published a resolution on this memorandum, and *inter alia* recommended the establishment of technical schools at places where industries were centralised, and in large towns where a demand for superior skill might be said to exist. It was also recommended that each province should carry out an industrial survey, and the question of pursuing a forward policy in matters of technical education referred to a standing committee of educational experts and professional men.

In Bengal this industrial survey was made by an officer of the Civil Service who reported at the end of the year 1890, and the second portion of his report dealing with the subject of technical education made the following proposals:

(1) The institution of schools for mining students in connection with the coal mining industry.
(2) The training of mechanical engineers by the introduction of apprentices into the workshops connected with the State Railways.
(3) The provision of special training for apprentices and intelligent workmen in the railway and canal workshops in Calcutta and environments.
(4) The institution of improved industrial schools and the encouragement of industrial classes.
(5) The appointment of an inspector to supervise industrial education.
(6) Private firms, Municipalities and District Boards to be encouraged to open technical schools.

The report was reviewed by the Bengal Government in 1891, and it was decided to push on with the training of mining assistants, to establish a hostel for the apprentices in the locomotive workshops at Kanchrapara, and to set up a textile weaving school at Berhampore. The policy determined upon this report emphasised that the advancement of technical education was not a matter which could be pressed regardless of the demand or of economy, and it was clear that practical progress in this matter was more or less limited to the development of the Bengal Engineering College at Sibpur, for the purpose of training civil engineers for the Public Works Department of Government, and also the Calcutta School of Art. It is significant that progress was made contingent upon considerations of economy and the existence of a demand.

DIFFICULTIES

Important matters of this kind when handled by persons with limited experience and with subordination to considerations of economy seldom get far. In this instance stagnation inevitably followed, as will be clear when it is understood that practically all the recommendations made in the year 1890 have only now been brought to fruition, and only that within the last decade. It is difficult to diagnose the causes of the slow progress made, but judging from later experience it seems clear that the absence of scientifically trained leaders, in responsible positions, and the inability of the few prominent and successful industrialists to comprehend the supreme importance of technical education, and the necessity of putting into effect practical measures for its culture, left matters practically entirely to the pedagogical and other academical interests.

There were, of course, other difficulties to contend with, by far the most substantial of which resided in the lethargy and supineness of the general public. Ambition for an industrial career has never been common in the ranks of India's young intelligentsia. Such application to industrial pursuits

as obtains today is of quite recent origin. Ambition of this kind has had to be generated, and much seed sown has fallen upon hard and unreceptive ground. Following India's hoary traditions all manual and creative work and handicrafts in village and town economy have been performed by the more humble members of the community; people who are largely denied opportunities of culture, knowledge and enterprise by a rigourous quasi-religious social order.

India's people undoubtedly possess unquestioned gifts and skill as craftsmen, as well as mental acumen and intelligence of the highest order, but it still remains a comparatively rare phenomenon to find a combination of practical craftsmanship and high intelligence united in the one and the same personality. However, it seems certain that this state of affairs is in 1927 passing away, accelerated by the more effective measures now either in operation or on the point of establishment for the promotion and practice of technical and industrial education.

INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

So far, however, we have only touched on the harsher aspects of the picture. It can be said that during the long incubation period the technical education torch was never entirely extinguished. It flared up vigourously here and there. For example, a technological institute was established with Government financial aid and encouragement in Bombay in the early years of the twentieth century. In the year 1901 a Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction of the various provinces was held at Simla to consider the questions of the industrial education of the peoples of India. As a result of the deliberations, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, submitted a report proposing that a school should be established for the purpose of giving instruction in up-to-date methods of hand weaving, as, next to agriculture, handloom weaving constituted the most important industry of rural Bengal. A special committee was then appointed to constitute enquiries into the economic conditions of the handloom industry, the causes of its decline and to suggest remedial measures. They were unanimous in their opinion that the industry still possessed great vitality and that it could be revived and fostered by the introduction of fly-shuttle looms and by instruction given on modern methods of weaving. Accordingly, Serampore was found as the most suitable centre in which operations could be commenced, and an Institute was opened there in 1908.

In 1906 the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians submitted proposals for the establishment of a similar institution to that in Bombay for Bengal. The subjects proposed for the new technological college were nine in number, namely, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Spinning and Weaving, Sheet Metal and Enamel Work, Industrial Chemistry, Dyeing and Paints, Ceramic, Silk, Mining and Metallurgy. This proposal was examined with the object of ascertaining how far it would trespass upon the future of the existing Civil Engineering College at Sibpur near Calcutta, which had hitherto been specifically devoted to the training of young men for posts in the Public Works Department of the province. The proposal did not proceed beyond the discussion stage.

At this time the Madras Provincial Government was anxious to promote industrial activities in its province, and the general line taken was that its policy should incline to the development and fostering of industries in the

first instance as precedent to the introduction of technical and industrial schools. The tendency in Bengal, on the other hand, had always been in the direction of applying Government policy to the promotion of technical education apart from the consideration as to whether actual industries were in existence or otherwise. This can be understood, inasmuch as Bengal has always been foremost amongst the provinces in India in regard to industrial enterprise. Its proximity to the coal fields and the availability of the jute monopoly as the basis of its great textile industry may be accepted as an adequate reason for this state of affairs. The line of policy advocated in Madras, however, did not commend itself to higher authority. It was indicated generally that any reasonable proposal for promoting technical education by itself would be encouraged, but any activity by Government agency in the direct promotion of actual industries was to be deprecated.

Again, so far back as the year 1900 it had been proposed in Bengal that an experienced technical education expert should be appointed to supervise industrial education. This proposal smouldered for some time. In 1910 an officer of that description was definitely appointed, in spite of discouraging criticism, and placed under the control of the Director of Public Instruction, the chief administrative officer of the general Educational Department of the Government. Generally he was to inspect such incipient technical schools and industrial classes as then existed. He was to keep himself in close touch with the industries of the province and to tour in the districts not less than 150 days in a year. Although the officer appointed was a man of considerable ability and experience of technical educational schools in England, which experience he appears to have applied in an assiduous manner to the programme placed in front of him, little progress was achieved largely because this officer contracted malaria and had to be invalided home.

DEVELOPMENT

It was unfortunate that administration of Bengal at this period was in a state of flux. Three of its important divisions were transferred from its control and combined with the districts of Assam under a local government of its own. The creation of a new province afforded an excellent opportunity for reviewing the position in regard to industrial education and development, and little time was lost in assembling a representative conference in the year 1909 for this purpose.

A most exhaustive survey of the position resulted, and a report was presented embodying not less than 70 resolutions. The main substance of these resolutions, however, resolved into the advocacy for the establishment of a separate and new Department of Industries by the local Government whose main functions were to be

(a) The scientific investigation of industrial problems,
(b) The collection and supply of information,
(c) The pioneering of new industries and of improved processes,
(d) The better organisation of industries, and
(e) The control of technical and industrial education

The department was to be developed under the control of an officer as director, assisted by an Advisory Board of responsible officials and interested non-officials and local gentlemen. This proposal was adopted by the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government. Its main difficulty was that of providing the necessary funds. While the scheme received the blessing of both the Gov-

ernment of India and with some modification of the then Secretary of State, it suffered the misfortune that by the time approval was received, that is, in the year 1912, the separate Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam had been dissolved. The torch was thus handed back again to the provincial Government of Bengal.

While these considerations had been occupying the attention of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the question of technical education had not remained entirely moribund. At this time the difficulty in Bengal was the existence and development of the Civil Engineering College at Sibpur on the outskirts of Calcutta. Was it desirable to develop this college into a large polytechnic institution, embracing every possible technical subject, such as is included in the great Polytechnics of the West, the Manchester School of Technology, or the great German institution at Charlottenburg? If, again, development was to follow on these lines, should the polytechnic remain on the site at Sibpur, which till that time had been notoriously unhealthy, or should the location of the institution be moved to some central site in Calcutta where it would be in close contact with the numerous industries of the city and its suburbs, or should the bold step be taken of erecting the institution in a healthy situation far removed from Calcutta?

At this time a small night school was started in Calcutta for imparting technical education in mechanical and electrical subjects to the apprentices then employed in the various engineering workshops. This school was established largely through the enterprise of the staff of the East Indian Railway Company and of Messrs. Burn & Co., the latter being one of the largest local engineering concerns. If the polytechnic institution was to be developed in Calcutta, then it would naturally absorb this evening school within its scope, and this course was agreed to by the Managing Committee of the night school. No decision was arrived at for some considerable time, and indeed it was not until some years later that the final decision was taken that the Civil Engineering College should remain at Sibpur, effective measures being taken to improve its drainage and water supply on the score of health, the college being confined to its main purpose, that is, to that of providing Civil Engineering and Mechanical and Electrical courses of a university standard. A corollary to this decision followed, that is, that the polytechnic institution should be an entirely separate concern.

IMPORTANT ISSUES

To all these discussions another issue of vital importance always lay in the background, whether this polytechnic institution was to remain under the control of the Education Department of Government, or whether its creation and development was to be handed over to a newly established Department of Industries entirely separate from the Education Department—it being understood that the Department of Industries would make it a cardinal feature of its policy to associate the industrial concerns of the province in establishing the polytechnic institution.

The next stage at which the importance of technical education was emphasised arose out of the considerations advanced by the Bengal District Administration Committee in the year 1913. In dealing with the economic condition of the people the Committees found that there was in existence a large educated class scattered through country villages, as well as in the few towns, who were all either rent receivers, salaried employees or professional men. Only a small portion of these

persons lived a life of productive activity while they were found to be acutely conscious of their industrial ineffectiveness. The Committee urged the desirability of adopting such remedial and beneficent measures as would afford some relief to the difficult economic situation then existing. They considered that the most promising line of policy was to help persons of this character to take a part in organised industries. The fact that many attempts at establishing national industries had been made in the troublous times that had followed the division of the province, showed that such developments were consonant with the ambitions of the educated youth of the country.

It was thought that many of these indigenous enterprises had been prevented from attaining economic success owing to a lack of technical knowledge and of the commercial experience necessary to such ventures. The Committee were of the opinion that these defects might be remedied if Government came out with a bold policy of helping the people to establish small organised industries demonstrating the possibilities of modern mechanical appliances, and indeed of stimulating the application to industrial and technical processes in every possible way, and to this end the Committee again advocated the setting up of a Department of Industries under a highly skilled experienced and competent director who had himself accumulated a comprehensive industrial experience, the department to be entirely free from the supervision of the Department of Education.

For this latter reason the Committee were not prepared to advocate the proposals for the Calcutta Technological Institute and the University School of Engineering at Dacca as they stood at that time. They desired to lift the whole question out of the hands of the scholastic Department of Education and develop it in conditions more amenable to the commercial and industrial interests of the province. The Committee also expressed its conviction that the newly established Department of Industries should be coördinated with the existing Coöperative Credit and Agricultural Departments. At this point another experienced Government officer was deputed to make an enquiry into, and report on the industrial development of the province.

