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# PLANTATION LABOUR IN INDIA

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# PLANTATION LABOUR IN INDIA

BY

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R. CHATTERJEE
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*To*

Rajani Nath Mojumdar, Esq.,

*A generous friend since early youth*

# PREFACE

*Plantation Labour in India* is a study in the rise, growth, condition and problem of the workers employed on various plantations in India, especially on the tea-gardens in Assam. The main object of the study is a critical analysis of the work and life of the labourer with a view to ameliorating their condition. A brief survey has, however been made of the conditions and prospects of the industry, which is a means of livelihood to a considerable number of the people and a source of income to the nation. Moreover, suggestions have been made for formulating a social policy towards the vast labour population, of which plantation labour is only a part and upon the moral and material development of which depends India's social progress.

As indicated in his other works, the author came to the study of the human factor in production in his search after the elements constituting industrial efficiency, and labour in organized industries, such as plantations and factories, gave him an excellent opportunity to that effect. A considerable amount of material on plantations had, in fact, been already gathered in connection with a survey of Indian agriculture in 1912, and after the completion of the monograph on factory labour in 1915, attempts were made to prepare a similar monograph on plantation labour, but it was not until he arrived in India in 1924 that he had an opportunity to collect sufficient material for the purpose.

The author met, however, with two great difficulties, namely, absence of private literature on the subject and the lack of sufficient information on plantations other than those in Assam. While he was not able to overcome these difficulties, he became convinced that practically all the valuable and available material on the subject had already been gathered. But his occupation in other work prevented him from publishing this monograph earlier.

The methodology and plan of work are the same in this monograph as in that on factory labour. An industrial system is an institution which grows out of social needs and only a genetic study can be helpful to the development of an intelligent social policy. While making a comprehensive, though concise, survey, the author has attempted to make it as objective as possible and has followed the historical and statistical methods.

In conclusion, the author welcomes this opportunity to express his deep gratitude to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor, *The Modern Review*, for genuine sympathy and kind interest in his work. He also wishes to thank sincerely Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee, M.A. (Cantab.), for kindly reading the manuscript and correcting the proofs.

Calcutta.
January, 1931. RAJANI KANTA DAS

## CONTENTS

# APPENDIX.

## The genuineness of some of the Lokayata-Sutras rescued from obscurity.

The following Sūtras are attributed to Bṛhaspati, the founder of the Lokāyata School, and in them we find the statements of the Chārvākas quoted verbatim.

(१) पृथिव्यप्तेजोवायुरिति तत्त्वानि

(२) ततसमुदाये शरीरेन्द्रिय-विषय-संज्ञा

(३) तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम्

(४) किण्वादिभ्योमदशक्तिवत्

(५) काम एवैकः पुरुषार्थः

(६) अनुमानमप्रमाणम्

(७) चैतन्य विशिष्टः कायः पुरुषः

(८) मरणमेवापवर्गः

Of these eight Sūtras the first four are quoted by Bhāskarāchāryya as the Sūtras of Bṛhaspati of the Lokāyata school of philosophy. The first three are also quoted by Kamalaçila in his Commentary on the Tattvasangraha and also by Guṇaratna in his Tarkarahashyadīpika.* The third and second part of the fourth and the seventh are quoted by Çankara

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* *Vide* Brahma Sūtra Bhāshya of Bhâskarâchâryya and Çankara (III. 3. 53.—तथाच बार्हस्पत्यानि सूत्राणि ) and the Panjikā of Kamalaçila (Goekwad's Oriental Series, p. 520तथाच तेषां सूत्रम्· From the context it is clear that the pronoun तेषां refers to the Lokāyatikas ) *Vide* also the commentary of Guṇaratna (on Sloka 84) of Saddarçana Samuchchaya.

in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra. The fifth, seventh and eighth are quoted by Sadānanda in the Advaita Brahmasiddhi as the sutras of Bṛhaspati.*

