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ART. XIX.—*On Certain Features of Social Differentiation in India.* By J. A. BAINES.

THE question of caste, with a branch of which I am to deal, is, I need hardly observe, the most important of all social subjects connected with India. As the most prominent feature in the organization of the community, it enters into every ramification of the administration, and these, as we all know, are many. As admittedly the mainstay of the religious belief of the majority of the population, it has received a place in the sacred lore of the priesthood such has been given to no similar institution in any other known system; and on this consideration, therefore, it has been discussed for the last century and more with all the scholarship and power of laborious investigation that are associated with the great names that adorn the roll of the Asiatic Society.

So we have the authority of two classes to appeal to on this question. First, of those who take their stand on the past, and from the ancient writings which they have taken such pains to elucidate for the benefit of lay inquirers, deduce the situation at the time—whenever it may have been—to which the work refers, and reason down from it to what is, or ought to be, the orthodox position in the present day. On the other hand we have the men of the time; those whose acquaintance with caste

is that of every-day contact in the office or court, in the Darbar of the Chief, the hut of the forest tribe, the municipal hall, round the camp fire, or under the pipal tree, where village affairs are discussed from a caste standpoint, and caste-rules are pleaded as over-riding all our modern codes.

It is no wonder that the two schools differ occasionally in their conclusions. The one treats of caste *de jure*, as it ought to be; the other, *de facto*, as he finds it. The scholar lays down the orthodox notions which he finds in the most ancient, the most pure, or, as is sometimes equally suggestive, the most corrupt, Sanskrit he can reach. The administrator observes that in these degenerate days caste-distinctions are honoured or recognized which are not justified by holy writ, that the social order is anything but that prescribed by the authorities quoted in support of it, and that even the highest classes are guilty of practices which, by the consensus of opinion amongst the learned of ancient days, are wholly abominable. As to this discrepancy, I need only say that, taking the ancient literature *at its proper value in regard to every-day life*, its authority is of wide scope and pretty general application. On the other hand, the later development of the social system in India has been remarkable for its diversity or want of uniformity, so that personal observation is apt to err in adapting the particular to the general, the concrete evidence of a special tract to the course of evolution throughout the country. Thus the remark is justified of that charming American philosopher, the autocrat of the breakfast-table, that "experience is a solemn fowl, that cackles more than she lays eggs." I have not the slightest doubt that before I had the opportunity opened to me by the Census of going over the whole country, interviewing district officers at every turn, that solemn fowl was the petted darling of my own poultry-yard.

The task I am now attempting is to link the past to the present, using impartially the materials from both sources. The two paths, it seems to me, however far apart

at the outset, tend to converge, after they have been respectively followed to a sufficient distance, because the course of evolution of society in India is restricted within comparatively narrow limits, and has been subjected to rare and relatively slight disturbances. We may liken the two roads, therefore, to the shrouds of a vessel which both support the same mast and both give access to a standpoint from which the community below can be surveyed on either side or as a whole.

Now, in India, we find an epitome of ancient civilization in full operation before our eyes—a civilization highly organized, but stunted in its growth, like those Japanese plants which are in appearance and structure complete trees, but in dimensions never exceed what can be adequately put into a small flower-pot. If we examine it more closely, it will be found like an astronomical system, where numbers of agglomerated masses are found in continuous motion, each on its own axis, throwing off or attracting other particles, and the whole kept in position by the central force of custom or tradition. What we have to inquire into, then, is the process of formation of these small aggregates from the archaic nebula, and then, why the internal conflict of forces, that in other cases where the early conditions were much the same resulted in rapid and continuous progress, in India subsided almost at its outset.

First, then, as to the historical materials for this inquiry. These are almost exclusively of the nature of indirect evidence. They afford, that is, proof, not of what is stated, but of some collateral fact which can be assumed from them. We may regard them, in fact, as the basis of what is known in other branches of investigation as a "working hypothesis." For example, from its prayers and invocations we gather what was the material condition of the community, what difficulties and what hostility it had to encounter, and not merely what were its gods and what was its religious system. In later times, again, the long list of prohibitions affords evidence of the sins to which the community was most inclined; its pet vices, and the ideal of conduct

set before it. What is of more importance to the present subject is the deductions we can draw as to not what was the social position of certain sections of the community in the general estimate, but what were the directions from which attacks were being made to disturb that estimate.