This officer also formed the opinion that the encouragement to industrial development by Government might take a more active form than had hitherto been the case, and he pressed for a forward policy in undertaking demonstration of possibilities of manufacture, ascertaining the cost of the same, the possibilities of markets and the margin of profit that might be obtained, and quoted from the successful experience of the then existing Department of Industries in Madras in this connection. The upshot of all these schemes, investigations and reports was that in May, 1915, the Government of Bengal decided to establish its own Department of Industries—an action which was ultimately sanctioned by the Government of India and which led to the establishment of the post of Director of Industries with a senior member of the Civil Service as the occupant in 1917.

At this time the prosecution of the war and the fact that India was the base of the extensive military operations in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere, had made it necessary for Government to take active measures in mobilising men, material and manufactured articles for war purposes. The post of Controller of Munitions as being responsible for these activities was combined with that of the Director of Industries, hence it happened that the

newly established department was entirely pre-occupied with munition production and war work down to the end of the year 1919. In 1920 the nucleus staff gradually took up the threads of the many schemes previously adumbrated and thus finally emerged as a new and entirely independent Department of Industries under an Indian Minister, as a transferred subject, following upon the reforms in Government administration in 1919.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

One of its first tasks was to lay down a comprehensive programme of technical and industrial education providing such facilities for a student at any stage in the general education line. For example, next to agriculture the largest and most widespread rural industry is that of weaving. By means of the peripatetic weaving schools, which have now been established to the number of 26, it is possible for an almost illiterate boy to obtain a short course of instruction extending over two months by means of which a small income can be made by plying the fly shuttle hand loom. No fee is charged for such instruction but, on the other hand, a small stipend is given to a limited number of students. Admittedly this only touches the fringe of the problem, but this is only the lowest rung of the technical education ladder.

Where a semi-literate boy can be maintained for a period of one year, he may obtain a more comprehensive training as an artisan weaver, in silk or cotton weaving and dyeing, at the various district weaving schools, the central Serampore Weaving Institute, or the Silk Weaving Institute at Berhampore. Again for boys who are semi-literate with some knowledge of English, artisan classes in woodwork and smithy work are available at small handicrafts or technical schools situated in ten of the principal district towns of the province. Scholarships or stipends are available to large numbers, and after a course of three years in these schools a boy, who has shown any application at all, is able to command a salary of Rs. 40 per month as a workman in the various water works, jute presses, and other small factories existing in the rural districts.

The department has also embarked upon a policy of extending the numbers of these technical schools and also of increasing the scope of the instruction given in the same in coöperation with District Boards and local bodies. The improved schools are called Junior Technical Schools. They include workshop courses in which the primary machine tools such as lathes, drilling machines, circular saws, planing machines, pneumatic smithy hammers, etc., are installed, and they contain sufficient equipment to familiarise boys up to 15 or 16 years of age, literate in English, in the elements of industrial machinery and processes, with the object of winning them into organised industry. It is realised that while such training will not make first-class fitter mechanics or machinists, such as are required for and are trained in large factories and the railway workshops, nevertheless, training of this kind will make it possible for the sons of local gentlemen, with some financial resources, to organise and embark upon a small scale industry such as a motor garage repairing workshop, rice mill, ice factory, etc.

A further opportunity available to boys of limited education with some knowledge of English is the training in surveying for posts as surveyors, usually known as Amins. This training is given at four of the technical schools, and for a very small fee sufficient instruction is given to enable a boy to obtain employment in the surveying

line under estate proprietors, municipalities, Revenue Department of Government and so on. A further and more comprehensive training enabling boys to pass an examination held by the Survey Education Advisory Board is given at the senior Survey School at Mainamati. The boys who successfully pass this course get employment as certificated surveyors under local bodies, Public Works Department, etc., on a salary from Rs. 50 to 150 per month. Arising out of this course opportunities are provided for eight students who have passed the Survey Board Final examination each year to proceed to the Bengal coal fields, where they are given a special training in mine surveying work.

Advanced Instruction

So far only the facilities available to boys with a less standard of education than the University Matriculation Standard has been considered. For those boys who have arrived at the matriculate stage a much larger field for technical and industrial instruction is available. In three of the district technical schools and also in the Dacca School of Engineering, a two-year course is given in elementary engineering subjects combined with simple workshop training in carpentry and smithy work, which enables such boys to find openings under the District Boards and other public local authorities, or even as contractors or sub-overseers, that is, the supervisors' posts necessary for carrying out road construction, water supply, drainage schemes, etc. Here again the salary available after such training is not less than Rs. 40 per month and may go much higher.

There is in addition at the Dacca School of Engineering, a further course of training up to the Overseer Standard of the Public Works Department. The course occupies two years longer and with one year's practical training under the Public Works Department, or other satisfactory experience, admission to the Upper Subordinate Engineering Service of the Public Works Department is possible. The department also maintains courses of instruction in mining in the coal fields. A lecture hall has been built at Sitarampore, and a lecturer with academical qualifications and a first-class colliery manager's certificate is responsible for a three-year course of lectures covering the whole range of relevant technical subjects including Surveying, Principles of Coal Mining, Application of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering in Collieries, etc.

The students who finish the course and pass the examination at its conclusion satisfactorily, have possibilities for employment as colliery managers. When the present slump in the coal fields disappears, prospects of employment in this line will undoubtedly be good. A first-class School of Mines and Geology, aiming at the same standard as the Royal School of Mines in London, has been established by the Government of India in the centre of the coal fields in Dhanbad. The Bengal Government provide four scholarships, one of which is available at this School of Mines, to one of the students who passes the three-year course of lectureship under the mining instructor at Sitarampur.

Textiles and Tanning

Serampore is traditionally identified with the textile industry in Bengal from the time of the Danish settlement. In this town, some 15 miles from Calcutta, the department is building up a Central Textile Institute equipped with modern textile weaving machinery, testing laboratories as well as facilities for instruction in dyeing and fancy

weaving with hand fly shuttle looms. Young men of the Matriculate Standard taking the higher three-year course of this Institute get the whole course free. For a number of students stipends sufficient for their maintenance are provided and there are large and developing possibilities of employment in the cotton mills, numbers of which in Bengal are increasing, or as teachers in the ever expanding schools of instruction or demonstrations now being given all over the province for the improvement of the hand loom weaving industry. As time goes on the increasing number of textile factories under Indian management in Bengal will intensify the demand for practically trained intelligent young men in the principles of the textile industry.

Another branch of training for which the new Department of Industries is entirely responsible is that provided in the Bengal Tanning Institute in the outskirts of Calcutta. Here Government maintain a small experimental tannery together with a fully equipped leather chemistry laboratory and a two-year course in the laboratory, and in all the operations of a practical tannery, from the fleshing of the raw hide to the finished leather, whether by the vegetable or chrome processes, is available. Here again scholarships or stipends are provided as an inducement to deserving students. Those who have applied themselves to this two-year course with industry have found service in existing tanneries or have been able to launch out and establish small tanneries or leather working factories of their own.

NEED FOR TECHNICAL TRAINING

Technical education first came into prominent public attention in regard to the needs of the mechanical engineering industry, and it was for this industry that the first efforts to establish an evening technical school were made in Calcutta. The need for technical training to apprentices in large engineering workshops has been vocal for a number of years. Arising out of a developing opinion in this direction, the Government of Bengal appointed a representative committee to examine the position, and from the deliberations of this committee there has emerged the scheme for a Board of Control for Apprenticeship Training as well as the scheme which has ultimately resulted in the establishment of the large Technical School in Calcutta.

Under the Board of Control for Apprenticeship Training, the chairman of which is the Director of Industries, and whose members represent the large established mechanical and electrical industries, railway workshops, etc., an examination is held twice in every year which determines the number of young men who must have generally passed the Matriculation Standard in the general line, and who have the requisite qualifications for training as apprentices in various workshops. From the list of boys who have passed this admission examination, various workshops select their apprentices taken on each year.

Apprentices employed at the large locomotive and carriage workshops of the E. B. Railway, Kanchrapara, are given their technical training in a four-year course at the Kanchrapara Technical School, which has been built and staffed by the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal. Sixty-six young men are now being trained in the school, and all of them have the chance of employment under the railway subsequently. After their four-year course they are examined by the examiners appointed by the Board, who issue a certificate depending on the results of the same, while the best students have the chance of passing on to

the Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, and there qualify for the full diploma in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering issued by that college. For apprentices employed in the various engineering workshops in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, similar opportunities of training are provided at the Calcutta Technical School erected by the Government of Bengal in the centre of the city on a suitable site and at a total cost of nearly £80,000.

The nucleus of a similar technical school has been started at Khargpur, the site of the railway workshops of the B. N. Railway, as also under slightly different conditions at the Ishapur Rifle and Metal and Steel Factories of the Government of India near Calcutta. A technical school of this kind is also in contemplation near Chittagong, where the works of the Carriage and Railway Works of the A. B. Railway are situated. Students who pass the practical and technical courses under the Board of Control for Apprenticeship Training thus become eligible for the supervisors and higher grade posts in the railway services, as well as in the ordnance factories and other large engineering concerns situated in Bengal.

In conclusion it can be said that the policy being pursued by this new but important Government department is to set up model institutions both in the industrial and more rural centres, of the character most fitted to the local industrial needs and to involve and substantially encourage all unofficial effort, both by private or local civic bodies to emulate and develop the same. The prospect of real development on these lines is one of the most prominent features in the expansion and progress of the province.

Origin and Growth of Journalism Among Indians

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NEWSPAPERS *in their modern sense* began to be first published in India during the British period of Indian history. The first newspaper published in India was the *Bengal Gazette*, generally known as *Hickey's Gazette*, or *Journal*, from the name of its founder. It was first published in January, 1780. The first newspaper published in any Indian language was the *Samachar-Darpan* ("Mirror of News") in Bengali. Its first number was issued on May 23, 1818. The famous missionaries, Ward, Carey and Marshman, published it from Serampore, which was then a foreign, that is to say, non-British settlement. Regarding early Bengali newspapers, it is stated in the *Friend of India* for July, 1826:

> The first in point of age is the *Sumachar Durpan*, published at the Serampore Press, of which the first number appeared on the 23rd May, 1818. . . . The next two papers are the *Sumbad Koumudi* and *Sumbad Chandrika*. . . . The youngest of the papers is the *Teemer Nausuck*—"The Destroyer of Darkness."

The *Sumbad Koumudi* was founded and edited by Raja Rammohun Roy. He also founded and edited a Persian newspaper, named *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, or "Mirror of Intelligence." Another purely Indian newspaper, the *Bombay Samachar*, in Gujarati, was first published in 1822. Of all these early papers only the *Bombay Samachar* still exists. The circulation of all these papers was necessarily very small.

