Peshwa showed more liberality towards the Raja that he could claim a garden for his pleasure-house, and attendants, musicians, and singers were attached to his Court, and a decent provision was made for his near relatives by Nana Fadnavis. In the nature of things, there was, however, nothing to prevent the continuance of the old arrangement of associating the great Military and Civil Commanders in the Councils of the State, but the Peshwas apparently contented themselves with ignoring the usefulness of the Raj-Mandal, and substituting in its place the subordinate, purely civil officials, Fadnis, Mujumdar, and others, who under the old arrangements, were attached to departments, and helped the ministers or district commanders. Of the Darak-dars, only two, Fadnis and Mujumdar, appear to have been retained by the Brahmin Government at Poona, and the rest, the Dewan, Karkhannis, Potnis and Jamdar, seem to have been dropped, and the Peshwa's Fadnis superseded his superior the Mujumdar, and became virtually what Pant Pratinidhi was under Shahu's rule. This diminution of the power of the Raj-Mandal, while it helped to strengthen the ascendancy of the Peshwas over the whole kingdom, naturally led, in course of time, to the alienation of the great Commanders who had helped in Shahu's reign to extend the power of the Marathas over Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Delhi, Bengal, Orissa and Nagpur. The Peshwa's own model served as an example to the several commanders who established themselves in power at Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Nagpur, and other places. The common bond of union which, in Shahu's time, held all the chiefs together, ceased to be operative, and in its

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place, each great commander, like the Peshwa, strove to be chief master in his territories, and only helped the common cause on occasions of great emergencies. Even the Peshwa's favourite commanders, Scindia, Holkar, and the Powars, followed the traditions of independence, which the Gaikwads, the Dabhades, and the Bhosles of Nagpur, who claimed to hold their possessions under Shahu's Sanads, had begun to cherish, as the equals of the Peshwas, in their own dominions. The later additions of Brahmin Sardars represented by the Patwardhans, the Fadkes and the Rastes in the South, the Vinchurkars and the Raje Bahadars, the Bundeles, the Purandares and the Bhuskutes in the North of the Deccan, naturally followed the same example, and by the time the first period ends with the battle of Panipat, where the whole nation was represented by its leaders, small and great, the bond of union became virtually dissolved ; and though they joined together, on great occasions, such as at Kharda, and in the wars with the English, Hyder, and Tippu, the old solidarity of interest became a thing of the past. The constitution, which had served such great purposes under Shivaji, Rajaram and Shahu, in holding the nation together for a hundred years, gave place to a mere government by single chiefs, assisted by subordinates instead of equals, and naturally failed to evoke that spirit of patriotic co-operation which had achieved such wonderful results. In the forty years of rule enjoyed by Shahu, he was not merely a titular head of the Mahratta Government ; but he directed all operations, ordered and recalled Commanders, and he exercised a great controlling power on the chiefs, though he led no armies in the field. It was due to his efforts that Gujara-
rath was divided between the Peshwa and the Dabhades or Gaikwads in equal halves after the battle of Dabhoi. When Balaji Bajirao wanted to invade Bengal, Raghoji Bhosale protested at Satara, and Shahu was strong enough to enforce moderation even over the towering ambition of Balaji, and forced him to leave the Eastern provinces of India free for the development of the Bhosale's power. Bajirao was only

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a general under Shahu, and the Pratinidhis, Bhosales, Nimbalkars, Dabhades, Gaikwads, Kadam Bandes, Angres, Ghorpades, all respected his orders. When Shahu's great authority was withdrawn, this restraint was removed, and though the Peshwas succeeded in establishing their authority both over Janoji Bhosle and Damaji Gaikwad, their submission was made reluctantly ; and when the Peshwas themselves lost the advantage enjoyed by the first four members of the family, and minorities and internal dissensions commenced at Poona, neither the Gaikwads nor the Bhosales would concern themselves with the common weal, and though Scindia and Holkar, the Patwardhans, and the other chiefs showed more fidelity for a longer period, the balance of power was destroyed, and even Nana Fadnavis's genius could not compel these chiefs to subordinate their private interests to the general good, and they began to strengthen themselves by forming treaties of peace with foreign powers. Nana Fadnavis indeed tried to correct the mistake by setting up the Satara Raja's power after Sawai Madhaorao's death, but he found that this was impracticable, as the dismemberment had proceeded too far. If the Peshwas had continued true to the ancient Raj-Mandal, and while substituting themselves as the deputies of the hereditary Rajas, had maintained the old constitution intact, and had not tried to rule the Empire by a machinery of subordinates, originally intended by Shivaji for particular offices and commands, there was no reason why the great purposes served by the Raj-Mandal under Shivaji, Rajaram, and Shahu, might not have been fulfilled with equal success in the times of their Brahmin ministers. This seems to be the principal point of departure between the old traditions and the new order of things established in their place at Poona, and it was a departure attended with disastrous effects. The change meant the conversion of the organic whole into an inorganic mass, and it reproduced the old Mahomedan methods of single rule, against which Shivaji had successfully struggled when he organized the Raj-Mandal.

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One other general feature, which distinguishes the first period under Shivaji and Shahu from the period which followed the establishment of the Peshwa's power at Poona, relates to the fact that while most of the great Military Commanders in the earlier period were Mahrattas, with the notable exception of the Peshwas themselves, the men who rose to distinction in the latter half of the century were, for the most part, Brahmins. In the wars of Independence, Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade made their mark as leaders, and the Nimbalkars, the Attoles, the Bhosles, the Powars, the Angres, and the Dabhades distinguished themselves in the war, which led to the accession of Shahu to the throne. These were all Mahratta leaders. In Shivaji's own time, the Brahmin leaders, Moropant Pingle, the Hanmantes, Abaji Sonadeo, Datto Annaji, and others played as prominent a part as did the Mahratta Sirdars Gujars, Mohites, Palkars, Kanks, and Malusares ; but in the wars of Independence, the Brahmin element chiefly exerted its influence in the Council, and not on the battle-field. In the time of the second Peshwa, the great leaders were Malharrao Holkar, Pilaji Jadhav, Ranoji Shinde, and his three sons. In Balaji Bajirao's time, this preponderance of the Mahratta element continued and excepting the members of the Peshwa's family, the Brahmins made themselves useful chiefly as civilians. After the removal of the capital from Satara to Poona, a change took place in this policy, and we find that all the great commanders, who acquired fame and territory after 1760, were in the Deccan, almost exclusively, Brahmins. Even the Parbhu element ceased to be of any importance at the Poona Court, though it enjoyed considerable power at Baroda and Nagpur. The Shenvis (Goud Saraswat) rose to eminence in the Scindia's territory ; the Brahmin element in the great camps at Indore, Baroda, Gwalior and Nagpur occupied a very subordinate position. In the Deccan, however, the men who rose to power were all Brahmins, the Vinchurkars, the Raje Baha-