Take, in the first place, the Vedic literature. Here we find that out of the four principal works, three are obviously based on the fourth. It is with this last alone, then, that we need deal. But here, again, internal evidence indicates that generations must have elapsed between the composition of the earlier portions and that of the later. The diction and grammar on the one hand, and the conceptions on the other, enter into this part of the subject, on which, however, it would be a waste of time to comment now. The Sukta, or invocations, of which it is the collection, range between the simple bargains of patriarchal rule with personified elemental powers, and the elaborate addresses of a professional priesthood, trained to a sacrificial ritual which is efficacious in their hands alone, and which has reached the stage of incantation, or power to compel compliance on the part of the objects of the address.

It is clear that the two periods must be distinguished from each other, and we must not assume that the earlier, or patriarchal, ritual prevailed in the same conditions as the later, or sacerdotal. The question is, how and where the divergence began? In connection with this point, I may as well touch briefly upon the salient features of the information we possess as to the early movements of the population of whom the more archaic invocations of the Rig collection are the religious expression. We will give them the title of Arya, since that is the term they themselves employed in these outpourings. We gather that the Arya were a northern people. They reckoned their time by winters; they spoke familiarly of snow and cold; the cradle of their race they placed in the north, and, as usual in cases of emigration to a distance, they constituted that the sacred and propitious point of the compass, and attributed to the south the opposite influences.

Probably, in fact, they obeyed the almost universal impulse of the inhabitants of the southern slope of the great central watershed of the northern hemisphere, and sought the sea, that is, the south. The Vedic literature does not, I think, afford information as to whether the disruption between the Arya contingent that went southwards in the direction of India and that which afterwards developed the Mazdaic form of religion and was found to the south-westwards of their cradle-land, took place before or after the movements commenced. It is certain, however, that before the close of the age of invocation, or of original composition, as we may call it, the religions had separated, and, as usual, the gods of the one had taken up their position as the devils of the other faith. The only connection of this point with my present subject is with regard to the extent to which the Indic branch of the Arya kept in touch with its kindred beyond the snows. This point is certainly one of greater importance than at first sight it appears to be. The mention of the Seven Rivers in the first Fargard of the Vendidad proves nothing. It is not improbable that the enumeration there is merely that of the dominion of the first Darius, who levied tribute from the Panjab and Kabul. By that date the differentiation of the two Arya communities was complete, and in the intercourse between the two there is no hint of blood-kinship. There is no evidence of the two communities dwelling side by side, as has been sometimes asserted, on the banks of the Seven Rivers. Now assuming this to be the case, we find herein, I think, the primary factor in the peculiar development of the social system of the Indic Arya. After crossing the Hindu-Kush, or turning the western extension of that range, for the actual route is unknown, the Arya lost sight and touch of their transmontane home, or else received recruits from it, if at all, only in the same insignificant detachments as make use of these routes in the present day. It may be remembered, too, that the other Aryas moved off in the opposite direction, and came under the influence of the Chaldeans or other members of the

Mesopotamian civilization. Thus isolated, the immigrants gradually relaxed their hold of tradition, and drifted into fresh paths suggested by their novel circumstances. There were, no doubt, inroads of some of the tribes known by the collective title of Skythian, at various times, but the colonies of those races were mostly confined to the Panjab, or if beyond it to the western part of Central India. The impact of the Greeks was short and sharp, with nothing in it of the nature of a permanent settlement, so that, until the Musalman invasions of the 10th century and later, the population of Upper India received no fresh infusion of the hardy blood of the north, and by the time the Musalmans, or even the Greeks, arrived, the social system of the Arya had been so consolidated that it could resist without difficulty any attacks made upon it by the foreigner. For generation, therefore, after generation, the Aryas were left, to make use of a modern but forcible expression, to stew in their own juice, and this is, probably, the explanation of the facility with which the caste-system expanded in India, and of the firm hold it has obtained on the popular sentiment. At the time the earliest invocations were composed there was no trace of caste, but we find the Arya a homogeneous community, under its tribal chiefs or patriarchs, each of whom offered sacrifice on behalf of himself and his belongings. The ceremony was on a strictly reciprocal and utilitarian basis, and the consideration on which the offerings were made is definitely set forth in the invocation. It also appears that each family considered itself entitled to separate attention from the power invoked, for it was the rule to set up the altar out of sight and earshot of that of another household. The community is shown by the invocations to have been composed largely of fighting men, and its wealth consisted mainly of cattle (*dhanu* or *pecunia*).¹ The glorification of the elemental personification selected as the tutelary deity and the substantial offerings made to it had as their object the increase of the family wealth, and success