From the very beginning the press was looked upon with disfavour by the British authorities. Editors were discouraged and persecuted, and their activities were seriously restricted. Those in power could not brook any criticism. Editors were sometimes punished for the publication of even harmless news. From the year 1791 to the year 1799, several editors were deported to Europe without trial, whilst many more were censured and had to tender abject apologies. It is not necessary to follow in detail chronologically all the regulations and laws affecting the press in those early days. But as specimens of such legislation, the following passed by the Bengal Government in 1799 may be quoted:

> No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person authorized by him for that purpose.
>
> The penalty for offending against any one of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

How the press was looked upon by the authorities in those days will appear from the following extract from the Bengal Government's scheme for the publication of a newspaper at its own expense:

> The increase of private printing presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the first magnitude in its consequences. Of this sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year 1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and the public, and dubiously profitable to the speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence a few European adventurers who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence.

The Marquess of Hastings did not like to place great restrictions on the

liberty of the press and abolished press censorship during the latter part of his administration. The rules promulgated by him were less stringent than those which had been in force previously. They were as follows:

> The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads:
>
> 1. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Hon'ble Court of Directors or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the council, of the judges of the Supreme Court, or the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.
>
> 2. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religion or observances.
>
> 3. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.
>
> 4. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite discussion in society.

Immediately after the abolition of press censorship, James Silk Buckingham, editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, incurred the displeasure of the authorities. Lord Hastings did not want to take any extreme step against him. But his successor, Adam, a civilian who officiated as Governor-General for some time, ordered him to leave the country. Soon afterwards, on March 14, 1823, a Rule and Ordinance was passed, curtailing the liberty of the press. According to an Act of the British Parliament, 13 Geo. III, Cap. 63, every regulation made by the Governor-General of India then required to be sanctioned and registered by the Supreme Court before it passed into law—a provision subsequently repealed. Believing that a free press is one of the best safeguards of liberty, Raja Rammohun Roy petitioned the Supreme Court against the press ordinance; and, when that proved unavailing, he appealed to the King in Council, which also proved fruitless. In the opinion of Miss Sophia Dobson Collett, one of the Raja's biographers, the memorial to the Supreme Court

> may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian history. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English Culture in the East.

The same writer observes that

> the appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought recall the eloquence of the great orators of a century ago. In a language and style forever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British history.

It should be stated here that Lord Hastings encouraged journalism in India by allowing the *Samachar-Darpan*, published by the Serampore missionaries, to be carried by the post office at one-fourth the usual rates of postage.

Up to the year 1835 the press was confined mostly to the Presidency towns. Subsequently it spread to other cities also. During the Mutiny Lord Canning passed the Gagging Act to curb the license of a few papers and to prevent the publication of news which might be prejudicial to public interests. It was in force for only one year.

In the year 1858 there were 10 Anglo-Indian papers and 25 Indian papers. It is stated in the *Asiatic Journal* for August, 1826, that "the number of newspapers published in the languages of India, and designed solely for native readers, has increased, in the course of

seven years, from one to six. Four of these are in Bengali and two in Persian." These facts give us some idea of the progress of journalism from 1819 to 1858.

During 1918 the following newspapers and periodicals were published: in Madras, 254; Bombay, 140; Bengal, 353; United Provinces, 359; Punjab, 264; Burma, 35; Bihar and Orissa, 59; Central Provinces and Berar, 29; Delhi, 28; total, 1,521. The figures for the year 1924–25 were as follows: Madras, 597; Bombay, 816; Bengal, 632; United Provinces, 580; Punjab, 390; Burma, 139; Bihar and Orissa, 117; Central Provinces and Berar, 68; Assam, 35; Delhi, 75; total 3,449. These figures show that in the course of about seven years the number of journals had more than doubled, partly owing, it is believed, to the repeal of some penal and restrictive press laws in 1922. No information is available as to how many of them were Anglo-Indian and how many Indian. But by far the largest part of the press in India is Indian, numbering over 650 newspapers in 1927 (excluding periodicals).

Some idea of the restrictive press legislation before and during the Mutiny has been given above. The present Press and Registration of Books Act was passed in 1867. The Vernacular Press Act, which did not affect papers conducted in English, was passed by the Viceroy Lord Lytton in 1878. It is believed that its chief object was to kill or cripple the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which was then a Bengali weekly. But that object was frustrated by the conductors of the paper bringing it out in English from the very next week after the passing of that Act. It was repealed in 1882 during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. From that date till 1907 there was no direct press legislation. But what is called "sedition" has been sought to be eradicated by the passing in 1898 of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code in its present form and by the introduction into the Penal Code of section 153A and into the Criminal Procedure Code of section 108. For dealing with papers inciting to political murder or to other acts of violence, the Government passed the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act in 1908.

THE PRESS ACT OF 1910

The Indian Press Act was passed in 1910. As to this Act the Indian yearbook of 1927 states:

> The Act deals, not only with incitements to murder and acts of violence, but also with other specified classes of published matter, including any words or signs tending to seduce soldiers or sailors from their allegiance or duty, to bring into hatred or contempt the British Government, any Native Prince, or any section of His Majesty's subjects in India, or to intimidate public servants or public individuals.
>
> The different sections of the Act have in view (I) control over presses and means of publication, (II) control over publishers of newspapers, (III) control over the importation into British India and the transmission by the post of objectionable matter; (IV) the suppression of seditious or objectionable newspapers, books, or other documents wherever found.
>
> By the autumn of 1917 the Government of India had begun to consider the desirability of modifying at least one section of the Press Act to which great exception had been taken on account of the wide powers that it gave. Finally, after more than once consulting Local Governments, a Committee was appointed in February, 1921, after a debate in the Legislative Assembly, to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and the Indian Press Act, 1910, and report what modifications were required in the existing law. That Committee made an unanimous report in July, 1921, recommending:
>
> (1) The Press Act should be repealed.
>
> (2) The Newspapers Incitements to Offences Act should be repealed.

(3) The Press and Registration of Books Act and the Post Office Act should be amended where necessary to meet the conclusions noted below: (*a*) the name of the editor should be inscribed on every issue of a newspaper and the editor should be subject to the same liabilities as the printer and publisher, as regards criminal and civil responsibilities; (*b*) any person registering under the Press and Registration of Books Act should be a major as defined by the Indian Majority Act; (*c*) local Governments should retain the power of confiscating openly seditious leaflets, subject to the owner of the press or any other person aggrieved being able to protest before a court and challenge the seizure of such documents, in which case the local Government ordering the confiscation should be called upon to prove the seditious character of the documents. (*d*) The powers conferred by sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act should be retained, Customs and Postal officers being empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code subject to review on the part of the local Government and challenge by any persons interested in the courts; (*e*) any person challenging the orders of Government should do so in the local High Court; (*f*) the term of imprisonment prescribed in sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act should be reduced to six months; (*g*) the provisions of section 16 of the Press Act should be reproduced in the Press and Registration of Books Act.

Effect was given to these recommendations during the year 1922.

In 1927 an Act was passed making it a specific offense to intentionally insult or attempt to insult the religion or to outrage or attempt to outrage the religious feelings of any class of Emperor George V's subjects in India.

THE ETHICS OF JOURNALISM

It is only in recent years that some Indian journals have been started mainly as business enterprises. Formerly Indian newspapers for the most used to be conducted mainly with the object of serving the country. I do not mean to suggest that no journal conducted for pecuniary gain can do good to the country, though in starting and running newspapers the sole or chief object should not be money. It is true, newspapers cannot be conducted without money; but sufficient money can be earned for running a journal without sacrificing moral principles and public good. The average young Indian journalist who works for money takes to the profession with a high object. His achievement can, however, only be commensurate with his character, attainments, capacity and industry.

Ours is a very difficult task. I shall point out the difficulties with reference to Indian conditions. We have to serve and please many masters. The staff of those journals which are owned by capitalists have to serve them. They may not in all cases have to do their bidding directly, but there is indirect, perhaps unconscious, pressure on their minds. But even in the case of those journalists who are proprietors of their own papers, there are other masters to serve and please. There is the circle of readers, drawn from all or some political, social, religious (orthodox or reforming), or communal sections. There are the advertisers. And last of all, one must not offend the ruling bureaucracy beyond a certain more or less unknown and unknowable point. Having to serve so many masters, we may seek to be excused for not listening, above all, to the voice of the Master within, speaking through our conscience. But there can be no excuse. Ours is a sacred duty. We must not sacrifice our convictions for any advantage whatsoever. Great is the temptation to play to the gallery;

but our task is to mould and guide as well as to give publicity to public opinion.

An endowed newspaper may probably be placed beyond some of the direct and indirect influences spoken of above. But these influences are not always harmful. However, the experiment of an endowed newspaper is worth trying. Though not exactly endowed, the *Freeman* of America was conducted for some years successfully under a guarantee of its deficits being paid by a public-spirited lady.

INDIAN JOURNALISM TODAY

It is obvious that the spread of literacy and education has greatly to do with the progress of journalism and journalistic success. Political freedom and economic prosperity are other factors in such progress and success. Religious and social freedom also are indispensable for progress in journalism. Indians are for the most part illiterate, only 82 per thousand persons, aged 5 and over, being literate. India is also a dependent country subject to stringent and elastic laws of sedition, etc. Our religious and social superstitions are another obstacle. And, last of all, India is a very poor country. No wonder, then, that we possess only a small number of journals compared with other peoples who are more educated, more prosperous and politically and socially free. The following table will give some idea of the position we occupy in the field of journalism. The figures are taken from the Statesman's Year-Book for 1927:

Country	Population	Number of Journals
India	318,942,480	3,449
Canada	8,788,483	1,554
United States of America	115,378,000	20,681
Japan	61,081,954	4,592
Chile	3,963,462	627

The table shows that in proportion to her population India possesses a much smaller number of newspapers and periodicals than the countries named above, which are all politically free and more educated and prosperous. But the mere number of India's journals perhaps gives an exaggerated idea of her progress in this respect. For, whereas in United States of America, Japan, etc., many newspapers and periodicals have sales exceeding a million each, no journal in India has a circulation of even 50,000, most papers having a circulation of only a few hundred or a thousand.

Though India has a large population, the multiplicity of languages spoken there, added to the prevailing illiteracy, stands in the way of any vernacular journal having a very large circulation. Of all vernaculars Hindi is spoken by the largest number of persons, namely, about 99 millions. But unfortunately all the Hindi-speaking regions in India are among the most illiterate in the country. Moreover, as the speakers of Hindi live in four or five different provinces, and, as owing to distance and other causes, papers published in one province do not circulate largely in others, Hindi papers cannot under present circumstances have a large circulation. About 50 millions of people speak Bengali. Most of them live in Bengal. But owing to most of them being illiterate, Bengali journals also cannot have a large circulation. Each of the other vernaculars is spoken by less than 25 millions, and several by only a few hundred thousands. Some papers conducted in English, particularly those owned and edited by Britishers, circulate in more than one province. The British-owned and British-edited

papers are more prosperous than Indian ones; because the British sojourners here are well-to-do and can all buy papers, and the adults among them are all literate. Another reason is that, as India's commerce, trade, manufacturing industries and transport are mostly in their hands, their papers get plenty of advertisements. Our journals cannot prosper and multiply in number unless all our adults are able to read, and unless the commerce, manufacturing industries and transport of our country come into our hands.