The fifth Sūtra is quoted by Nilakantha (in his Commentary on the Gita) as belonging to Bṛhaspati of the Lokāyata school.* The sixth Sūtra is collected from the Commentary on the Sammati Tarka-prakaraṇa named Tattvabodhavidhāyinī of Abhaya-devasuri.† The seventh aphorism is quoted (in the Commentary on the Gīta) by Çrīdhara as belonging to Bṛhaspati of the Lokāyata school.‡

We know from the Panjikā of Kamalaçila on Çloka 1864 of the Tattvasangraha* and from other similar sources that a Çloka sometimes came to be called a Sūtra. We also know that works in a mixed style of Sūtras and verses are not rare in the field of Sanskrit Literature. The existing editions of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra and Kautilya's Artha Çastrā may be mentioned as instances to the point. They are written in a mixed style of Sūtras and Çlokas, the substance of the Sūtras being sometimes summarised in the Çlokas. Mādhavāchāryya in his Sarvadarçanasangraha follows this mixed style of prose and verse when giving the Chārvāka view. In view of the facts, cited above, it will not be far from the truth to say that Bṛhaspati of the Lokāyata school also wrote his 'sūtra-work' in a mixed style of Sūtras and verses and that the verses quoted by Mādhava as belonging to Bṛhaspati are genuine i.e. they belong

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* तथाच बार्हस्पत्यानि सूत्राणि.

* Vide XVI. 11.—तथाच बार्हस्पत्यम् सूत्रम्

† *Vide* Gujrat Puratattva series Vol. I., p. 70— तथाहि बृहस्पति सूत्रम्

‡ *Vide* XVI. 11.—तथाच बार्हस्पत्यं सूत्रम्

§ तथाच सूत्रं कायादेवेति।

to the lost Sütra-work of Bṛhaspati. These verses are quoted below.

बृहस्पतिनाप्युक्तम्—

न स्वर्गो नापवर्गोवा नैवात्मा पारलौकिकः
नैववर्णाश्रमादीनां क्रियाश्च फलदायिकाः ॥ १ ॥
अग्निहोत्रं त्रयोवेदास्त्रिदण्डं भस्मगुण्ठनं ।
बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविका धातृनिर्म्मिता ॥ २ ॥
पशुश्चेन्निहतः स्वर्गं ज्योतिष्टोमे गमिष्यति ।
स्वपिता यजमानेन तत्र कस्मान्न हिंस्यते ॥ ३ ॥
मृतानामपि जन्तूनां श्राद्धं चेत् तृप्तिकारणं ।
निर्व्वाणस्य प्रदीपस्य स्नेहः संवर्द्धयेच्छिखाम् ॥ ४ ॥
गच्छतामिह जन्तूनां व्यर्थं पाथेय कल्पनम् ।
गेहस्थ-कृत-श्राद्धेन पथि तृप्तिरवारिता ॥ ५ ॥
स्वर्गस्थिता यदाप्तिं गच्छेयुस्तत्रदानतः ।
प्रासादस्योपरिस्थानामत्र कस्मान्ददीयते ॥ ६ ॥
यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवेद् ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् ।
भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥ ७ ॥
यदि गच्छेत् परं लोकं देहादेष विनिर्गतः ।
कस्माद्भूयो नचायाति बन्धुस्नेहसमाकुलः ॥ ८ ॥
ततश्चजीवनोपायो ब्राह्मणैर्विहितस्त्विह ।
मृतानां प्रेतकार्य्याणि नह्यन्यद्विद्यते क्वचित् ॥ ९ ॥
त्रयो वेदस्य कर्त्तारो भण्ड-धूर्त्त-निशाचराः ।
जर्भरी तुर्फरीत्यादि पण्डितानां वचः स्मृतं ॥ १० ॥
अश्वस्यात्रहि शिश्नन्तु पत्नीग्राह्यं प्रकीर्त्तितम् ।
भण्डैस्तद्वत् परं चैव ग्राह्य जातं प्रकीर्त्तितम् ।
मांसानां खादनं तद्वन्निशाचरसमीरितम् ॥ ११ ॥

इति

Mention may also be made here of some sūtras, ascribed to the Lokāyata school. They are not directly attributed to Bṛhaspati. On the other hand, there is no strong reason to prove that they do not belong to the work of Bṛhaspati. There are Sūtras quoted in some places as belonging simply to the Lokāyata or Chārvāka school, while in other places the same sūtras are attributed to Bṛhaspati.