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dars, the Bhuskutes, the Bundeles, the Khers, the Purandares, the Panses, the Biniwales, the Patwardhans, the Mehendales, the Gokhales, the Ekbotes, the Lagus, the Rastes, the Fadkes, the Pethes, and a host of other smaller names might be mentioned in support of this view. And even among the Brahmins, it so happened that later in the century, many of the Deshastha leaders took sides with Raghoba Dada, while the Konkanastha Sirdars followed the lead of the Poona ministers. Sakharam Bapu, the Raje Bahadars, the Vincurkars, and the Hinganes took part in these wars on Raghoba's side ; while the other Brahmin leaders, mentioned above, sided with the party opposed to Raghoba. When, in course of time Bajirao II succeeded to the throne, he had no sympathy with the section which had followed Nana Fadnawis, and the Patwardhans, the Rastes, and Nana Fadnawis himself were the objects of bitterest hostility. This infusion of the racial and caste element among the military leaders of the nation • was the most distinguishing mark of the latter half of the century. There were parties within parties, with little chance of a common and active sympathy throughout all the classes, who had been held together with such successful results by Shivaji, Rajaram and Shahu. The first half of the century was singularly free from these racial and caste jealousies. In the latter half, they had attained such prominence that concert was impossible, and each great leader naturally cared to pursue his own interest to the sacrifice of the common weal. The Brahmins at this time came to regard themselves as a governing caste with special privileges and exemptions, which were unknown under the system founded by Shivaji. The Konkanastha Brahmin Karkoons, who had the monopoly of all the Secretariat or Daftar offices, and received respectable salaries, obtained the privilege of having their goods exempted from Custom duties and ferry charges when they imported grain and other goods from outside ports and places. The Brahmin land-holders in the Kalyan Prant, and also in Maval, had their lands assessed at half or lower rates than were levied

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from other classes. In Criminal Courts, the Brahmins had always enjoyed the exceptional privilege of exemption from the extreme penalty of the law, and even when they were confined in forts, they were more liberally treated than the other classes. Besides these advantages, they had the monopoly of the charities freely bestowed by the State on this class in consideration of their sanctity. The record which relates to the time of Bajirao II bears ample testimony to the extent of the abuses which followed this indulgence. The Dakshana charity, started with a view to encourage learning, became a grant generally to all Brahmins, and Poona became the centre of a large pauper population. As many as 30 to 40 thousand Brahmins were fed for days together at State expense at the great festivals with the costliest viands. All these distinguishing features of purely sacerdotal or caste ascendancy characterised the close of the century, and introduced a demoralisation of which few people have any correct idea. In the hands of the last Bajirao, the state ceased to be the ideal protector of all classes, and upholder of equal justice. Ramdas's high ideal of the religion of Maharashtra was lowered down to one in keeping with the belief that the State had no higher function than to protect the cow and the Brahmin, and the usual consequences followed such a decadence of virtue.

The next point of departure relates to the army, which in fact represented the Mahratta nation more
Army. faithfully than any other single section of the population. Shivaji commenced his work of conquest of the forts round about Poona and in the Konkan with the help of the Mavales and the Hetkaries. The army then consisted only of the Hasham Infantry, who were armed generally with swords and matchlocks. When, later on, he descended into the plains, the Cavalry became the chief agency of offensive warfare in the hands of the Marathas. The old Mavales and Hetkaries were retained, but chiefly in commands of the Hill-forts. The Cavalry, thus brought into existence,

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fought with the Moguls under Aurangzeb, and spread the terror of the Maratha name throughout India. They were not mercenaries in the usual sense of the word. They enlisted in the army either singly, or with their horses and men, for the fair season of the year, and when the rains approached, they returned to their homes, and cultivated their ancestral lands. The highest families gloried in being Shilledars and Bargirs, and their pride consisted in the number of troops or Pataks that followed them, and the recruiting was done without any difficulty. The summons to arms was accompanied with a payment, called Nalbandi, made in advance for the expenses for joining the field with accoutrement and equipment of horse and man alike, and each trooper had his own favourite Commander, whose standard he followed. The strength of the Maratha Cavalry continued to be its most distinguishing feature till about the year 1750, when contact with the French and the British armies discovered the superior advantages, in modern wars, of regularly trained infantry battalions protected by artillery, the third arm in modern warfare. The successes of the English and the French induced the Maratha leaders to have recourse to this new agency, and, for the first time, we find mention made of the Gardis or the trained battalions. The weakness of this new addition to the Military force consisted in the fact that unlike the Mavales or the Shilledars, who each owned his plot of land and served the State, not as mercenaries, but as militia, the Gardis were mercenaries, pure and simple, made up of foreign recruits of different nationalities, who had to be paid fixed salaries all the year round, and only owed loyalty to the commanders who paid them their wages. There was no national element in this new force. The first Maratha Gardis, employed by Sadashiva Rao Bhau, were composed of disbanded battalions of the French native army, led by the famous Ibrahimkhan Gardi. So great was Bhau's confidence in him that he, at Panipat, set at nought the wise counsels of the great Maratha leaders, who opposed the plan of entrenching themselves before the enemy and

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risking a pitched battle with the Afgans. The calamitous result of this over-confidence did not deter the Maratha Commanders from valuing highly the superior advantages of trained battalions disciplined in the European ways of war. Within ten years of the defeat at Panipat, the Gardis, strengthened by this time by recruits from Arabs, Siddis or Abyssinians, Sheikhs, and other foreigners, were enlisted in large numbers at rates of pay often nearly equal to what was paid to the Shilledar Cavalry for horse and man. The mercenary character of these men exhibited itself in the cruel death of Narayanrao Peshwa at their hands, and there was, for a time, a reaction against their employment. The advantages were, however, so obvious that the old scruple soon vanished away, and in the new armies, created by Mahadaji Scindia in Hindustan, trained battalions of foreign mercenaries, officered by Europeans, out-numbered the old Cavalry, which was permitted to occupy only a secondary place. The success, which attended this effort, induced Holkar, Gaikwad, Bhosle, and lastly the Peshwas themselves, to engage foreign mercenaries and to rely chiefly on their support. Arabs, Gosawies, Sheikhs, and Portuguese battalions were thus formed, and Bajirao II himself engaged two battalions, officered by English adventurers, towards the close of the century. Even the Hill-forts, which had been hitherto guarded by Mavales, were placed in charge of these mercenaries. The Infantry and the Cavalry elements in the native armies were thus elbowed out of their importance, and the army, instead of being national, became mercenary in the worst sense of the word. Attached to the regular armies, there was a licensed host of free-booters, called Pendharis, who accompanied them, and made a living by pillage of the enemy, and ultimately of their own people. If the innovation of employing trained battalions had been accompanied by the acquisition of the requisite knowledge of military strategy and the scientific processes necessary to command success in the use and manufacture of superior arms, the helplessness, which, in the absence of such knowledge, generally paralyzed the na-

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tive armies, when their European officers left them, might have been avoided ; but no care seems to have been bestowed in this direction, so that, when the actual crisis came and the European officers left them, they were more helpless than ever on the field. In the meanwhile, the martial instincts of the neglected Infantry and Cavalry forces under went a change for the worse, so that when General Wellesly and Lord Lake broke down the strength of the battalions opposed to them, there was no power left in the country which could resist the conquest that followed as a matter of course. The old Infantry and Cavalry had lost their stamina, and the new mercenaries, without leaders and without any knowledge of military science except the drill, were as ineffective as the Pendharis who accompanied them. It was this change which paralyzed the nation towards the end of the last century.