Besides illiteracy and other causes, our postage rates stand in the way of the circulation of our papers. In Japan postcards cost four and a half pies, in India six pies. In Japan the lowest postage rate for newspapers is half sen, or one and a half pie; here it is three pies. There are differences in other items, too, all to the advantage of Japan. For this and other reasons, though Japan has a much smaller population than India, the number of letters, postcards, newspapers, parcels and packets dealt with by the Indian Post Office is smaller than the volume of ordinary (as apart from the foreign) mail matters handled by the Japanese Post Office, as the following table shows:

Country	Population	Mail Matters	Year
India...	318,942,480	1,214,425,235	1924–25
Japan .	61,081,954	3,806,120,000	1920–21

The invention of typewriting machines has greatly facilitated the speedy preparation of quite legible "copy" for the press. But so far as the Vernaculars of India are concerned, the invention has not benefited their writers much. For many of these vernaculars have different kinds of characters and alphabets, for all of which typewriters have not been invented. And the machines constructed for some of the vernaculars are not at all as satisfactory and as convenient to use as those constructed for Roman characters. A great difficulty is the existence in Sanskritic alphabets of numerous compound consonantal letters and the different forms which the vowels assume when connected with consonants. "X" is the only compound consonantal letter in English. In the Sanskritic alphabets they are quite numerous.

A far greater handicap than the absence of satisfactory typewriting machines for our vernaculars is the non-existence of type-casting and setting machines like the linotype, the monotype, etc., for our vernaculars. Unless there be such machines for the vernaculars, daily newspapers in them can never promptly supply the reading public with news and comments thereupon, as fresh and full as newspapers conducted in English. The vernacular dailies labour also under the disadvantage that they receive all their inland and foreign telegraphic messages in English, which they have to translate before passing them on to the printer's department, which dailies conducted in English have not got to do. Reporting in the vernaculars has not made as much progress as in English, which latter even is here in a backward condition. This fact often necessitates the translation of English reports into the vernacular. I am dwelling on these points, because journals conducted in English can never appease the news-hunger, views-hunger and knowledge-hunger of the vast population of India. Of the 22,623,651 literate persons in India, only 2,527,350 are literate in English. When there is universal and free compulsory education throughout India

this difference between the number of literates in the vernacular and that of literates in English will most probably increase instead of decreasing. Therefore, for the greatest development of journalism in India, we must depend on its development through the medium of the vernaculars.

Madras has earned for itself the credit of establishing an institution for imparting education in journalism. Fully equipped institutions for giving such training should be established at all University centres. As reporting has necessarily to be taught at all such schools, special attention should be paid to reporting in the vernaculars.

Progress in journalism depends to a great extent on the supply of cheap paper, ink, etc. Raw materials for their manufacture exist in India in abundance. If we could supply our own paper, ink, etc., that would be a great step forward. The manufacture of our own printing machinery would also be a great help. Though that is not a problem whose solution can be looked for in the immediate future, we note with hope that the mineral resources of India are quite sufficient for all such purposes.

Photographic materials and everything else needed for equipping process engraving departments are also required for big newspaper establishments. How far India can ever be self-supplying in this respect can be stated only by specialists.

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN NEWS

One of the disadvantages of Indian journalism is that the supply of foreign news is practically entirely in the hands of foreigners. Reuter gives us much news which we do not want, and does not give us much that we want. Moreover, what is given reaches us after manipulation in British interests. "The Free Press of India" has recently rendered good service in arranging for news being sent quickly from London in relation to the Simon Commission. Permanent arrangements for such independent supply of foreign news would remove a much-felt want, though the disadvantage of cables and ether waves being controlled by non-Indians would still remain. Some of our dailies have correspondents in London. There should be such correspondents in the capitals of other powerful and progressive foreign countries.

Indian dailies in many provinces already have correspondents in other provinces. In addition to correspondents in all the principal provinces, who ought to pay greater attention to their cultural movements and events and vernacular journals than they do, it would perhaps be very desirable for the most flourishing dailies to have, among their editorial assistants, competent young men from different provinces, who could pay attention to things appearing in their vernacular newspapers also. The German mode of apprenticeship known as *Wanderjahre*, or wander-year, that is, the time spent in travel by artisans, students, etc., as a mode of apprenticeship, may be adopted by our young journalists also. Of course, they could do so with advantage only if our dailies in the different provinces would, by mutual arrangement, agree to allow such persons to serve in their editorial offices for fixed periods. Such all-India experience would stimulate our love of India as a whole, broaden our outlook, and cure us of our provincial narrownesses and angularities to a considerable extent.

WAYS TOWARD PROGRESS

It would be desirable to have an All-India Journalist's Association and

Institute with branches in Provincial centres. These should be registered under Act XXI of 1860. The Association may have a monthly journal, and draw up a code of ethics and etiquette for journals. Without such Associations, and solidarity and mutual cooperation, we cannot aspire to acquire and exercise the influence belonging rightfully to the Fourth Estate. There should be libraries connected with such Associations or with the schools of journalism referred to above. In these libraries, in addition to books, reports, etc., required by the profession, complete files of all important journals should be kept. It may be difficult, if not impossible, now to procure files of all such papers from the beginning; but an earnest attempt ought to be made.

There should be Journalists' Defence Funds in all provinces, in order that no deserving journalist may go undefended for want of means when prosecuted for sedition and similar technical offences. A Journalists' Benevolent Fund may also be created for helping the families of deceased journalists under stated conditions.

So far as I am aware, there is no complete and connected history of journalism in any province of India, though fragmentary notes and articles have been written. When such provincial histories have been published, it would be easy to write a complete History of Indian Journalism.

Origin and Growth of Journalism Among Europeans

By A. H. Watson

Editor, Statesman, Calcutta; formerly Editor of *Westminster Gazette* and *Weekly Westminster*

HOWEVER true it may be that the Englishman wherever he goes in the world seeks out a site for a golf course, his passion for starting a newspaper has endured longer and is as strong now as ever it was. Hence the very active developments of journalism in a town like Karachi, the newest of the big Indian ports. The story of British journalism in India traces back almost as far as that of regular government by the British, although it naturally does not extend to the unsettled days of the early traders. Within seven years of the Regulating Act of 1773, which created a Governor-General and set up a Supreme Court, the first British newspaper was published in Calcutta and by 1790 Bombay boasted two newspapers in the *Herald* and the *Courier*, the latter of which was to be merged at a much later date in the *Times of India*.

In the conditions of India in those early days the newspapers were naturally born to trouble. The rule of the East India Company was autocratic; its officers did not welcome criticism; they had large powers in deciding who should enter the settlements and how long their stay should be. Journals in those circumstances were either official, safe and dull, or were written with an eye to the scandals of the community, in which case their life was apt to be short. *Hicky's Gazette or Journal*, the first of Calcutta's newspapers, was so scandalous in dealing with the life of the community that it and its proprietor disappeared within two years. It had successors which were equally short-lived, for the most part because they were dull.

The producers of these early organs of opinions faced many difficulties. Mails bringing news from home were uncertain and far between. A sailing ship might take anything up to thirteen months to reach Calcutta from England, and there was no organisation of a news service. The journalist was thrown back for his material in the main upon the life of a very small community and had to battle with every discouragement from the supreme authority, who objected to practically all news affecting its servants. Editors were deported for trivial offences against the regulations or were made to apologise publicly. Stringent rules were set up for the control of the Press, which was subjected to strict censorship. Everything that was to be printed had first to receive official sanction, and it was not until 1818, under the governorship of the Marquis of Hastings, that there was any relaxation of this stern and unenlightened code. Nevertheless, from this period one newspaper survives to the present day. The *Bengal Gazette*, started in 1780 under Government patronage, is the *Calcutta Gazette* of to-day, a purely official publication recording the proceedings of the Bengal Government.

The Beginnings

To this period of beginnings belongs the story of James Silk Buckingham, who after a youth of wandering established the *Calcutta Journal* in 1818. This was the most successful of all the newspapers, but its vigorous criticism of the East India Company brought down wrath upon the head of the pro-

prietor. He was expelled from India, and his journal suppressed. But he had friends at home. The proceedings against him were made the subject of Parliamentary debate, and as a result the East India Company was driven to give him a pension of £200 a year. In England he started the *Oriental Herald* and the *Athenæum*, destined to great distinction under his successors. He sat in Parliament for five years, and was subsequently awarded a second pension from the Civil List of £200 a year. It has been worth while to dwell upon his story, for what he was made to suffer and the public attention which his case evoked were powerful factors in smoothing the way of his successors in journalism in India

Incidentally Buckingham's paper gave rise to a newspaper which survives today as one of the two European dailies of Calcutta Disturbed by the radicalism of Buckingham a syndicate of British merchants started, in 1821, *John Bull in the East*, avowedly to support the régime as it was and to inculcate the most rigid of Tory principles Its columns were as dull as those of Buckingham were lively, but under Stocqueler, who changed its name to the *Englishman*, it became the most powerful organ in India and for long its supremacy was unchallenged

In the early history of the Press in India the missionaries played a distinguished part. Many of the publications of today can trace their history back to the productions of the missionary presses, which were mainly in the vernacular Ward, Carey and Marshman are conspicuous names in this connection. Working at Serampore under the encouragement of the Marquis of Hastings they issued papers in the Bengali language. From the same source came the *Friend of India* which after many vicissitudes, appearing sometimes as a monthly, sometimes as a weekly and finally as a quarterly, had its identity merged in the *Statesman* of Calcutta, the outstanding paper, in point of circulation and revenue, of India. Another clergyman, Dr. George Buist, was later to give a distinctive note of literary culture and vigorous writing to the Bombay newspaper. The debt of the Press in India to the Church is heavy.

The years between 1818 and 1857, when the Mutiny temporarily interrupted most of the peaceful activities of the country, saw a considerable development of the Press. Following in the footsteps of the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck allowed a large liberty to writers. While many of the penal enactments remained on the Statute Book they were not enforced, and in 1835 Bentinck made a clean sweep of most of the restrictions that still nominally existed. As a result the Press, hitherto confined to the Presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, developed in Gwalior, Delhi and Agra. But it would be wrong to conceive of the newspapers of this date as having any large circulations. Their influence arose mainly from the fact that they were read by and appealed to the very small governing and mercantile community. It was through these that they exercised a very real power upon the governments of the day, servants of which were frequently the principal contributors. By the time of the Mutiny there were nineteen Anglo-Indian newspapers, and rather more produced in the vernaculars.