¹ In the North Deccan the cattle are still called collectively, *Lakshmi*.

in defending or increasing it. The chiefs were known as Rájanya. The term Kshatria seems to have been applied to any one who had "power," including the gods. The commonalty were called Visha, or adjectively Vaishya, the colonists or the people generally. Here, again, it is not certain whether this term were used before the Arya had settled on the plains in India.

What is more to the purpose is that the sacrifice assumed a more ritualistic and formal shape. The chief was accompanied by an acolyte, who soon developed into the Parohita, or family priest, and, as the secular functions of the patriarch grew in importance and complexity, the business connected with the ceremonies of religion became more and more specialised. The Brahman, instead of meaning simply the person who gave utterance to the *Brahma*, which has been rendered prayer or invocation, got to be restricted to the professional who officiated in that capacity, and the participation of the patriarch, Rájanya, in the performance of the rite was gradually diminished, until it passed out of existence, and the chief lapsed entirely into the character of a layman.

Thus, so far as the internal structure of the Arya community is in question, we find the first subdivisions to have been both ordinal, or involving rank, and functional, arising out of occupation. In neither case is there any trace of the caste, as afterwards constituted. In one sense we have the Rájanya and Visha, that is, the chief and the subordinate members of the community; in the other, the Brahman, a purely functional appellation. The third name, Kshatria, is vaguely applied to members of the ruling class, amongst whom the tutelary gods were reckoned.

But we have now to regard the Arya immigrant in his external relations. Whatever may have happened to him on his voyage across the mountains, amongst the demons, dragons, and fire-spitting serpents, of whom the Chinese pilgrim speaks, it is certain that he did not find India unoccupied, and he had, accordingly, to fight for his foothold there. I cannot find time for the discussion of the question

of what part of Upper India was first occupied, or who were the yellow serpent worshippers against whom the Arya fulminated in their invocations. In later times, no doubt, there were the Párwátu and Tureshkrawa, who dwelt to the west of the land of the sacred singers, but I wish now to deal only with the foreigners (from the Arya point of view) of darker hue. The existence of this race, or these races, as the case may be, is the second great factor in the differentiation of the population. As soon as the Arya found themselves pitted against a foe of different race to themselves, their prayers began to be for the protection of the Arya colour (*warna*), a term subsequently applied to caste. The immigrant was comparatively tall and fair, the occupant of the soil was squat and swarthy, with habits that filled the former with disgust. Whether we regard the term *anásu* as noseless, out of deference to Mr. Risley and other rhinologists, or whether we take it as the equivalent of the Greek *barbaros*, speaking an unintelligible tongue, the fact is patent that in the eye of the Arya the other was an unclean and generally inferior member of the human race, with whom all intimacy was to be avoided. The name applied to the dark race by the Arya was collectively Dásyu, a term which has been variously connected with the Dahya and Daquaitu of the Bihistun tablets, with the Dacians of European history, and finally with the Dacoit or Dáku of India and Burma. Thus one touch of robbery with violence makes the Ister join hands with the Irawadi.

Now, a community with the large proportion of fighting men that seems to have characterized the Arya, even though the progress of its settlement may have not been attended with regular warfare, usually makes slaves of those whom it dispossesses, and India seems to have been no exception to the rule. Everywhere in that country we find a sharp and well-defined boundary between the general community and a class of helots, living beyond the village site in hamlets of their own. The touch of this class is polluting to the rest; they are foul-feeders, and relegated to occupations abhorrent to the rest of the community. At the same

time, they are not altogether despicable. More often than not they are known by some general epithet which denotes a special connection with the lands of the village, and they are presumed to be the most favoured intermediaries between man and the deities that preside over the epidemic diseases of cholera and small-pox. There are certain ceremonies, again, even amongst the upper classes, that can only be duly performed by men of the above tribes. The occupant of the most ancient and honoured throne in Rájputána, for instance, does not consider his coronation complete until the caste-mark has been applied to his forehead by a member of the dominant forest tribe of the hills in his territory. All this seems to indicate a familiarity on the part of the depressed class with the local supernatural agencies which could only have been recognized by the rest on the strong grounds of previous and traditional acquaintance.