Again, there is no ground for supposing that all these sūtras belong to Bṛhaspati ; for we know the names of other sūtrakāras of the Lokāyata school, namely Chārvāka, Purandara, Kambalāsvatara and Bhāguri.

In any case, there is no reason to believe that they are not the Lokāyata-sūtras. They may safely be collected as being the genuine Sūtras of the Lokāyata school.

The said Sūtras are the following :—

(१) न धर्म्मांश्चरेत्

(२) एष्यत्फललात्

(३) सांशयिकलाच्च

(४) कोद्यबालि हस्तगतं परगतं कुर्य्यात्

(५) वरमद्य कपोतः श्वो-मयूरात्

(६) वरं सांशयिकान्निषकादसांशयिकः कार्षापणः

(७) शरीरेन्द्रिय संघात एव चेतनः चैतन्यः

(८) काम एव प्राणिनां कारणम्

(९) परलोकिनोऽभावात् परलोकाभावः

(१०) दृष्टलोक परलोक शरीरयोर्भिन्नलात् तद्गतयोरपि चित्तयोर्नैकः सन्तानः

(११) एतावानेव पुरुषो यावानिन्द्रियगोचरः

(१२) प्रत्यक्षमेवैकं प्रमाणं

The first six Sūtras are ascribed by Vātsāyana in his Kāmasūtra to the Lokāyata school.* The seventh Sūtra is a quotation by Madusūdana in his Commentary on the Gīta, and it is stated to belong to the Lokāyata school.† The eighth Sūtra is found as a quotation by Çankarāchāryya in his Commentary on the Gīta. There it is referred to as an extract from the work of the Lokāyata school.‡ The ninth Sūtra is quoted in the Commentary on the Tattvasangraha as belonging to the Lokāyata school § This Sūtra is also quoted in the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa in the same form and as belonging to the same Lokāyata school.¶ The next two Sūtras are found quoted in the Commentary on the Tattvasangraha as an extract from the work of the Lokāyata school.* The last Sūtra stated above is quoted in the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa as belonging to the work of the Chārvāka school.† We are tempted to add here another Sūtra in Çloka form of the Svabhāvavādins who are later on identified with the Lokāyatikas and the Chārvākas. This verse originally belonged to the standard work of the Lokāyata school. The verse is this:—

कः कन्टकानां प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं
विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणाञ्च ।

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* *Vide* Kāmāsūtra I., 2. 25—30.

† इति चौकायतिकाः

‡ इति चौकायतिकदृष्टिरियम्

§ तथाहि तस्यैतत् सूत्रम्. From the context it is evident that the pronoun तस्य refers to the Lokāyata school.

¶ Gujrat Puratattva series, p. 71.

* Gaekwad's Oriental series, p. 523.

† Gujrat Puratattva series, p. 73.

माधुर्य्यं मिक्षोः कटुतांच निम्बे
स्वभावतः सर्व्वमिदं प्रवृत्तम् ॥

In addition to the above, we find some other Sūtras of the Lokāyata school which are directly attributed to persons other than Bṛhaspati. This proves that Bṛhaspati was not the only worker of this school. After him there must have been many workers in the field. There is, therefore, no strong evidence for the supposition that these Sūtras are not equally genuine. These Sūtras are—