FREEDOM GAINED

By the time of the Mutiny the Press had not only gained a large measure of freedom—it was conscious of the fact. Certain papers criticised the Government with a very considerable daring and were in almost perpetual opposi-

tion. Among the able journalists of those days, the outstanding figure was Robert Knight, who was destined to leave a conspicuous stamp upon Indian journalism. He had held a prominent place in the Government service; but when he took up his pen in Bombay, it was as a champion of the rights and liberties of the Indian. Under him the *Bombay Times* was transformed into the *Times of India*. Frequently under the displeasure of Government he stuck sternly to his guns and was foremost in advocating clemency after the Mutiny, at a time when to do so, as Canning found, was to incur the censure and dislike of most of the British community. Knight had his reward in a splendid presentation from the Indian community, but he was compelled eventually to transfer his activities from Bombay to Calcutta. There he purchased the goodwill of the *Friend of India* and issued a daily paper as *The Indian Statesman* after an earlier venture with the *Indian Economist*.

Robert Knight was a man of conspicuous ability, a trained economist with genuine sympathy with native aspirations that made him something of an Ishmael among the official class. But he conducted his paper with conspicuous ability against heavy odds. The *Englishman* was more than a formidable rival; it practically held the field. After the Mutiny it had been acquired by Mr. J. O'B. Saunders, who ran it with ability as an organ that supported British rule through thick and thin. His successors were not so enterprising, and the opportunity of the *Statesman* came when that property passed, by the death of Robert Knight, under the control of his sons, Paul and Robert Knight, who modernised the paper, introduced the first rotary presses into India, utilised the railways for distribution, and by publishing at one anna, when their principal rival was still four annas, gave a new meaning to circulation in India. If today the chief newspapers of India can rival those of any part of the Empire in their appearance and in the modernity of their style, while the Indian Press has arrived at new conceptions of what a newspaper should be, the credit is very largely due to the two brothers who have now retired with a large fortune from the field of their success.

The seventies were a great formative era in the progress of the Indian Press. With Robert Knight beginning his work in Calcutta two newspapers destined to distinction were born in northern India. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, started as a weekly in Simlai, presently transferred itself to Lahore and began to appear as a daily. The *Pioneer* was floated at Allahabad and quickly established a position that it was to hold for many years as the most authoritative of Indian journals. Famous men such as Sir Henry Walker, who made a great fortune in Simla, and Sir George Chesney, the author of *The Battle of Dorking* were associated with its fortunes, but its distinctive position was given it by Mr. Howard Hensman, who, as correspondent with the Government of India, conferred upon his paper a semi-official character and made of it a hunting ground for official news By this time the Press was beginning really to feel its freedom and to avail itself of its opportunities, improving its news services and enlisting distinguished men as its writers. James Maclean, who was responsible for the *Bombay Gazette*, after a brilliant career in India filled a considerable position in Parliament at Home. A young man, Rudyard Kipling, was laying the foundations of world fame in the service of the *Civil and Military Gazette* under the editorship of Kay Robinson, himself destined to a distinguished career as a writer in England. The newspaper

began to take a wider range and at times to become daringly critical of the Government, which had for so long held them in repression.

All this was a natural outgrowth of the new political situation in India inaugurated after the Mutiny. An understanding of the bigger influences at work is necessary to full comprehension of the new position which the Press had come to occupy. The policy of Government was frankly the association of Indians with most branches of the Administration, and a gradual movement towards the time when self-government would be possible. This more democratic spirit involved a free public criticism of the whole scheme of Government, and an increasing susceptibility on the part of Government itself to the popular view of its acts. Side by side with this the rapidly increasing range of education was creating in India a reading public eager for information, while the growth of railway facilities gave range to the distribution of news and opinions. While repressive laws were on the Code, they remained dormant, and in no country in the world did the Press enjoy a more complete freedom in actual fact than in India

Some surprise may be felt that a Government situated as the Government of India was in times still recent, enjoying practically autocratic sway, and holding in its own hands every string of the administration of the country, has never embarked on journals officially inspired by itself. An explanation may be sought in the traditional character of the Indian Government which for a long period was autocratic and had no need for publicity. It governed; it did not explain its acts; it had no reason to persuade an electorate to its point of view, for an electorate did not exist. All that has altered. An electorate has been brought into being; the affairs of the Government are publicly debated in Assembly and Councils; practically every act is challenged, while there has grown up a numerous vernacular and Indian-owned Press which for the most part is in opposition to the ruling powers. The case against the Government is stated daily by hundreds of journalists who lack neither ability nor powers of denunciation; that of the Government itself is never officially expounded except in the various Councils. Nor has any endeavour been made to counter this disadvantage; and the time for such an endeavour has probably passed with the rise in the power and influence of the English-owned newspapers. But this position has wrought a subtle change in the general attitude of these newspapers. Although they remain independent and are at times strong critics of individual acts of the Government, in general they are to be found supporting official acts and legislation. There is no longer the sharp division of newspapers in perpetual opposition and in perpetual support of the Administration. The function of criticism has passed to the native-owned Press, that of defence has become the province of the English-owned newspapers. Several of them maintain correspondents with the Government of India who gather news as their primary function, but are inevitably thrown into close contact with officialdom and are in a position to explain what lies behind the acts of Government. British journalists have, too, in several cases entered the legislatures as members and in that capacity take a prominent part in public affairs.

THE PRESS TODAY

The influence of this British-owned Press in India is enormous and is not to be measured by circulations which seem small when compared with those

obtained in Western countries. The educated classes in India who read are themselves small in numbers, but they dominate the opinion of millions. A typical Indian village scene is the reading and translation of the newspaper in the open air to groups of those interested. The opinion of a whole village may be swayed by a single copy of an article. As education spreads circulations are rising, and it may be doubted whether there is any country in the world in which public opinion is more directly dependent upon the Press than it is in India today, nor any in which Government is so obviously influenced in its acts by Press criticism. The late Mr. Samuel Montagu—the principal author of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms scheme which has gone so far to democratise the form of government in India—said in private conversation after his experience in India that were he a young man he would like to control a newspaper in India and through it dictate to the Viceroy and the permanent services their policy of rule While no newspaper reaches that position of authority, the anecdote is illustrative of the impression formed by an acute observer of the power and influence that the Press can wield in the peculiar conditions in India today.

In this new phase of its development the European-owned Press in India has been able to avail itself of the most modern machinery, and there are newspaper offices as completely equipped as those to be found in any city in the world. Rotary presses and linotype machines were introduced into Calcutta over twenty years ago, and other places quickly followed the lead. Today India has not only illustrated dailies, but fine weekly newspapers, that record by pictures and letter-press the kaleidoscopic life of what is practically a continent. The organisation of news services has been undertaken on Western lines and in Mr. K. C. Roy, a Bengali Brahmin, India has produced at least one great news collector whose work, although he has never occupied an editorial chair, has been vastly formative both as regards the European and the Indian Press. Able journalists are attracted in increasing numbers to service in India, and the staffs of the large and richer papers compare in academic distinction, in journalistic experience and in ripe knowledge of public affairs with those of the best papers at home. An outstanding figure of recent years has been Sir Stanley Reed, who, when conducting the *Times of India* during the war, offered his services to the Government and did notable work in propaganda.

Although the war tended to reduce the number of the English periodicals in India—and there has been no development since that has fully replaced those which ceased publication—the number of English-owned newspapers remains fairly constant. Naturally the principal of these are in the centres with a considerable European population—in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, Karachi and Rangoon. Delhi, the new capital, as yet boasts no English-owned newspaper, but it is inconceivable that that field will be long neglected in spite of the possession of a climate that is almost intolerable to Europeans for something like half the year.

Delhi is destined to great developments and though it may not be probable that the annual flight of Government to the hills will cease for long to come, the British population there throughout the year is bound to increase and will require an organ putting it more immediately in touch with affairs than it can be with the newspapers that come from some distance away. The promise is that the European-directed newspapers will increase

throughout the country and that their power will become greater in the new conditions. India with immense travail is passing under forms of self-government that are unfamiliar to her people and in many ways repugnant to nations—for they are no less—that have been habituated to personal rule for countless centuries. She wants guidance in the new forms and in the fresh approach to every kind of public question to which she is called. Circumstances have decreed that the main burden of that education must fall upon the newspapers controlled and directed by those familiar with Western ways of government, since there is no other machinery that can supply the want. While the newspaper is primarily an instrument for the distribution of news, it retains in India to the full its character as a mould of public opinion. Views are read and accepted with faith. The mission of the European-directed Press, in the newer conditions, is to help in a transition that will be full of difficulties and will call for infinite patience.

Hindu-Moslem Unity

By Victor Alexander George Robert Lytton, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Governor of Bengal, 1922–27; Acting Governor-General of India, 1925; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1920–22; Representative of India in the League of Nations

OF the many difficulties which surround the problem of Government in India, not the least is that of the relations between Hindus and Muhammadans—the two great communities of which the Indian people is mainly composed. If the population were either entirely Muhammadan or entirely Hindu, the problem of Government would be immensely simplified and means might be found without much difficulty of adjusting the interests—in so far as they are distinct—of the different Provinces or races of which India is composed. As it is, the Hindu-Moslem problem is to be found in almost every Province, and it accentuates every other cause of disunion. It is worth while, therefore, in any study of Indian conditions to consider how far community differences are reconcilable and what are the prospects of forming a nationhood strong enough to supersede them.

Some Facts

The main facts of the problem must first be stated. Neither of the two communities are actually indigenous in the country, as both the Hindus and the Muhammadans originally came as conquerors from without; yet both have been settled in the country long enough to be regarded as its native population. Though both are to be found all over the Peninsula, they are not distributed in equal numbers. In the whole of British India the Hindu population outnumbers the Muhammadan by roughly three to one—the actual numbers being Hindus 216,734,586 and Muhammadans 68,735,233. The Hindus preponderate in the south, the Muhammadans in the north. Of the 9 Provinces of British India, the Hindus are in a majority in 6, and the Muhammadans in 3, namely:

	Hindus	Moslems
Madras	88.64	6.71
Bombay	76.58	19.74
United Provinces	85.09	14.28
Behar and Orissa	82.84	10.85
Central Provinces	83.54	4.05
Assam	54.34	28.96
Bengal	43.27	53.09
Punjab	31.80	55.38
Northwest Frontier Province	6.66	91.62

Mere numbers, therefore, suggest that the Hindu community is the more important section of the Indian population, and this suggestion is intensified by the fact that the standard of education is higher among the Hindus than among the Muhammadans. This is partly due to the character of the two populations and partly to the fact that when English became the medium of instruction and examination in the schools, the Muhammadans refused to abandon Persian which had been the language of their Court and literature since the days of the Muhammadan conquest, and their boys, whose knowledge of English was defective, fell behind the Hindus in all scholastic competitions. In Bengal 90 per cent of the Muhammadan population are cultivators who have no education at all, and the Moslem with high academic qualifications is a recent product and,

hard to find, even in a Province where the Moslems provide 54 per cent of the population. The important consideration, however, is that the home of the Muhammadan religion is among the virile and warlike races of Northern India and in the hill fastnesses of the Northwest frontier and Afghanistan beyond. In the hypothetical trial of strength which the two communities have ever in mind, the Hindu relies upon his numbers and his superior intellect, and the Moslem upon his virility and fighting qualities. Each is confident of his ability to hold his own in any war for supremacy. Under a bureaucratic system of Government, dominated by British officials, opportunities of conflict between the two communities were comparatively rare and the conception of a common citizenship in the State established under British rule has enabled both Hindus and Moslems to obtain administrative experience and to unite in joint political organisations.