But it by no means appears that the entire population known as Dásyu was obliterated or enslaved by the newcomers. It is true that the pitched battles fought by the latter were apparently few and far between, and that most of the warlike operations mentioned in the later invocations consisted of the successful defence of the family or village cattle-pens or the equally victorious expedition against a neighbouring Dásyu tribe. But some of the latter were found in a strong position, entrenched behind walls, and armed with efficient weapons, much as we find their descendants in the hill tracts of India in the present day. These must have been in part left to exist side by side of the Arya settlements, though, owing to the strong race-feeling, based on the difference of colour above mentioned, it must have taken generations before intermixture took place. Probably, in the whole of the Vedic period the two communities remained strictly apart, or the half-breeds were confined to the illicit unions of masters and slaves. Later on, indeed, religion, customs, physiology, and language all testify to the fusion that must have supervened on the expansion of the Arya community away from centres of their original settlements.

But the part played by the presence of the despised Dásyu in or near the Arya pale in the crystallization of the community into caste-groups must have been of supreme importance, as it brought into prominence the element of blood relationship without, as well as within, the race. The main object in the beginning of the colonization was to preserve the Arya colour. As tradition grew fainter, and the language of the Visha more corrupt, the power of the priesthood naturally increased, as they alone maintained and transmitted the sacred formulæ by means of which the gods were kept on the side of the white man. The germs of the hereditary transmission of function combined with the prohibition of the violation of the hereditary rules as to occupation and marriage, are no doubt to be found in the anxiety of the hieratic body to maintain, in the first place, their own unique position, and in the second, the purity of foreign race, from admixture with Dásyu blood. We find the former trait amongst the priesthood in communities far distant from India, such as the Druids, according to Cæsar, and the Egyptians, in both of whose cases, however, foreign influences prevented it from becoming a stereotyped and permanent feature in the society, as it did in India. The steps by which the social power of the Brahman was consolidated and aided by the prevention of the encroachment of class upon class are not just now in question. The important point is the separation of the masses of the Arya into these hereditary groups, a separation that must have taken place soon after the specialization of the priestly functions and the establishment of hereditary chieftainship and a military body. It probably followed closely upon the settlement of the population into villages or fixed abodes, a stage which connotes the existence of a class of handicraftsmen for the provision of the simple implements required in the daily life of an agricultural community. In the later literature of the period immediately following the Vedic, or that of occupation of Upper India, the social position assigned to the bulk of the artisan community is decidedly low as

compared with that enjoyed by the Military, the Priesthood, and the cultivator or landowner. It is so low, in fact, that it seems clear that this class was a later excrescence from the early constitution of the settlement, which contained no place for it. Throughout the whole of the hieratic literature, in fact, we find the industrial community relegated to the bottom of the list, and even in the present day in a small tract of India where the traditions of early date are better preserved than elsewhere, that is, the hill tracts of the Panjab, in the outer and central Himalaya, the only degraded castes are those of the carpenter, blacksmith, and so on. But there were exceptions. For instance, the carpenter is still invested in some parts of India with the sacred thread by a Brahman, and in the sacrificial portions of Vedic writing he is assigned a special place and function at the rites under the title of chariot-maker. In the earliest record of Indian society which may be called impartial and historical, the notes of Megasthenes, we find the armourer exempted from the burdens of the rest of the base mechanics, and it is probable that the position of non-agricultural industry at large was all the more noticed by the ambassador because in this respect it corresponds so closely with the popular sentiment of his own country. But in the later law books the artisan, especially in wood, if not in metal also, was the subject for particular regulation, from which we may assume, on grounds that I have no time to detail, that he had acquired a comparatively elevated position amongst handicraftsmen, and had to be repressed, lest his intentions should, to use the phrase of the codes, "offend the twice-born." But, in the gross, the industrial world, as well as such offshoots of a leisured community as musicians, dancers, and acrobats, were relegated to social inferiority, and this seems to have been the case even from their first appearance on the scene.