A few remarks on the Navy may not be out of place here. The sea has always been a more or less strange *Navy*. element to the Marathas, except on the Western Coast.

Though Shivaji had the strength of mind to organise a navy and place it under a Mahomedan Commander, who plundered far to the south on the Malabar coast and fought with the Sidhis, it was not till the Angrias rose to power that the Marathas were able to dominate the sea coast, and hold the Moghul admiral in check. Under the Peshwas, the Subha Armar was a part of the regular establishment, with its headquarters at Vijayadurg and a subordinate establishment at Bassein, which was also called the second Subha Armar. Mention is frequently made of the struggles carried on by the fleet of the Angrias with the English, till at last the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao co-operated with the English and helped them to crush Angria's power on land and sea in 1756. Balaji Bajirao had organized a plan by which the mercantile vessels, which traded from port to port, might be utilized for defensive purposes by enlisting the Tandels and Sarangs in private employ on increased pay when their services were wanted by

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the Government. Nothing came of this proposal. Anandrao Dhulap and his son Janrao continued to be the Peshwa's admirals in charge of the navy at Vijayadurg, but no great use was made of this force, except for the protection of commerce and the occasional over-throw of pirates from the Cutch and Gujarath side. Altogether, in assisting the English to put down Angria's power, the Peshwas diminished the importance of their own navy for defensive and offensive purposes.

To turn next to the Forts. In the best times of the Maratha rule, more than 200 forts were garrisoned in all *Forts.* parts of the country. Shivaji understood the duties of a king to include the preservation of the forts as a matter of special concern, and elaborate regulations were made for the garrisons stationed in the forts. The defenders of the forts had lands assigned to them for their maintenance, and room was found for the employment of all classes, Brahmins, Marathas, Ramosis, Mahars, Mangs &c. These latter performed out-post duties. Besides the garrisons specially attached to the forts, detachments of regular Infantry were stationed in the larger forts for protection. Later on, Portuguese artillery men were employed, and guns were mounted on the battlements of the forts in some places. In the Carnatic, Gardis were employed on similar duties as a check on the Canarese garrisons. The old system was departed from in the employment of these mercenaries, and even the old garrisons were shifted from one place to another for supposed reasons of State. Under the later Peshwas, these forts appear chiefly to have served the double purpose of State granaries and State prisons. State prisoners were sent to the forts for custody, and the condemned criminals of both sexes were sent there for penal servitude. In the latter half of the century, the forts are chiefly mentioned in this connection. Against the more improved means of warfare, represented by the artillery, these Hill-forts ceased to be valuable for purposes of defence, and in many places they were neglected and allowed to go into dis-

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repair. In the wars with the English, the forts offered little or no protection, and submitted without firing a shot. The Army, the Navy and the Forts were thus, by the course of events and the neglect of the State, rendered incapable, for different reasons, of doing any service in the latter half of the last century.

While in these higher spheres of statesmanship and the art of Government, the lines of departure pursued *Public debt.* by the later Peshwas and their ministers indicated visible signs of decay, it must in justice to them be admitted that in the matter of the revenue and judicial management, the Government at Poona showed great powers of application, careful elaboration of detail, and an honest desire to administer well the charge entrusted to them. The financial condition of the State was decidedly more prosperous than the hand-to-mouth system which characterised the first half of the last century. It is well known that all the great Maratha leaders, including Bajirao I, always found it difficult to raise the monies required for their great expeditions into Hindustan, and the information given in the Diaries of the debts, contracted by Balaji Bajirao between 1740 and 1760, shows a total of a crore and a half of public debt. The strain represented by this amount will be better understood when it is mentioned that the Peshwa's Government had to pay from 12 to 18 per cent. interest on these loans. Owing to the great collapse at Panipat, things did not much improve in the elder Madhaorao Peshwa's time. That Prince had a heavy load of debt, amounting to some 24,00,000 Rs., which had to be satisfied by the assurance given at his death-bed by the ministers about him that his bonds would be discharged there and then. Under Nana Fadnavis's careful management, the finances appear to have greatly improved, and the accounts do not show that the debts contracted by him exceeded a few lacks. The last Peshwa had apparently no debts to pay, but was able to collect a large private treasure of his own.

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The system of revenue management under Balaji Bajirao, Madhaorao, and Nana Fadnavis was, on the whole, careful. New sources of revenue were developed, and the old improved. The land settlements made by the Peshwas during this period show that, while anxious not to oppress the rayats, every care was taken to insist on the rights of the Government. Whenever the country needed that relief, leases varying from three to seven years were granted on the terms of 'Istawas' i. e. gradually increasing assessments. The old 'Kamal' figures (maximum amounts ever realized) of village and Pargana revenues were, of course, seldom collected and were never meant to be realized. These amounts were reduced by the Government, so as to suit the conditions of the population and ensure their general prosperity, in fixing the 'Tankha' or realizable revenue, under the Mahomedan rule; and the Peshwas made large reductions in the 'Tankha' figures, whenever owing to war or famine, enquiries showed that such reductions had become necessary. Wherever the Batai or system of crop division obtained, the Government, after deducting for seeds and other necessary charges paid by the rayats, left $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop to the cultivator, and took the rest for the State. In Shivaji's time, the proportions are stated to have been $\frac{2}{5}$ and $\frac{3}{5}$. The Batai system was not much in favor, but grain and proportionate cash rents prevailed throughout the country. In the South Konkan, the normal assessment appears to have been 10 maunds per bigha of rice land paid in kind. This amount was reduced to 9 and even 8 maunds in certain Districts, on complaint being made that it was too exorbitant. When cash payments were required, or were convenient to the rayats, they were fixed at the low amount of 15, 20, or 30 Rs. per Khandy according to season. The Brahmins had to pay lighter rates of 5 maunds or thereabouts in Northern Konkan. In a settlement of the Neral Taluka, the cash rates were from 3 to 5 Rs. per bigha, according to the quality of the soil; and the sugar-cane rate

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was 5 Rs. per bigha. In the Nasik District, where the cash rates prevailed, Rs. 2 per bigha for good black soil, and Re. 1 for middling soil of Jirait land, and 5 to 6 Rs. for Bagait lands were deemed to be reasonable rates. In the Khed Taluka, Poona District, the rate in the time of Bajirao II was 3 Rs. per bigha. In the less favoured parts of the Satara District, the rates are stated to have ranged from $1\frac{3}{4}$ maunds to 6 maunds per bigha according to the quality of the soil. In Gujarath, the rates were much higher.