During the last twenty years, however, when Democracy became the ideal of Indian politicians, and especially during the last five years when that ideal has come nearer to realisation, the rivalry between the two communities has become more acute and occasions of conflict more numerous. Indian politicians who are fully conscious of the weakening of their cause by this disunion are in the habit of attributing it to British policy and console themselves with the belief that their masters, in order to perpetuate their subjection, deliberately foster the community jealousies which prevent their union. This belief, so comforting to national pride, ignores the two vital facts of the situation: (1) that the only union which exists between the two communities is to be found in their common membership of a State which is a British creation and (2) that the democratisation of that State is as much a British as an Indian ideal.

SOME DIFFERENCES

The next point to be considered is the nature of the differences between Hindus and Moslems. Are they such as time and education may rectify, or are they of a kind which must permanently prevent any political union between the two communities? The first and most apparent difference is one of religion. Moslems are essentially monotheistic. The unity of God is the cardinal basis of their religion. The Hindus, on the other hand, acknowledge many gods and the attributes of Divinity which they worship are symbolised in countless images. Not merely idols made by their own hands, but living animals and natural objects are regarded as sacred or worshipped as divine. How fierce may be the fears and hatreds engendered by differences of faith, the religious wars of the world, and the struggles between Catholics and Protestants within the Christian Church, will testify. If, however, Hindus and Muhammadans were only distinguished by the ritual of their worship, such cause of disunion might well be expected to diminish with time, as it has done with other sects. But the social and racial differences between the two communities are equally strong and more difficult to reconcile.

To the Muhammadan the Hindus are not merely idolaters, they are the descendants of a race which his own ancestors have conquered and ruled, and he regards them less as fellow Indians than as an inferior race which he would subjugate to his service if free to do so. To the high-caste Hindu a Muhammadan is no better than the untouchables of his own race, inadmissible to his own household, unacceptable even as a tenant and altogether outside the pale of his own social circle. Each

regards the other as a potential enemy which he both despises and fears. The most fruitful cause of conflict in recent years has been the question of the playing of music by Hindu religious processions when passing Muhammedan mosques. The Hindus contend that the playing of music is an essential part of their religious observance and a necessary feature in their religious processions. In support of their claim they refer to a recent decision of the Privy Council which has declared the conduct of religious processions through the public thoroughfare with musical accompaniment to be a common law right, and any prohibition of such a privilege is resented as an interference with citizen rights.

The Muhammadans, on the other hand, claim that the playing of music outside their mosques disturbs their devotions, and they quote Queen Victoria's proclamation when the Crown assumed responsibility for the Government of India as justification for their claim that Government should ensure to them the undisturbed pursuance of their religious practices. Given a reasonable amount of tolerance and goodwill, this question should not present any serious difficulty. Hindus have never felt any grievance at being required to stop their music temporarily when passing a hospital, and they would not object to a similar concession to the worshippers in a Christian Church. But in recent years the strained relations between the two communities have caused each of them to make of this question a trial of strength—a test of the pressure which they can bring to bear upon Government. Both have exhibited the maximum of unreason. Hindus have shown a preference for routes on which mosques are situated and Moslems have congregated at mosques at unaccustomed hours merely for the purpose of protesting against Hindu religious processions. In consequence serious riots have taken place all over India, resulting in considerable loss of life, and Hindu religious processions now usually require abnormal police protection.

This state of affairs is peculiar to India. In other parts of the world Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan populations have no difficulty in living at peace with each other, and the basic cause of their enmity in India must be discovered and removed before an Indian Nation can be firmly established. The fear which each community has of the domination of the other, rendered more acute as the possibility of such domination is increased by recent constitutional developments, is a symptom rather than a cause. Those who sincerely desire to understand the evil and find practical remedies must dig deeper to find the root cause. Modern psychologists are accustomed to attribute the unaccountable prejudices of individuals to unconscious motives, and it is probable that crowd animosities have also an unconscious origin. The explanations given by individual Moslems or Hindus of the prejudices of their respective communities are mostly what psychologists call rationalisations and the commonest of such rationalisations—because the one which most completely absolves either side of any responsibility—is the statement that Hindu-Muhammadan quarrels are deliberately fomented by British rulers in order to make their own hold on the country more secure The fallacy of this convenient excuse lies in the fact that such a policy would be impossible without the connivance of the Hindus and Muhammadans themselves. The existence of an antipathy so pronounced and so unreasonable is only to be explained by a sense of injury which is not realised because it is imbedded in the

crowd unconsciousness of the Hindu people.

Dr. Owen Berkeley-Hill, in a recent paper read before the Indian Psycho-Analytical Society, has made the interesting suggestion that as the most cherished religious susceptibilities of the Hindus are associated with female tutelary deities—Kali, Durga, etc.—so, too, their conception of India is associated with ideas of woman, mother, virgin, and consequently the ferocity of their sentiments towards their Moslem fellow-countrymen is to be explained by an unconscious hatred of the Muhammadan conquerors who violated their beloved Motherland. This feeling is aggravated by the fact that the slaughter of cows is particularly provocative in the case of Moslems, since they alone kill cows ceremoniously. The festival of the Bakr-Id is thus an annual cause of irritation which tends to keep alive the feeling of animosity which their joint interests in a common country would otherwise serve to diminish. This suggestion is well worthy of the serious study of sincere Hindu and Muhammadan patriots and affords a more promising avenue towards a reconciliation of their differences than the delicately balanced pacts with which politicians seek to achieve a mere surface agreement.

In local administration Hindus and Muhammadans have no difficulty in working harmoniously, and a similar coöperation in national affairs should not be impossible, if only the leaders of the two communities would investigate the fundamental cause of their age-long feud and recognise the constellation of primitive ideas which are symbolised today in their respective religious observances. The attitude of each towards the cow is probably the key to the whole problem, and in the removal of this cause of friction lies the best hope of Indian nationalism.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

I have already stated that the advent of the recent Reforms in India has tended to increase the hostility between the two communities as the reformed Constitution has stimulated their rivalry for power. This is not true of individuals, as the opportunities afforded to Moslems and Hindus of working together as colleagues in the same Government have rather helped to remove antipathies and create a community of interest. Hindu and Moslem Ministers have, on the whole, found little difficulty in working together, and on the Local and District Boards members of each community have addressed themselves with harmony and goodwill to the problems of local self-government. Even the political leaders of these two communities have much in common and can be very good friends. But whilst individuals have been brought together in their joint political activities their followers have developed acute group patriotism which has accentuated rather than diminished their animosities towards each other.

The Hindus who feel themselves ready to take full advantage of representative forms of Government are generally in favour of a rapid development of the Constitution in the direction of a democracy and strongly advocate the establishment of a common mixed electorate. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, who feel themselves to be backward in education and in political organisation, are more inclined to favour a slower rate of progress. They hold that in a rapid democratisation of the Institutions of Government their interests would suffer, and they desire time in which to improve the educational standard of their people, secure a larger proportion of employment in the Government

services and develop an organised political consciousness before they are called upon to face the severe competition which democratic institutions involve. In the meantime, they adhere most tenaciously to the necessity of maintaining communal representation and insist that communal electorates are absolutely vital for the protection of Muhammadan interests.

Those who consider Constitutional problems from the point of view of abstract theory are inclined to join with the Hindus in advocating a common electorate, since they hold that sectional interests are more likely to disappear, and a national consciousness to be developed, when Moslems are elected by Hindu votes and Hindus by Moslem votes. But practical statesmen have to consider group fears and prejudices as well as abstract theories, and any attempt at the present time to establish a common electorate in India would antagonise the whole Muhammadan population. The Moslems are in a minority in India, and no system which did not secure adequate protection for minorities would find favor with them. In this matter the European community, which is an even smaller minority, is inclined to side with the Muhammadans

In opening the last session of the Indian Legislature, the Viceroy made an impressive speech in which he deplored the communal riots which had been responsible for so much loss of life in India during the last few years, and expressed his willingness to summon a conference of representative men of both communities to discuss their differences and endeavour to find some working agreement. Such a conference, if it were to take place, would undoubtedly be of value, and no man is better qualified than Lord Irwin to preside over it. But there is one feature of the present situation which is likely to prove a serious obstacle to the success of any conference of leaders, and that is the knowledge which such leaders would possess of their inability to bind their followers by any agreement they might come to.

This difficulty was experienced by the representative Hindus and Muhammadans who met in Calcutta in the spring of 1926 to discuss the vexed question of music before Mosques. The leaders who came together were all reasonable and sensible men. If the decision had rested with them alone, they would have had little difficulty in coming to some agreement. But both the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders knew well enough that if they made the slightest concession they would be disowned by their followers. Neither side, therefore, would concede anything and both agreed that whatever decision was reached must be the decision of Government and imposed upon them both with the authority of Government. Some day, perhaps, the cumulative effect of years of strife and bloodshed, and the impossibility of either side deriving any advantage by such means, may cause the two sides to grow weary of the struggle and authorise their leaders to negotiate terms of peace on their behalf. Then, and then only, will a conference of leaders be able to take place with good prospects of success.

Before the Great War of 1914-1918 the nations of the world were not prepared to allow national interests to be submitted to any international tribunal It was the experience of that War which alone made the League of Nations possible, and it is the recollection of what the conflict of national interests produced which alone—and even now with difficulty—enables that League to carry on its work. In India the two rival communities are not yet convinced of the futility of strife and

therefore they are not yet ready to take advantage of Lord Irwin's offer of mediation. But the number of men who are weary of strife and sincerely anxious for peace is growing every year, and before long the two great communities will come to realise that destructively they can accomplish nothing, but that united they may build a National Government under which each may receive equal justice and equal opportunities for self-expression.

Backward and Untouchable Classes

By MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI

UNTOUCHABILITY is perhaps the greatest evil that has crept into Hinduism. The nearest approach to it to be found in the West was the untouchability of the Jews who were confined to the ghettos. I do not know the historical origin of this disease. Socially it seems to have arisen from the desire of the so-called superior classes to isolate themselves from those whom they regarded as inferior. It is the excrescence of *varnashrama dharma which has been misrepresented as the* caste-system with which, as seen in the multitudinous castes of latter-day Hinduism, the original four divisions have little to do.

Untouchability in its mildest form takes the shape of not touching or having any social intercourse with the "untouchable." In its extreme form it becomes unapproachability and even invisibility. The approach of a man within a defined distance or his very sight in some parts of the extreme South pollutes the "superior" classes. The "unapproachables" and the "invisibles" are very few in number, whereas the untouchables are roughly estimated at sixty millions. In my own opinion this is a highly exaggerated estimate.