Now, hitherto, our course has been scarcely more than a quiet canter over what is, ethnologically speaking, a fair hunting country; but we now come to what is, I think, one of the tight places in the Arya career. This is the

interval to be bridged between the Dásyu, or pre-Aryan occupant of the country, and the Shudra, or the servile class, evolved out of the Arya community itself. The former was, as we have seen, the only low class mentioned in the early invocations, and there, not as a caste, but as a separate race. The word Shudra occurs, I believe, but once or twice, and always in the sense of labourer. The distinction of castes, in which the Shudra finds a place, is confined, as is well known, to a single Sukta, which is now universally agreed amongst scholars to be the interpolation of a far later date, and the work of some Brahman Chatterton, otherwise unknown to fame. But in the literature of a later age, when the Brahmanic system had fully developed, we hear nothing of the Dásyu, but a great deal of the Shudra. Indeed, a very considerable portion of the law treatises is obviously directed to the suppression, as I mentioned just now, of what I may call the *outrecuidance* of the class which most benefits by the prosperity of the rest of the community. On the other hand, in the most modern of these treatises, that known by the name of Manu, there is a passage, I find, in which the Dásyu is resuscitated in, apparently, very nearly his pristine character. "All those tribes in this world which are excluded from the community of those born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahma, are called Dásyu, whether they speak the language of the Mleccha or that of the Arya." The difference lies in the concluding phrase, which raises the question of either the existence of semi-Aryanized Dásyu, or the confusion of that term with Shudra, who are, in other parts of the treatise, occasionally contrasted with the Arya. It seems certain that in practice a very clear distinction was drawn between the two lower grades, for the presence of the Dásyu inside the house was in itself polluting, and his functions were agrestic, whereas the duty of the Shudra was to serve the upper classes both as artisan and in a domestic capacity, though his actual touch was not to be suffered. As to the wild Dásyu, I mean those who fled to or remained in the forest and hill tracts whilst

the fertile plains were taken up by the expanding Arya, it does not appear to have been anticipated by the authors of the law treatises that any proscription would be necessary in the case of a population so widely differing from their own, so the absence of mention is used later as justifying the incorporation of these tribes in the orthodox fold, as necessity or convenience dictated. It seems, therefore, that the Shudra, if such a collective term ever had any practical signification, remained to all intents and purposes inside the Arya pale, but that the Dásyu, once they had accepted the position of village serf or helot, were never admitted. I have already had occasion to mention the probable attempts on the part of the more prospering Shudra to obtain recognition of their claim to higher social privileges, and in illustration of this I may cite the case of the curious local division of the middle and lower classes of the Tamil population, excluding shepherds, into the castes of the right and those of the left hand. If we set on one side the remarkable fact that in the case of two of the lowest items included the sexes take different sides, the explanation of the phenomenon appears to be connected with the position of the leaders of the artisan community, namely the five who are known as the Panch-kalsi, or some similar title, who enlisted the sympathies and aid of the aspirants of lower castes in the attempt to redistribute the social order in such a way as would give them predominance. The silk-weavers, to take another instance, have parted company from their humble brethren who work in cotton, and claim the right to the ministrations of priests of their own, rejecting the offices of the Brahman. It is the same with the goldsmiths of two or three towns of the western presidency. The leading members of the caste waxed fat and kicked in the direction of reviving the tradition of origin from Viswakarma, the Hephaestos of the Puranic pantheon, and calling themselves Devadgna Brahmans. In spite, however, of these isolated cases of revolt, and several others of the same character which I could mention, the strict Brahmanic doctrine is, in theory at least, imperatively binding on the whole com-

munity, and caste limits, accordingly, must be held to be irrevocably fixed.