Large remissions were made, whenever the seasons were found to be unfavourable. Under the old revenue system, cultivated lands alone paid revenue, and in bad years the revenues fell, and remissions had to be constantly made in the State accounts. The revenue management at the commencement of Bajirao II's rule was conducted on the Kamavishi principle *i. e.* the

The Kamavishi system. Kamavisdar or Mamalatdar and his establishment and contingencies were all paid by the State, the general proportion of charges being about 10 per cent. on the collection. The number and pay of the Karkoons and the Shibandi *i. e.* the horsemen and sepoys were carefully fixed in a sort of budget or Beheda statement, and the Kamavisdar had thus little or no motive to practise oppression. The Jama-bahdi made by him had to be approved by superior officers called Subhas and Sir Subhas, and the complaints of the Jamidars, village authorities, and rayats were listened to and redressed by the removal and punishment of these officers when they misconducted themselves. The Kamavisdar,

Ijara or farming system. though appointed for one year, held the office during good behaviour. In the time of the second Bajirao, the Kamavishi system gave place to what was called the Ijara or farming system, the Ijardar undertaking to pay his own establishment and making profit for himself, after paying the

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State-dues and certain secret payments to the Peshwa himself, which were not brought to the State account, but were credited in his Khasgi or private treasure. If we except these Ijara abuses introduced by the last Peshwa, the Kamavishi management was as carefully looked after under Maratha rule, as in the best times of any native or British rule, before or after. Mr. Grant Duff has admitted that the weak points of the system told more against the interests of the State than on individuals, and that the Maratha country was more thriving than any other part of India in proportion to its fertility.

The whole country was divided into about twelve Subhas, each Subha consisting of Parganas or Mamalat *Revenue* divisions, or Taluka divisions as we now call *Divisions.* them. These Subhas were (1) Khandesh, 30, Parganas, including Baglan, (2) Nemad Prant, Handa-5, (3) Poona and Nagar-18, (4) Konkan-15, (5) Ganga-thadi, including the Nasik District-25, (6) Gujarath Prant-20, (7) Carnatic, (8) Satara with Wai and Karad, (9 & 10) the Customs Subhas, Poona and Junnar, and Kalyan and Bhiwandi, and (11 and 12) the two Armar Subhas, Vijayadurga and Bassein.

The village autonomy was not interfered with. The Patil and the Kulkarni were responsible for the collections, and received their dues independently of the *Village autonomy* Government. Security of the sowkars had to be given for the payment of the year's revenue, and the village rayat had a joint responsibility. The country, on the whole, was prosperous.

The rates of wages were from Rs. 3 to 7 for menials and sepoys, and for higher artisans, very much what *Wages and* they now are outside the great towns, from 6 to 10 *Prices.* annas per day. The Karkoon's wages were generally Rs. 7 to 10 per month. The prices of food stuffs were generally more unsteady than they are now, but it may be roughly stated that staple grains, Jwari

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and Bajri, were about three to four times as cheap as they now are. The rates of wages being, on an average, half of what they have been for many years past, while the prices were 3 to 4 times as cheap, the people had ample resources during good seasons, and no great famine is recorded during this period, though partial famines are frequently mentioned. There was no dearth of remunerative employment throughout this period, by reason of the large wealth acquired from the successes of the Marathas in foreign conquest, and there was thus no pressure felt of the land tax and other cesses, except in the Border provinces devastated by wars. Oppression seems to have been rare, as the people had the remedy in their own hands, of either putting down the oppressor, or migrating to other territories for a time. Besides

Tagai granting remissions, for seeds or improvements the
advances. Peshwa's Government encouraged the Kamavisdar to make Tagai grants to the cultivators, as also for

rebuilding houses, when destroyed by fire, and supplying cattle.

Public The Government also undertook public works
Works. such as constructing dams, building roads in the ghats, and landing places on riverbanks, digging tanks, and securing water supplies to towns;

and several such large items are found in these accounts. The advances to the cultivators were made for short periods, one or two years, but the Kamavisdars were lenient, and they were generally not removed till these advances had been repaid. In cases where such removal took place, the successor was required to pay off the previous holder. Owing to the necessities of the State, the Government frequently borrowed of the Kamavisdar the instalments in advance of the time fixed. On

such advances, the State agreed to pay 12 per cent. interest to the Kamavisdar, till the debt was paid off. Under the earlier Peshwas, the system of forced labour or 'Wetha' was extensively in use, and caused great annoyance to the poorer classes

and artisans who were subjected to it. In the first Madhaorao's

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time, these grievances were partially redressed, and money payments were allowed to be substituted, to the convenience of both the parties. The State in this respect was more liberal than private masters. The general impression, left on one's mind by the study of the revenue portion of the record in these Diaries, is on the whole very favourable, and it will be difficult to show that there has been, during the last eighty years, any decided improvement in this respect.

Besides the land-tax, a number of other cesses were levied, chief among them being the house-tax, and shop-tax, called the 'Mohturfa.' In the Konkan districts, *Other taxes.* tobacco imports were taxed at the Revadanda and other ports. The manufacture of salt was made to yield a small income at Nagotna and at Bhyndar near Bassein, the duty being at Nagotna Rs. 2-10-0 per *Salt.* Khandy, and at Bhyndar Rs. 1-6-0 per Khandy on salt produced. These rates were 20 to 31 times lighter than what are now charged by Government. Toddy and Cocoanut trees were taxed, when tapped for drawing liquor, in Bassein and the territories held previously by the *Abkari.* Portuguese on the Konkan coast. This last tax had been introduced on the express representation of the Bhandaris and the rayats of those parts, who complained that they could not carry on their trade without the use of some kind of liquor. No revenue was derived from Abkari except in the Konkan, and a little receipt from liquor farms near Poona itself. There were similarly petty taxes on the production of ghee, grazing fees, marriage fees, the buffalo tax and the *Ferries.* tax on the right of catching fish in some places. The ferries were in general free of all charges, being kept by the State, but in some cases, farms were given for the collection of revenue from the more frequented ferries. These were very late creations, suggested by the greed of petty farmers, and yielded very scanty revenue. When the Ijara system was introduced by the second Bajirao, the abuses consequent on the

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farming system necessarily multiplied, and must have caused considerable annoyance and oppression. Under the Kamavishi system, which prevailed before, the inducements to oppression were, as stated above, not so powerful, and they were checked by the Subhas and Sirsubhas corresponding with our Commissioners. There were 5 such officers in the Konkan, Carnatic, Khandesh, Gujarath and Baglan. On the whole, the Peshwa's Government kept up the reputation of a mild native rule. There was no separate department of Sea Customs, except the revenues

assigned to the Subha Armars, under the Pesh-
Customs. was, but the Land customs, levied on the transport of goods, yielded a considerable revenue, and the Customs Subhas, as they were called, of Kalyan and Bhivandi, Poona and Junnar, were especially prosperous.

Jakat or Land Customs. The Kalyan and Bhivandi Subhas yielded in Balaji's time a sum of Rs. 55,000, and it developed to 3,00,000 Rs. towards the close of the century, and the income of the Poona Subha increased from 35,000 Rs. to nearly a lakh. The town duties in Poona itself were farmed and yielded a considerable revenue, chiefly from octroi on goods imported and exported and on sales of cloth, tobacco, and other necessities of a town population. Similar duties were levied at Ahmedabad, on the scales originally laid down by the Emperors of Delhi. The revenue management thus reflected no little credit on the ingenuity and skill of the Brahmin ministers and their District and Pargana officers, and little fault can be found as regards the way in which these resources were developed and administered.