(१) प्रमाणस्यागौणत्वादनुमानादर्थनिश्चयोदुर्ल्लभः

(२) कायादेव ततोज्ञानं प्राणापानाद्यधिष्ठिताद्-
युक्तं जायते

(३) सर्व्वं च पर्य्यनुयोग पराण्येव सूत्राणि बृहस्पतेः

Of these three Sūtras the first is quoted in the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa as belonging to a work of the Lokāyata school and is attributed to a philosopher of the name of Purandara.§ Perhaps, this Purandara was the author of a later sūtra work of the Lokāyata school in which the views of Bṛhaspati were expounded. The next sūtra is quoted in the Tattvasangraha—as belonging to Kambalāsvatara, one of the earliest writers of the

‡ Bhattotpala's commentary on Bṛhatsamhitā, Saddarçana Samuchchaya Vritti of Guṇaratna, Dallana's commentary on Suçruta, Chapt. I.

§ *Vide* The Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa of the Gujrat Purātattva series Vol. I., p. 70—एतच्च पौरन्दरं सूत्रम् Most probably this Purandara is identical with Purandara mentioned in the Commentary of Kamalaçila and referred to in the Tattvasangraha of Sāntarakshita. From the foot note of the page we know that this Purandara is mentioned also in the Syādbhādaratnākara.

Lokāyata system.* Perhaps, this Kambalāsvatara was another expounder of the system like Purandara. The last sutra is quoted in the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa—as a saying of the Chārvākas.†

From what has been said above, we may reasonably believe that all these passages are the statements of the Chārvākas quoted verbatim and they are equally genuine although compared with the vast ocean of Barhaspatya sūtras now lost, they are but a few drops.

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* *Vide* p. 521—तथाच सूत्रं—कायादेवेति कम्बलाश्वतरोदितमिति ।

† Vol. I., p. 69—इति चार्वाकैरभिहितम्

## *Extracts from some of the opinions on Prof. Dakshinaranjan Shastri's Chārvāka Shashti.*

Professor F. W. Thomas (Oxford) writes :—

We can hardly now hope to recover any original treatise of the school and we must therefore be grateful to you for giving us a collection of the most important passages where its statements are quoted verbally or in substance. The introductory essays also are in my view well informed and instructive.

Professor Louis dela Vallie Poussin (Brusselles) writes :—

Your Chārvāka Shashti is a good piece of work and deserves praise both for Sanskrit and philosophical skill. The subject is one of the most obscure and interesting. *I find, with pleasure, that you mention some facts and opinions which had escaped my notice.*

Professor Keith (Edinburgh) writes :—

Your work appears to be very carefully carried out.

Professor Rapson (Cambridge) writes :—

It is an ingenious reconstruction of the tenets of the Lokāyata system.

Mahāmohopādhyāya Dr. Gangānāth Jhā (Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University) writes :—

It is a most interesting compilation and bears evidence of great industry.

Mahāmohopādhyāya Professor Kuppuswami Shastri M.A., I.E.S. (Madras) writes in an article (Recent work in Indian thought. The New Era, December, '28) :—

It may not be out of place to refer in this connection to the somewhat amusing attitudinisation which one cannot help noticing in an interesting and useful compilation by Mr. Dakshinaranjan Shastri, M.A. which was published in Calcutta last month under the name of Chārvāka Shashti.

Professor Rādhākrishnan (Calcutta University) writes :—

Those who wish to study Indian Materialism from Sanskrit sources will find the book extremely useful. The *New Era*, Nov., 1928.

Principal Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A., (Benares) writes :—

The author has spared no pains to make his compilations thorough and useful. There is no doubt that this contribution to the study of Lokāyata Philosophy will find an honoured place in the history of Indian thought.

Professor Dhirendramohon Dutt, M.A., P.R.S., (Patna) writes :—

চার্ব্বাকের মত সম্বন্ধে ধারাবাহিক কোন নিবন্ধ এপর্য্যন্ত বাহির হয় নাই। আপনি বিভিন্ন স্থান হইতে চার্ব্বাকের মত সঙ্কলন করিয়া এবং ইংরাজী