This brings me to the next part of my subject, the question of the mixture of caste. The main point of the early Brahmanic prescription was that for the Arya there were no more than the four authorized castes, and that *mésalliance*, or deviation from the marriage of persons of equal rank, was derogatory to caste-position, and to the rank of the offspring of such irregular unions. But it is not clear that even at the best this was not much more than a "counsel of perfection." In early times, the family welfare depended upon the due performance of the funeral rites and commemorative ceremonies of one's father and ancestors respectively. If, then, there were no son by the first, or socially equal, wife, the necessities of the case demanded that a son by some other marriage should succeed to the position of heir, and keep the ancestral ghosts in good humour. Even in the earliest of the Dharma-sutras, or law treatises, this is recognized. But in the later writings of this class, specially in the metrical productions, the importance of caste had risen to a far higher position in the Brahmanic estimation, and the succession of the offspring of mixed marriages was discouraged as much as possible. The difference in this respect between the Baud-dháyana, for instance, and the Ápastamba, and still more the Manu code, is very striking. Nevertheless, it is clear enough that by the time the first-named was composed, the mischief had been done, and custom was too strong for law. We have only to look at the long list of the relative ranks to be allotted to the various mixed marriages to see the almost universal habit of contracting the latter. It is true that in all probability no practical importance was ever attached to such prescriptions of rank. The whole of the prose and the metrical treatises, in fact, may be considered as no better than the academic productions of teachers, designed for the instruction of the youthful Brahman in what should be held to constitute the ideal social state. The masses knew little and cared less about

Ambastha, Anuloma, Pratiloma, and all the rest of the cross-breeds. But the important bearing of these indications on the subject in hand lies in the latitude given in the books to the extension of caste amongst the upper classes. After a few generations of marriage within prescribed limits, the child of a Brahman by a Shudra wife becomes a pure Brahman, and, in fact, so long as the husband is the higher of the two in social rank it does not seem to matter much who the wife was, though it is recommended that the first experiment should be limited to the caste. As to the case where the wife was of a higher caste than the husband, the offspring was doomed to perpetual degradation, in order that at least the paternal strain might be kept decently pure, an object which does not, however, seem to have been fulfilled.

The Buddhistic influence on caste is a highly interesting subject, which has not, I believe, been fully explored. It is not, however, one which I can touch upon here. In the foregoing remarks I have dealt with the change of caste, or social position, by heredity alone. I have now to treat briefly of the formation of new social orders in other ways. The fiction that in India social position is irrevocably fixed once for all and can only be attained by birth, so that the system is altogether insusceptible of extension, was blown up sky-high twenty years ago by Sir Alfred Lyall. In point of fact, we see the formation of fresh castes, or the incorporation of the lower tribes into Brahmanism, in full swing in all directions. It is not, perhaps, correct to call Brahmanism a missionary religion, since the latter term implies an active propaganda, for which, at all events in the present day, there is no necessity. Between Brahmanism and the forest tribes, from which it is now-a-days almost exclusively recruited, the relations are much the same as they are said to be in an *affaire de cœur*. There is one who loves, and another *qui se laisse aimer*. The latter is obviously found to be in the long run the predominant member in the partnership. Brahmanism, in the form most accessible to

the tribe in question, presents an ideal which is not hard to compass, and makes small demands upon morals and less on the intellect. A Brahman is summoned to domestic rites instead of the tribal medicine man, and certain choice articles of the daily diet, such as pig, cow, lizards, grubs, and so on, are abandoned. The converted tribe, after a few generations, loses touch of its old proclivities, and takes rank as a regular caste, possibly affiliated to one of the historical and ancient subdivisions; for the principle of the Herald's College extends beyond Queen Victoria Street. The tribe is thus a distinct gainer, whilst the Brahman has been called upon to do nothing but accept the conformity which the other was eager to offer.