The proper administration of civil and criminal justice may well be regarded as a more decisive test of
Justice. the efficiency and success of native rule than the collection of the land revenue, the cesses and the customs. Judged by this test, it must be said to the credit of the Brahmin Peshwas that, while they did not reconstitute any of the other departments of the State included in the Raj-

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Mandal, they revived the office of the Nyayadhisha at Poona, and entrusted him with the fullest powers in disposing of civil and criminal cases, which, in the last resort, came up before the Poona Court by way of appeal, or original trial, or confirmation, from the Subordinate District officials.

Rama Shastri. This creation of the office of the Nyayadhisha appears to have taken place about the year 1760, and the choice of Rama Shastri for the post was a peculiarly happy one, and brought honour and credit to the Government. The office was continued after Rama Shastri's retirement, and seems to have been filled by equally learned men, the last of whom was Balkrishna Shastri Tokerkar, who lived in the reign of Bajirao II. The general arrangement appears to have been that the Kamavisdar, besides his revenue duties, had both civil and criminal powers attached to his office, and the proceeds of civil and criminal fine, up to a certain amount, in petty cases of assault, theft and similar offences, as also the payments made by the civil suitors who gained or lost their cases, formed a regular source of his income, though he had to account to the State for these receipts. All amounts of fine above the prescribed limit were credited to the State account. Besides the new Chief Court started at Poona, it further appears that small Provincial Courts with limited jurisdiction, to help the Kamavisdar or Subhedar, were also established in some of the Districts. In

Civil Cases. civil cases, the fines paid by the successful suitor and his defeated antagonist were respectively called 'Harki' and 'Gunhegari,' and the total of civil fines thus recovered seems to have been about 15 per cent.

on the value of the matter in dispute, the
Money Suits. Gunhegari being about twice the figure for the Harki. In our modern sense of the word, Small Cause suits for money due from debtors were very rare under the Maratha rule. As the creditors generally enjoyed large powers of enforcing their dues, by detaining debtors &c., the State-help was only required in the case of powerful

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persons, and in such cases 25 per cent. of the recoveries so made were claimed by the State as a charge for its help.

Civil litigation was chiefly confined to Vatan, *Vatan Suits*. Adoption, Partition, Partnership, Boundary disputes, and other cases of a like character. The decision was made to rest chiefly on the evidence of the witnesses on both sides, who were examined under the sanction of the most effective oaths and solemn asseverations on the waters of the sacred rivers. After the parties had stated their respective cases, the witnesses' testimony was first recorded, and then the men were called upon to choose their arbitrators from their own or neighbouring villages, and the decision of the Kamavisdars gave effect to the views of the arbitrators. In very rare cases, where the evidence was conflicting, or no evidence could be secured, recourse was had to ordeal, and the decision depended upon the result. Out of some seventy contested cases, the decisions in which are recorded at length in these Diaries, the test of ordeal was made to regulate the verdict in six cases, and even in these six cases, there were only two occasions when the parties challenged each other to the ordeal of fire. In the other four cases, bathing in the river sufficed to bring out the truth. There was no room for the employment of pleaders. The parties had the right to carry their appeals to the head of the Government, who, if not satisfied with the arbitration, called on the parties to select a new Punch, to whom the case was referred. In all big civil cases, the decision appears to have been brought into force after reporting to the central authorities.

In regard to criminal justice, it deserves to be noted that under Shahu Raja and the earlier Peshwas, the *Criminal*. only punishments judicially administered were penal servitude, imprisonment in the forts, confiscation of property, fine, and in a few cases, banishment beyond the frontiers. Capital punishment or mutilation appears to have been studiously and religiously avoided, even in cases

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of murder, treason, or dacoity. Mutilation was inflicted in a few cases in the reign of Madhaorao I ; but even in the troublous times in which he lived, capital punishment was never inflicted. In Savai Madhaorao's time, under Nana Fadnavis there seems to have been a clear departure from this mild administration of the law, and cruel mutilation and wholesale capital punishments were inflicted on criminals convicted of murder, treason or dacoity. The Brahmins and women of all castes were exempted from capital punishment. In the case of Brahmins, confinement in the fort was the highest punishment and the civil penalties were joined with religious penalties, including excommunication. The cruel punishments, inflicted in Nana Fadnavis' time, seem to have been the result of internal dissensions, which began to disturb the public peace in the time of Madhaorao I and increased in virulence when Raghoba Daba contested the throne. A comparative statement of figures compiled from the Selections will bring out this point more distinctly than any description in words:—

In Shahu's time, there were 8 trials for murder, in 5 of which the accused were acquitted, and only in
Murder. three, the accused were convicted and fine and imprisonment were imposed. In the last ten years of Balaji Bajirao, there were 20 trials for murder, in 3 of which the persons charged were acquitted, in 8, heavy fines were imposed, and in the remaining 9, confiscation of property was the only punishment awarded. When property was confiscated, steps were taken to make compensation to the heirs of the murdered persons by making a grant to them out of the confiscated property. In the time of Madhaorao I, there were 7 cases, in which persons were tried for murder. Fines were levied in 3, and Vatahs were confiscated in 3 other cases, and in one, where the murderer was a Brahmin, confinement in the fort was ordered. In Nana Fadnavis' time, capital punishment was awarded in two cases, involving a number of cri-

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minals, and other cases of murder were disposed of by the award of imprisonment, fine and confiscation. In Bajirao II's time, two cases of murder are mentioned in these Selections,

in which Brahmins were the offenders, and they
Treason. were sent to prison. The punishment for petty treason, *i. e.*, for creating a rebellion or joining the enemy, was, throughout the whole period, confinement in the forts, or confiscation of property. As regards persons convicted of political treason by way of attempts on the person of the Peshwas, or waging war against the State, the punishment meted out was that the criminal was trampled under the foot of an elephant. In dealing with armed dacoities, Madhaorao I and Nana Fadnavis inflicted

Dacoity. more cruel punishments than in the case of private murders. Mutilations of hands and feet, which apparently disfigured the annals of criminal administration up to 1760, were first ordered in Madhaorao's reign, and in Nana Fadnavis' time whole-sale executions were ordered of the criminals locked in the gaols and convicted of this charge. In one case, 20 men were beheaded, in another, 13 men had their both hands and feet cut off, and in the third case, 18 men had their either hand or foot or ear cut off. These cruel punishments appear to have been extensively resorted to with a view to strike terror. Later on,

Robbery. these extreme penalties were inflicted even in cases of robberies, which did not come under the head of dacoities, or in which the members of the criminal tribes were not concerned. The punishment for robbery generally was fine or imprisonment in the forts. For

Adultery. adultery in the case of women, the punishment was imprisonment with penal servitude in the forts or in the Kothis, *i. e.*, State stores, where they were made to grind corn, and in the case of men, imprisonment or fine.