Though I regard myself as a staunch Hindu believing in and having great veneration for the *Vedas* and the other Hindu religious books, and though I claim, not as a scholar but as a religiously minded man, to have made a serious attempt to understand the Hindu scriptures, I can discover no warrant for this brutal doctrine of untouchability in it. Save for a few texts of doubtful authority in the Smritis, the whole doctrine of "untouchability" is utterly repugnant to the spirit of Hinduism whose glory consists in proclaiming non-violence to be the basis of religion and which lays down the bold formula that all life, including the meanest crawling beings, is *One*.

But to a reformer like me this philosophical foundation of Hinduism affords but little comfort in the face of the cruel fact that professors of that religion regard innumerable fellow beings as beyond the pale of society solely on the ground of their birth in a particular group of men and women in every way like them.

But this untouchability will soon be a thing of the past. Hindu society has become conscious of the hideous wrong done to man by this sinful doctrine. Hundreds of Hindu workers are devoting themselves to the uplift of these suppressed classes. Among the latest reformers may be named the late Swami Shraddhanandji and Lala Lajpat Rai. These, however, may not be regarded as orthodox. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, who is accepted by all Hindus as an orthodox Hindu, has thrown in the weight of his great influence on the side of reform. Everywhere one sees the process of emancipation silently but surely and steadily going on. The so-called higher class Hindus are conducting schools and building hostels for them, giving them medical relief and serving them in a variety of ways. Be it noted that this effort is absolutely independent of the Government and is part of the process of purification that Hinduism is undergoing. Lastly, the great National Congress adopted removal of untouchability as a vital part of its constructive programme in 1920. It may not be

superfluous to add that whilst untouchability is undoubtedly a grave social wrong, it has no legal sanction behind it. So far as I am aware, there is no legal disability against the "*untouchables*."

Whilst, therefore, I am full of hope which is daily increasing, I must caution the distant reader from reading in my hope more than I mean. The reformer has still a stiff task before him in having to convert the masses to his point of view. The masses give intellectual assent to the reformer's plea, but are slow to grant equality in practice to their outcaste brethren. Nevertheless, "untouchability" is doomed, and Hinduism is saved.

Caste System and Its Relation to Social and Economic Life

By M. D. Altekar, M.A.
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THE caste system is a peculiar product of the Hindu civilisation. It has formed, particularly in recent times, a subject for the keenest controversy. Its apologists often compare it to the division of society into classes that obtains in western countries, and try to establish that the caste system and the class system are almost identical. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the two. The classes in the west are no longer based (if they ever were so based theoretically) upon the rigid principle of the accident of birth, while the castes are entirely based on that accident. Consequently, the class system is of a dynamic nature. By dint of ability, by the acquisition of scholarship or of wealth, by meritorious public service, the member of one class is translated to another in European countries. There is no theoretical prohibition of interdining and intermarrying among the classes. Above all, there is no religion mixed up, no spiritual or other-worldly considerations brought in, in the phenomenon of the classes in modern Europe (which, for the purposes of this essay, includes America).

Caste System of the Hindus

The caste system of the Hindus however, is a religious institution based upon considerations, which do not always refer to affairs in this world. Its rigidity is founded, as it were, on a rock. It is a static and an unchangeable system. The old books have described four castes. These are now further divided into four hundred and more. An accurate and minute survey of castes and subcastes in India gives their number even in more than three figures. And the process of subdivision is the only dynamic thing about the system. The political problem of communalism among the Hindus (represented by the non-Brahmin movement in Madras and Bombay) is partly the result of Government's policy (these movements being the direct outcome of the introduction of the pernicious system of communal electorates), but it is mainly due to the fact that the Hindu community is divided into a large number of castes and subcastes, each caste anxious to assert its spiritual superiority to others, and each again chafing at the thought that there are other castes which look down upon it and count it as inferior. Thus the caste system has been the cause of the disintegration and, consequently, the deterioration and the present helplessness of the Hindu community.

Growth of the Caste System

History tells us that in India every vocation gave birth to a new caste, and as time went by the original four castes had been subdivided into many more. Hereditary vocations have an economic advantage, but, as will be seen, this economic advantage was more than counterbalanced by the social disadvantages that the rigidity of the system imposed and the feelings of superiority and inferiority based on birth and vocation once introduced became the firm

rock on which dissensions and bitter enmities were securely reared, and these have proved to be a disastrous impediment in the path of progress of the modern Hindu society. Besides the principle of vocation, another curious element entered into making the castes more rigid and exclusive. A large mass of the Hindu community bore the mark of inferiority. Consequently, a new sect and a new religion, which theoretically (and often practically) removed this inferiority and based its influence on the principle of equality irrespective of the accident of birth or the nature of the vocation, was bound to attract the people.

The Hindu system was assaulted by such sects, from time to time, and the only way for it to preserve itself was to absorb the more attractive points in each such sect. Vegetarianism, for instance, appears to be a gift of Jainism. The practice of creating Sanyasins on a vast scale appears to have been induced by a desire to compete with the order of the Buddhist Bhikshus. As something new was added, however, to the definition of Hinduism, the castes became more and more exclusive. Besides birth and vocation, food and clothes, and even place of residence, were matters that conferred superiority and sanctity, or otherwise, and a disposition arose among the people for each one to claim superiority over the rest. This superiority became, in the course of time, more and more a matter of arrogant claim rather than a function of conduct. That is how hypocrisy arose and became a necessary part of men's behaviour. The Shastras have laid down the duties of the four castes. Even before the advent of the western education, these duties were in a chaotic condition. Brahmins, who must not become servants, took to service to earn a livelihood and took to agriculture. Many a peasant became a soldier. The original edifice of caste theoretically collapsed, but the feelings of superiority and inferiority based on birth and vocation grew intenser, and the centrifugal tendencies gathered momentum.

All this has been enormously accentuated, in later days owing to the advent of a new education and modern money. At present, and for some time past, all the causes that determined superiority, such as vocation, food, place of residence, and rituals, etc., have practically ceased to operate. The one thing that now sustains the caste system is the factor of birth or heredity. Everyone takes up that vocation which he chooses, or is forced to choose, irrespective of his caste which is now entirely the result of the accident of birth and of nothing else. The superiority claimed on this account merely, therefore, excites greater jealousy and resentment than it did in earlier days.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

The economic effects of the caste system no longer obtain as widely as they did in the past. These effects were due to the principle of the division of labour. Proficiency in a handicraft handed down from generation to generation gathers stability and strength, and thus the particular art benefits and its products are superior to those produced under dissimilar circumstances. Specialisation was thus the economic advantage of the caste system. At the same time, over-specialisation has its disadvantages. It is an impediment to economic elasticity; and when elasticity weakens, the very economic structure, which is after all a part of the social structure, is shaken to its foundations. A man must do what his father did. If he cannot do it, he must do nothing else. That means that he must be put down

on the debit side of the social balance sheet. This result undoubtedly counterbalanced any advantage that specialisation conferred.

In recent times, however, the influence of the caste system on vocations has considerably weakened. The leavening of society by education and by the new money power has resulted in restoring economic mobility. A man does, not necessarily what he must do according to the Shastras, but what he finds it convenient to do. A cobbler by caste, if he gets the opportunity, becomes a *savant* in economics or philosophy, and a Brahmin, when education does not make him a deputy collector or a subordinate judge, becomes a tradesman and sells anything from ghee and sugar to boots and shoes. The Kshatriya, no longer required to fight, unless he has secured a post in the Indian army, gets an opportunity to go to school and takes to the solving of the intricacies of the village accounts, or administers justice in the *taluka*. The gradual breaking up of the joint family system has considerably helped this vocational elasticity. The equality of man before law is another important factor contributing to the same result.

There are still in India many castes which are described by their vocations. The richer and more educated among them, however, lose no time in giving up the hereditary profession and in seeking more congenial and "respectable" work. The advent of machinery has also helped this divorce between a caste and its time-honoured vocation. Machinery kills manual art, and when a craftsman loses his economic value owing to the introduction of machinery, he will not necessarily stick to the old job in the altered environment. The job will also be invaded by many people, who would have never thought of doing so before the age of machines. A man who is not a tailor by caste, for instance, may buy a sewing machine and set up as a tailor, because it is easier to manipulate the machine than to be proficient in the old manual art of tailoring.

The economic aspect of the caste system, therefore, has been getting into the background, and probably its social consequences have been accentuated. The caste divisions in the Hindu society no longer serve any useful economic purpose. It is now preëminently a social institution entirely based upon the accident of birth. Its immediate and continuous result is the engendering of a feeling of deep and bitter resentment of almost each caste against every other caste. The resentment sometimes reaches such proportions that instead of realising that the bettering of some one caste means the bettering of a part of the whole social organism and therefore the bettering of the whole organism, the principal fear that dominates the mind of each caste is that some other caste will get better advantages than itself, and it often tries, therefore, not to improve its own position, but to pull down the other caste to a lower level. This mutual suspicion and ill feeling is the most regrettable consequence of the caste system at the present time.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

The caste system was but the stereotyping of the exclusive tendencies that developed in society. The intolerant attitude of the Muslim invaders of India accentuated this exclusiveness which became the sign of spiritual superiority if not of material prosperity. In fact, the less the material prosperity of a man, the more he was anxious to establish his claim to spiritual superiority, and he tried to substantiate that claim by some peculiarity of dress, of diet, or of conduct. Its

practical expression took the form of disdain for everybody else. In some instances this disdain resulted into profound bitterness, and even enmity, when it stamped a man as impure by establishing sexual irregularity somewhere in his ancestry. There are whole subcastes that are made to bear the badge of inferiority in this outrageous fashion. Sometimes even lesser causes were sufficient to make a new caste. Some people in a village swallow by mistake or by deceit some forbidden food. If they are Brahmins, they become Brahmins of an inferior grade on that account. This is the process that has multiplied castes and subcastes at an alarming pace And that is how the four castes are subdivided into hundreds. The process operated even among the so-called depressed classes They may be untouchables to the rest of their co-religionists, but among themselves they have degrees of untouchability and superiority.

The social consequences of the caste system have proved to be extremely unfortunate. In a static society regulated by a strict caste system, the place of each individual is fixed from the moment he is born and that place cannot be changed under any circumstances in this world and in this birth. This is a total negation of the dignity of man, as a man, and the democratic principle of individuality. It entails terrible loss for the society in every direction. It runs counter to the principle of selection which reigns supreme in nature. It gives a sort of stability to society provided the habit of "no questions asked" is inculcated. For that reason it kills all initiative and men lose their faith in effort and the pernicious doctrine of fatalism rules supreme. That is the worst consequence of the caste system. But for good or for ill, questions are being asked, and they are asked more and more as education spreads and free discussion makes progress. The old society was so constructed that the lower classes were absolutely dependent for their very livelihood on the goodwill of the higher classes. The old village system of India is an instance to the point. Every depressed caste was given particular work, and remuneration was provided for that work from the only productive agent of the day, the land, which was almost exclusively owned by the non-depressed castes. The untouchables could earn their livelihood only in that way, and in no other. In a society based on status, contract was, of course, not tolerated, and thus the caste system reduced all but the fortunate few to a helpless position.