This, perhaps, is the only recruitment to Brahmanism and the caste-system from without, but within the fold the leaven is in constant operation. Apart from sectarian splits, which tend to the formation of new castes only, as a rule, where the nonconformist conscience belongs to a lowly station in life, there are two methods worth mentioning of establishing a social distinction. For instance, the tradition that the worthy or wealthy member of a lower caste cannot possibly be admitted into a higher, is strictly observed; but the end of the aspirant can be attained by the erection of an intermediate grade, to which time will give dignity in the future, whilst the power of lavish expenditure will provide recruits for the present, and ensure recognition by the priesthood enlisted into the service of the family after the lapse of a decent interval. Allied to this method is the more minute specialization of occupation within the caste itself, a process by no means rare. The fruit-growing market-gardener, in time, refuses to give his daughter to the colleague who devotes his labour to vegetables. The carpenter who builds houses and carts drops the other who has anything to do with the vehicles of a municipality, for reasons sufficiently obvious, but which were ignored until the former acquired the wealth that made his alliance worth having, or gave hopes of establishing an inner ring round himself as centre. Again, in Assam and

Eastern Bengal, the youth of comparatively low caste who gets enough education to allow of his taking to some clerical pursuit for a living, enrolls himself as a member of the Kayath, or hereditary writing, caste of those parts; whilst in some of the Panjab Hill States, where archaic tradition is still alive, a man's caste, in some cases, changes with the royal favour. The Kanet who has done good service is elevated to a Kshatria, and so on. Lastly, we have the new castes formed by the refuse of the old—that is, the community, sometimes large, more often small, which has been expelled from its original society for some breach of caste-rule. The pride of caste, however, remains, and the degraded families seldom coalesce with those permanently inferior to their former state. If large, they form a body by themselves, and if small, migrate to a distance, and ignore, in their new surroundings, the slight accident that impelled them to take this course.

This is about as far as I propose to carry the subject on the present occasion. The title I have given to the subject of this address is, no doubt, a cumbersome one, but it was not selected without a reason. I intended to indicate by the use of the term differentiation, with the mathematical application of which I need not trouble you, that I was not dealing with the Indian social system at any one period, or with its origin, but with the tendencies which have been manifested in its course, and the varying strength with which they have severally influenced it. From the sketch I have been able to give, it is clear, I hope, that the caste-system as it is set forth in the works on which it is said to be based, if it ever prevailed at all, must have done so for a very short time and amongst a very limited class. Nevertheless the caste-spirit engendered by such an ideal is deep-rooted amongst the people at large, and, in spite of all the violations in practice that I have mentioned above, seems to me to be as strong in the present day as when it was first fostered in the "land of the sweet singers," or, later, in the Madhyadesha. The individualizing tendency of our British system of adminis-

tration has, no doubt, had its indirect effect upon caste. At both extremes the severance of heredity from function has been rapidly increasing. The Brahman engages oftener in occupations other than strictly legitimate, and the deviation is approved, even though the move may be theoretically downward. On the other side of the social hedge, the menial castes are nearly everywhere rising, owing chiefly to the extension of railways and steamers, which enables them to bring their labour to the most profitable market. Their minds are thus opened, and on their return home their ancestral bondage is regarded in by no means the same light as before their excursions abroad. In the middle classes the changes are less distinctly marked. The centrifugal tendency I have mentioned, of the well-to-do families to withdraw into a separate orbit of their own, apart from their poorer caste-fellows, is one that in course of time would obviously correct itself, by ending or mending the whole system of social relations, but the sentiment that at present animates the whole Brahmanic community, regarding marriage and social intercourse of a formal nature, shows not the least sign of modification, so far as the masses are concerned; nor, I regret to say, as regards the education of the degraded or impure castes. In these respects, from an administrative point of view, the current system might admittedly be altered with advantage; but as for the rest of the system, which pivots round caste as a centre, I confess I should be sorry to see signs of too rapid relaxation of the old bonds. Remember that it is owing to caste that we have in India no Poor Law. Cramping to the sympathies as the system may be where the outside and larger world is concerned, there is no lack of charity within, and there is no caste so low that does not provide for its own paupers and infirm. Then, again, look at the all-powerful influence of caste in maintaining the conventional standard of morality. It may not be our standard, but it will be conceded, I hope, that a lower standard adequately observed is not far below a

higher one honoured in the breach. At all events, the system of which I have been treating this afternoon has stood the test of time, and is still in the plenitude of its strength, so, before attempting to weaken its authority, we must see not only what is proposed as a substitute, but whether it is as likely to take root as its predecessor. The fate of exotics in tropical countries has not hitherto been altogether encouraging to experiment, nor is a social system to be revolutionized or transformed, as some appear to think, by legislation or precept.