As regards women convicted of adultery, condemned to penal servitude, or service in the Kothis or stores, it may be

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noted that they lost their status and freedom, and were treated as slaves. Their progeny especially was regarded

Slaves. as the children of no father, but were only known by their mothers' names. The ranks of these condemned slaves had accession made to them of other persons from the lowest classes who lived by prostitution, and children captured in foreign territory by Banjaris or Lamans, who brought them for sale in Peshwa's territory. Slavery so recruited thus became a recognized institution, and men and women-slaves were transferrable like the dumb cattle from one owner to another for money consideration. When the slaves grew old, some of them were released from prisons, and the private slaves were also set free by their owners from charitable considerations. The slaves, on the whole, appear to have been kindly treated, especially those women-slaves who were made to work in the Peshwa's Kothis, or in private houses.

There was one kind of criminal offence not known to our modern code, which seems to have been severely punished under the Peshwas. It refers to the charge of casting evil spirits, and offences under this head seem to have been an important feature of criminal administration, especially in the Konkan. In fact, under the last two Peshwas, regular officers with establishments were employed for the discovery and punishments of witches and wizards who were accused of troubling their neighbours by the agency of evil spirits. It formed a part of the Police duty of the District officers to exterminate the evil spirits. For perjury and forgery,

Perjury. the usual punishment was fine, and imprisonment where fine could not be levied by reason of poverty.

Cow-killing. Cow-killing was punished severely. False coinage, and offences regarding weights and measures were punished with fines and imprisonment.

Other offences. Abduction and seduction, theft and cheating were punished with fines. The brief conspectus of the way, in which criminal justice was administered, will show that,

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except under Nana Fadnavis, the administration of the law was never vindictive or cruel, but was sympathetic and mild to a degree unknown before or since. The punishments were adequate to the offence and not too severe. Nana Fadnavis'

administration was exceptional for the reasons *State* stated above, and he appears to have been *prisoners*. equally severe in the way in which he treated his political enemies. Sakharampant Bapu, who was at one time a pillar of the State, was imprisoned in the forts for the part he took in siding with Raghoba Dada, and the same fate over-took Raghoba's other friends, chiefly Parbhus, Raghunath Hari, Baburao Hari, and others. Nana Fadnavis' own near relative Moro Baburao was similarly sent to prison, and in Bajirao II's time, Nana Fadnavis had himself to share the same fate. The strife of the parties seems to have been much more bitter in those days than was the case under the first three Peshwas. State prisoners were treated with leniency in those days. This generosity was not shown to the friends and followers of Raghoba Dada, or the Pretender's followers, who were mostly Brahmins holding high offices.

As regards the Police, the Kamavisdar, with his Shibandi force of horse and foot, constituted the regular *Police*. Police defence of the country. In the villages, the Patil and Kulkarni, and the Jaglias or watchmen, consisting of Mahars and Mangs, secured their internal quiet, and in the larger villages or towns, each man had to do watch duty at the Chowdi by turns. Besides the

City Shibandis and the village Police, in large towns *Kotwals*. Kotwali establishments were organized for the detection and the punishment of crime, and we find that Kotwals were appointed at Poona, Nasik, Pandharpur, Nagar, Satara, Wai, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Trimbak and other towns. This Kotwali establishment had *Conservancy*. also the charge of the conservancy of the cities, and scavengers were provided and paid for by cesses levied from the householders. The appointments of

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scavengers were made at Poona, Nagar, Pandharpur, Nasik, and other places. The Kotwals at Poona, Nagar, Pandharpur Junnar, and Nasik had powers of Magistrates in miscellaneous cases, which, in the Districts, were disposed of by the Kamavisdars.

In the Miscellaneous Departments, Mints occupied an important place. I have treated the subject of the

Mints. Mints under the Maratha rule in a separate paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society. The Post Office did not occupy any recognized position under the Maratha rule. Special agencies were employed on parti-

Post. cular occasions, when the armies went to Hindustan or to the Karnatic. These special agencies consisted of special Jasuds or Kassids *i. e.* runners, who apparently took 18 days to go to Delhi from Thalner, and 13 days from Maheshwar, and they were paid handsomely, 3 Rs. a day, the amount being regulated inversely according to the number of days they took for the journey. When the Peshwas had to correspond with Calcutta, they sent their Jasuds to Burhanpur, and thence these runners took on the post to Benares, where an English officer, in charge of postal arrangements, dispatched the Peshwa's post to Calcutta. In the wars in the Karnatic, the Peshwas found it necessary to organize special postal arrangements from Poona to Badami, and sixty men were employed to carry the daily post to and fro while the war lasted. Beyond these stray efforts, no regular State Postal Service for private or official use appears to have been maintained, and the private work was done by the employees of Sawkars, who made these long journeys to carry remittances, at stated intervals, and took the private post of those who cared to correspond with their distant relations.

As regards Medicine, the function of the State in the distribution of charitable relief was not recognized

Medicine. beyond the fact that well-known Hakims and Vaidyas were honoured with grants of villages, and were often supplied with other necessary help for

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the preparation of medicines. The Hakims were in requisition for the army, and were valued chiefly as surgeons. There is only one mention made of a Gujarathi native doctor, who supplied medicines gratis at Nasik, and was rewarded with a Jahagir, which was continued to his son, as he maintained the dispensary. There was another native Vaidya, for whom a sort of a botanical garden at Wai was provided for the cultivation of rare drugs, and he was supplied with other help for the preparation of medicines from them. These scanty notices are all that can be gathered from the Selections as regards the way in which this most important State function of charitable relief was discharged.

The State was more liberal in the rewards it gave in the case of soldiers who lost their lives on the battle-field. Hundreds of such instances are mentioned in the Selections, where the heirs of the deceased were rewarded with Inams, or maintenance-allowances were made to the widows and children, and in some cases, the office held by the father was conferred on the son. In making these awards, no distinction was made between Brahmins and Marathas, or Hindus and Mahomedans. All those, who had received wounds or had died in the service of the State, were generously treated without distinction.

The same liberality was shown in the distribution of grants to religious charities. The bulk of the benefactions were conferred upon Brahmins, as might be expected, but the old Mahomedan grants were continued to Dargas and Mosques, and many new grants were made to Mahomedans and even Christians, the last especially in the Konkan. There was a singular absence of any religious prejudice in the distribution of this charity. These Dewasthan and Varshasan allowances, granted by the State under the Maratha rule, make up a very large total, exceeding many lacs, which attest to the generosity of the State in this respect.

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Under Raja Shahu, the function of the State of granting honorific titles on deserving officials found considerable scope, and on the model of the Delhi Emperors, high-sounding titles were freely bestowed on Hindu Generals and Commanders. Under the later Peshwas, this function was more sparingly exercised, and the honors conferred took the form chiefly of allowing the officer the dignity of riding in a Palkhi or having the permission to employ a person to hold an Abdagir, for which a separate allowance was made by the State.

In regard to the encouragement of trade, the Selections show that in Balaji Bajirao's time, the Punna Diamond mines in Bundelkhand were worked to advantage under concessions granted by the Peshwa. Traders from Arabia were encouraged to settle in the Konkan ports. Their trade was chiefly in horses, and they were allowed to enter the territory free of Customs duty. Similar favours were shown to the European traders who sought admission for their goods into the country. Liberal concessions were made for enlarging the limits of the more prosperous towns by grant of land, exemptions, and Vatans to those who undertook to bring foreign settlers and induced them to build new houses, and open new Bazaars. The silk and embroidery industry of Poona was entirely due to the encouragement given to the foreign settlers from Barhanpur, Paithan, and other towns to come and live under the Peshwa's protection on house sites which were granted free to them. Individual merchants were encouraged in large towns to open shops with the help of Government advances. The prosperity of Poona attracted a large number of people to come and settle there of their own accord, so that Poona, which was before 1748 only a small Kasba town, developed into the proportions of a city, which it now exhibits in its 16 suburbs or Peiths, all of them established by private

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citizens under State patronage, and named after the principal Sardars or of the members of the Peshwa family.

Reference has already been made to the Dakshina grant paid to Shastris, Pundits and Vaidiks. This *Encouragement of learning.* Dakshina was instituted in the first instance by the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade, and when, on the death of that officer, the resources were curtailed, the charity was taken over by the State into its own hands. Disbursements increased from year to year, till they rose to Rs. 60,000 in Nana Fadnavis' time. These Dakshina grants redeemed to a certain extent the reprehensible extravagance of Bajirao II's charities. Learned Sanskrit scholars from all parts of India,—from Bengal, Mithil or Behar and Benares, as also from the South, the Telangan, Dravid and the Karnatic,—flocked to Poona, and were honoured with distinctions and rewards, securing to them position throughout the country which they highly appreciated. Some four lacs of rupees were annually disbursed by Bajirao II in his charities. The ordinary Brahmins were served with food in the Ramana gathering or open enclosures, while the learned people, who refused to take part in the miscellaneous assembly, were invited to the Peshwa's Palace, and were honoured with shawls, and money gifts according to their tested merits. The amount thus spent came to a lac and a quarter. The remaining three lacs were spent on the Ramana charity. The result of this munificence brought credit to Poona as a city of learning, and this credit it continued to enjoy even after the down-fall of the Peshwas, as long as the old Pathashala was maintained out of the Dakshina grant by Mr. Elphinstone and his immediate successors. Times have altered since then, and the Dakshina grant has been utilized for similar purposes which have popularized the study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy among all classes of students. No direct encouragement was given to other than the Sanskrit Pandits, but the Puraniks, and Haridasas were regarded as being equally entitled to spe-

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cial grants with Vaidiks and Shastris, and these were noted for their command and skill in the exposition of the great Maratha poets. Rich Sardars patronized Marathi learning, as, for instance, the great Maratha poet Moropant had for his patron the Baramatikar Joshis. As regards the lower classes, the national fondness for *Powadas* and *Lawanis*, contributed to the rise of ballad and love poetry, and some of the most noted composers of this kind of literature derived encouragement from Bajirao II's support. These brief notices of the miscellaneous activities of the State will suffice to recommend the subject to the fuller consideration of those students of our past history, who might be inclined to pursue their researches further into the old record.

Perhaps the most interesting and permanently useful information furnished by these records is that *Superstitions*. which relates to the social changes attempted by the Maratha Government. It is not to be supposed for a moment that the Brahmin leaders, who were entrusted with the government of the country, had not their full share of the implicit belief in the superstitions of the time. Reference has already been made to the attempted regulations of the practice of exorcising evil spirits, whose agency was, it was believed, utilized by evil-doers to ruin their enemies. Belief in omens and prognostics was common to all classes. It is recorded that a student cut off his tongue, and another Gujarathi devotee cut off his head by way of offering it to the deity he worshipped, and in both the cases, the events were reported to the Government by the local officials, and large sums were spent to purify the temples and ward off the dangers threatened by these unholy sacrifices. People were filled with alarm, when it was reported that an earthquake had disturbed the Kalyan Taluka. A fortress on the Ghats was believed to have suffered injury from the influence of evil sight, and another fortress, a few years later, was rendered unfit for occupation by the prevalence of an unaccountable

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disease. In all these three cases, steps were taken to pacify the elements by general purification. The donee of a Jahagir village prayed to Government to resume the grant and exchange it for some other, as the gift became undesirable on account of the prevalence of evil spirits. Partial and local famines gave frequent trouble in those days, and large sums were spent in employing Brahmins to drown the gods, or pour water over them for days and weeks together. Sacrifice of buffaloes to a goddess at Trimbak, which had been stopped for some years, was resumed by the order of the Government at the instance of Brahmin devotees. When a man-eating tiger appeared on the Saptashringi Hill in the Nasik District, the Kamavisdar was ordered to consult the pleasure of the goddess, and if she consented, to employ men to shoot it.

A lizard having fallen on the body of the idol at Pandharpur, a great penance was ordered in which Brahmins took part. The sale of cows to butchers was strictly prohibited throughout the country. Some Mahomedans, who were guilty of breaking the law, were severely punished, and a Brahmin, who cut off the tail of a cow, was sent to prison. The revival of the old Yajnas, or great sacrifices, lasting over many days and weeks, was encouraged as being conducive to the prosperity of the State, and several large sacrifices were so patronised by the Government by the supply of all the necessary articles in cash and kind, costing several thousands of rupees. Shrines and temples multiplied in and about Poona, and the last portion of the Selections gives a list of some 250 temples, which were of sufficient importance to receive State-help in 1810-1811. The relative popularity of the several deities will appear from the analysis which shows that there were 52 temples of Maruti, the attendant of Rama, while Rama himself had 18 places of worship. The temples dedicated to Vishnu were 9, to Vithoba 34, to Krishna as Balaji 12. Rama and Krishna incarnations had thus 73 places of worship. The most popular gods with the Brahmins were Mahadeo who had

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40 temples, and Ganapati who had 36 temples. Judged by the number of temples, the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu were thus nearly equal. The old aboriginal gods had in all 32 places of worship ; the Devi had 10 ; Dattatraya had only one temple for his worship, and there were 8 places of Mahomedan Dargas held in veneration.

Too great a stress should not be placed upon the accounts given above of the popular beliefs and superstitions. They were in keeping with the general condition of the country all over India, and no man or body of men should be condemned for simply following the current of the time. The Peshwa's government deserves credit for the inculcation of better principles and a more liberal social code adopted by them, and to the principal items of reforms attempted by that Government, we may now fitly refer here with advantage. In those times of wars and troubles, there were frequent occasions when men had to forsake their ancestral faith under pressure, force, or fraud, and there are four well-attested instances in which the re-admission into their respective castes, both of Brahmins and Marathas, was not merely attempted, but successfully effected, with the consent of the caste, and with the permission of the State authorities. A Maratha, named Putaji Bandgar, who had been made a captive by the Moguls, and forcibly converted to Mahomedanism, rejoined the forces of Balaji Vishvanath, on their way back to Delhi, after staying with the Mahomedans for a year, and at his request, his readmission, with the consent of the caste, was sanctioned by Raja Shahu. A Konkanastha Brahmin, surnamed Raste, who had been kept a State prisoner by Haider in his armies, and had been suspected to have conformed to Mahomedan ways of living for his safety, was similarly admitted into caste with the approval of the Brahmins and under sanction from the State. Two Brahmins, one of whom had been induced to become a Gosa-wee by fraud, and another from a belief that he would be cured of a disease from which he suffered, were readmitted

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into caste, after repentance and penance. These two cases occurred one at Puntamba, in the Nagar District, and the other at Paithan, in the Nizam's dominions, and their admission was made with the full concurrence of the Brahmins under the sanction of the authorities. In regard to temperance, it may be noted that the Brahmin Government of Poona absolutely prohibited the manufacture and sale of liquors as a general principle of action, but it was practical enough to make exceptions, when local necessities were pleaded by Bhandaris, Kolis and other communities in the territories conquered from the Portuguese in Bassein, Chowli, and other places. Exception was made in favour of these men, and the lower castes generally, but the order provided that Brahmins, Parbhush, and Government officers generally were to be strictly prohibited from the use of drink, and very heavy penalties were exacted from the offender who broke the law. Several Brahmins of Nasik, who were Dharmadhikaris of the place, were suspected of having indulged in drink, and as they proved contumacious, they were sent to forts, and were imprisoned there by way of punishment. A rich Maratha patel in the Khed Taluka was warned once against the danger incurred by reason of his intemperate habits, and when this warning proved ineffective, half of his Inam land, measuring one Chahur, was confiscated by way of punishment.

As regards marriage reforms, it may be noted that Bajirao II passed strict orders specially for the Konkan District and for Wai, prohibiting the sale of girls by the bride's father in consideration of marriage. Very strict regulations were passed imposing fines, equal to the amounts received, upon one or both the parties and the marriage brokers. Apparently with a view to check the practice, Bajirao further ordered that no girl above 9 should remain unmarried, thereby claiming for the State the right to interfere in what is generally regarded as the province of the Shastras. In a few cases, where attempts had been made to marry young children by force, and the full rite was not completed, the Peshwas set aside the attempted marriages, and permitted the girls to be given to other more suitable persons. In one case, where

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a marriage alliance had been formally settled, and the bride-groom was afterwards found to be suffering from leprosy, the Peshwa's Government interfered, the betrothal was set aside, and the bride's father was permitted to give his girl to whom-so-ever he chose. It is also well-known that on Sadashivrao Bhau's disappearance on the battle-field of Panipat, his wife Parwatibai, who survived him, was allowed to retain all the insignia of wife-hood, till the day of her death, which took place in 1783, twenty-one years after the disappearance of her husband, and the funeral rites of both the husband and wife were performed together on her death. This exhibition of chivalrous regard for the feelings of the lady in question is to be noted, specially because a Kanoja Pretender had appeared in the meanwhile and claimed to be Sadashivrao Bhau himself, and had to be put down after great exertions by the Peshwa's army. After being once put in prison, he had escaped after some years' confinement, and raised a rebellion in the Konkan which was put down again in 1776, and he was sentenced to be trodden under foot by an elephant. Narayanrao Peshwa's widow was similarly allowed to remain without disfigurement for several years during the time she survived her husband's death. Though the Selections are silent on the point, it is well-known that the efforts, made by Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan, on behalf of his widowed daughter, to secure the consent of the Brahmins for her second marriage, found no opposition from the Peshwa. But Bhau had to give up his idea under pressure of his own female relations.

As between caste and caste, the Peshwas held the balance evenly, even when the interests of the Brahmin priests were affected. The right of the Sonars to employ priests of their own caste was upheld against the opposition of the Poona Joshis. The claim made by the Kumbhars (potters) for the bride and the bride-groom to ride on horse-back was upheld against the carpenters and blacksmiths who opposed it. The Kasars' right to go in processions along the streets, which was opposed by the Lingayats, was similarly upheld. The right of the Parbhus to use Vedic formulas in worship had indeed been questioned in Narayanrao Peshwa's.

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time, and they were ordered to use only Puranic forms like the Shudras. This prohibition was, however, resented by the Parbhus, and in Bajirao II's time the old order appears to have been cancelled, and the Parbhus were allowed to have the Munja or thread ceremony performed as before. A Konkani Kalal or publican, who had been put out of his caste, because he had given his daughter in marriage to a Gujarathi Kalal, complained to the Peshwa, and order was given to admit him into caste. In the matter of inter-marriage, Balaji Bajirao set the example by himself marrying the daughter of a Deshastha Sowkar, named Wakhare, in 1760. The Peshwas in Shahu's time issued orders prohibiting alliances by way of marriages between second cousins, that is, the children of brothers and sisters, which practice seems then to have been in vogue in Konkan, and is continued to this day in many castes. The point to be regarded in all these instances is not to be estimated by the actual success achieved, but by the fact that these native rulers interested themselves in these matters, and showed considerable liberality in the orders issued by them to correct existing social evils. The right of the State to interfere in such matters was broadly claimed in one of these orders, when it was directed that when the Subha had ordered the exclusion of any person from his caste, the members of the caste had no right to take on themselves to set the order aside without reference to the Dewan, that is, to the State or the Central Authorities. In the case of those castes, where ordinary punishments could not be inflicted by reason of their being Brahmins or otherwise, the authorities under the Peshwa showed considerable skill, in supplementing the more lenient civil penalty by the employment of religious penances and fines. And it was in this connection that the order noted above was issued.

These brief notices of the social regulations attempted under the Maratha rulers with a view to promote the admission of converts, the practice of inter-marriage, the prohibition of the sale of girls, the enforcement of temperance, their policy in permitting a second gift of girls informally married or engaged by force or fraud, the claim made by them to control

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the action of the castes and their independence, and the enforcement of equality in the treatment of different castes, all these afford clear indications that social reform was not a subject about which the Maratha and Brahmin rulers were indifferent. They strengthen the view, which the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang first advocated in his 'Gleanings from the Bakhars' that in this respect these rulers showed greater moral courage and liberality of sentiment than what people are at present disposed to give them credit for, and that the advantages of English education may well be regarded as too dearly purchased, if our people, in this respect, show a more retrograde tendency or greater weakness of the moral fibre than commended itself to our ancestors only a hundred years ago. These notes on the Peshwa's Diaries may fitly conclude here.

The Civil, Criminal and Revenue administration of the Peshwas compares favourably with that of the best Hindu or Mahomedan rulers of the time. It was wanting, certainly, in the higher statesmanship of Akbar or Shivaji, and it had the germs of its own dissolution implanted in it. Its fall was doomed when it lost touch of these higher traditions, and it had to fight the race of life with a stronger power. But for the time it lasted, the Government of the country was wisely and honestly administered on the whole, excluding, of course, the periods when internal dissensions disturbed the public peace. The hidden tendencies of caste exclusiveness and sacerdotal pride soon began to manifest themselves, and to this was joined an utter incapacity to realize the claims of a higher civilization, and to study the development of arts and sciences, and the advantages of a liberal social polity, and a purer religion. Our failure to realize this higher life brought on the final collapse long before any outside influences were brought to operate upon us. This seems to be the moral which the study of these papers is fitly calculated to teach the inquirer into our past history, and it will be well if all our writers and publicists would take that lesson to heart and profit by it.

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