The feelings of resentment thus engendered have been growing up, unconsciously it may be, for centuries in the bosom of those who are held to be inferior, and at present the sudden, and therefore the terrific explosion of that resentment, is being witnessed all over the country, and the outburst is so great that the political unity, laboriously built up for half a century by patriotic men, has been consumed in the twinkling of an eye by the devouring flames of communal strife The misfortune does not end there, however. Man is a social animal, and it is by mutual knowledge and understanding that sympathy and solidarity are produced. But the caste system practically demands that men must not mingle together intimately. They must not interdine and they must not intermarry. And thus the great sources of reconciliation are not allowed to exist. It is not maintained that caste rules are being strictly observed everywhere. They are not. Among the better-to-do classes, wealth and education have rendered them less binding. But even

among them the social intercourse is of a limited nature. It scarcely exceeds the drawing-room formalities. Except in cities and in big towns, the social intercourse between the different castes is so limited as to approach the magnitude of the mathematical zero. One curious indication of the situation is found in vernacular fiction. Its descriptions rarely touch the backward and the depressed classes except in a few cases. The reason is that the writers who mostly belong to the more fortunate classes know nothing about them. Unity is a word the inner meaning of which rarely, on this account, penetrates the secret places of the heart.

The gloominess of the picture is somewhat offset by the fact that communal consciousness has resulted in sincere efforts to improve the lot of the particular community or caste, educationally and economically, and by the consequent hope that the narrow form which this consciousness usually takes, will, in the course of time, with the spread of education and development of sober thought, emerge in a broader outlook as national consciousness. The praiseworthy efforts of such institutions as the Brahms Samaj and the Arya Samaj, the Depressed Classes Missions and the Servants of India Society to counteract the poison of caste, also inspire the hope that the future will be bright in spite of the dreary past and the quarrelsome present, and so this survey of the results of the caste system may be brought to a close in an optimistic vein.

Europeanization and the Ancient Culture of India

By The Late Lala Lajpat Rai, M.L.A.
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IT is difficult to define culture. I have so far not come across such a definition as would be at once satisfactory and exhaustive. In the absence of any such comprehensive definition of the term culture one is justified in describing a particular country's culture according to his notions of what a culture should be. My conception of culture includes

(a) A *fairly high standard of comfort* in life.
(b) A developed taste for literature and fine arts.
(c) Developed industries indicating refinement and taste.
(d) A developed and fairly extensive literature.
(e) A philosophical and well-reasoned conception of religion.
(f) High social position of women.
(g) Respect for individual liberty with due regard to the strength and good of the whole society
(h) High ethical standards in war.
(i) The economic welfare of the common man, and
(j) A high standard of public and private hygiene.

Judged from these standards one may confidently assert that India has fulfilled these conditions almost always during the period known to us.

Hindus believe that the Vedas belong to the most remote period of Indian life. European scholars do not, however, accept that view. It is, however, admitted that India is one of the most ancient countries of the world. European scholars are apt to start the history of culture and democracy from the Greek period of civilization. The Greeks and after them the Romans were the founders of civilization in Europe. That the East had developed a high state of civilization and culture long before Greece came into prominence in human life is now acknowledged by scholars. Egypt, China, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia and India had all enjoyed long periods of civilization. It is now freely admitted that Europe (or for that matter, Greece) borrowed its art and civilization from Egypt. Whether the civilization of Egypt was an indigenous one or she had borrowed it from some other source is a moot question. However, no civilization can be wholly borrowed nor can any be entirely indigenous, if we are to assume that at no period of world's history were the different parts of the world so isolated from each other as to bar the possibility of some international communication or exchange.

Today the world is rather a small place, distances and obstacles to free communication having been destroyed by steam and electricity. But even when the world had no such facilities, the different parts of the world did know each other either through markets or through universities. Personally I do not believe that civilization had its birth in any one place or in any one country. The world has always been inter-dependent, always borrowing and giving ideas as well as commodities. I believe all civilizations have developed in that way India was no exception to this nor was Europe or Egypt.

Religion

India is a vast country. It has undergone vast changes, geographi-

cally, historically, as well as culturally. At first sight it seems absurd to give one name to all Indian civilization. But a close examination of facts and data amply proves the unity of Indian civilization, at least for the present geological period. Ever since the beginning of Indian history Indian civilization has been more or less religious. One may retort that this could equally be said of other civilizations too. I do not admit that. Religion has had to do something with all civilizations. That is true. But religion has not been the dominating feature of them all. Take, for instance, the European civilization. Some people call it a Christian civilization, but it has no relation whatsoever with the religion preached by Christ. It may have been so in certain epochs, but not always, nor now. It has not had that continuity of religious stamp on it that the civilization of India can claim. I am not saying this because I claim any credit for that. I am simply stating a fact. Ever since India has had a literature that is literature, the civilization embodied therein, and the life lived by the people who composed that literature have been dominated by religion.

Religion has had its developments in India but fundamentally and in its essence it has remained the same. When I speak of religion in relation to India, I mean the religion followed by the great bulk of its population, that is, Brahmanism; Buddhism and Jainism are daughters of Hinduism. Their philosophy is only an extension or an amplification of the Hindu philosophy. Their doctrine in its essence is a Hindu doctrine. I will quote only two opinions, one about the unity of its civilization and the other about the dominance of religion. Dr. V. A. Smith, the historian of the "Early History of India," says:

Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other religions of the world, while they are common to the whole country or rather sub-continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of the social, religious, and intellectual development of mankind.

Professor Lowes Dickinson of Oxford, in his essay on the *Civilization of India, China and Japan*, says:

I conceive the dominant note of India to be religion; of China, humanity; of Japan, chivalry. But religion to Indians means more than praying for children, praying for rain, praying for healing, praying for everything they want. . . . Observers believe that it is, too, and I am inclined to think *they are right. That even the Indian* peasant does really believe that the true life is a spiritual life; that he respects the saint more than any other man; and that he regards the material world as "unreal," and all its cares as illusion. He can not, of course, and does not, put this conviction into practice, or Indian society would come to an end.

Now let us see the chief distinguishing features of Hinduism. It is a religion which, in its manifold phases, developments and manipulations, insists on seeing one in many and many in one. Within this limit it gives the fullest possible freedom of thought, belief and worship to all its votaries, the fullest possible liberty to the individual in the realm of thought, belief and worship. This distinguishing feature of Hinduism is reflected in its social institutions.

What is the caste system? It is the division of the body of the "Purusha" into four parts (varnas) (see X Rigveda) resulting eventually in the remerging of all into one at the time of *Moksha*. "The poets of the Rigveda," says Professor Rapson in the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 54:

know nothing of caste in the later and stricter sense of the term; but they recog-

nise that these are divers orders of men. Before the end of the period covered by the hymns of the Rigveda a belief in the Divine origin of the four orders of men was fully established; but there is nowhere in the Rigveda any indication of the castes into which these orders were afterwards sub-divided.

At no period of Indian history has the caste system stood in the way of a man of the lowest caste becoming divine. The "untouchables," the Pariahs of Madras, have produced saints whose shrines and images are worshipped by Brahmin and Sudras alike, in the temple of Srirangam at Trichnopoly. The same may be said of *Kabir*, a *Julaha* or weaver of northern India, or of *Sur Das*, and many others.

Speaking politically the caste system of India has been a curse. As a social institution I have said in another place [1] that "Today the Indian caste system is beyond doubt an anachronism." It is fast disintegrating. Other communities and other nations have known of caste or class divisions, too, but in their case the distinguishing feature of these divisions has been either wealth or economic position. Not so in India. In India a wealthy Brahmin may never attain salvation, while the poorest Pariah may I am not praising the system. I am again only stating a fact.

Coming to Indian literature, there also one finds religion as the dominant note.[2]

Of late some scholars have made good use of the Buddhistic *Jatakas* and the *Puranas* in building up ancient Indian history.

LITERATURE AND ART

There has been no break in the continuity of Hindu literature. Literature of the highest type, covering all the departments of knowledge, science, and art exists in India from before 3000 years B.C. up to date. I wonder if there is any other country in the world which can establish such a claim unless it be China. India stands unique in this respect. Having spoken of religion and literature, we come to the art of India. For long, scholars continued to hint that India borrowed its art from Greece, but the recent discoveries at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have set this matter at rest.

The art of the Indus is distinct from that of any neighbouring country, notwithstanding that there are certain elements in common. The best of the figures on the engraved seals—notably the humped Indian bulls and short-horn cattle—are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and form unequalled in the contemporary glyptic art of Elam or Mesopotamia or Egypt? The modelling, too, in faience of the miniature rams, monkeys, dogs and squirrels is of a very high order—far in advance of what we should expect in the fourth and third millenniums B.C. Contrasted with these, the few examples we possess of human figures, whether executed in marble, stone, clay or bronze, are strangely uncouth and suggest

[1] *Unhappy India*, 1st edition, p. 88

[2] Says Professor Rapson (*Cambridge History of India*, p 58): "Literature controlled by Brahmanism or by Jain and Buddhist monks, must naturally represent systems of faith rather than national ties. They must deal with thought rather than with action, with ideas rather than with events And in fact, as sources for the history of religion and philosophy, and for the development of those sciences which, like grammar, depend on the minute and careful observation of facts, they stand among the literatures of the ancient world unequalled in their fullness and their continuity But as records of political progress they are deficient. By their aid alone it would be impossible to sketch the outline of the political history of any of the nations of India before the Muhammadan conquest. Fortunately two other sources of information—foreign accounts of India and the monuments of India (especially the inscriptions and coins)—supply to some extent this deficiency of the literatures, and furnish a chronological framework for the history of certain periods."

that for some reason or other the artists could have had relatively little experience in delineating the human form.

About Industrial art also the following evidence is sufficiently conclusive:

Numerous spindle wheels in the débris of the houses attest the practice of spinning and weaving, and scraps of a fine woven material, which appears to be linen, have also been found.

The ornaments of the rich were of silver and gold or copper plated with gold, of blue faience ivory, carnelian, jadetile, and multicolor stones of various kinds. For the poor, they were mainly of shell of terracotta. Many examples of both kinds are exhibited in the collection. Especially striking are the girdles of carnelian and gilded copper and some of the smaller objects, that is, earrings and "netting" needles of pure gold, the surface of which is polished to a degree that would do credit to a present day jeweller.

Besides gold and silver, the Indus people were familiar with copper, tin and lead. Copper they used freely for weapons, implements and domestic utensils; daggers, knives, hatchets, sickles, celts chisels, vessels, figurines and personal ornaments, amulets, wire, etc. Most of these objects are wrought by hammering, but examples of cast copper are not unknown

Common domestic vessels were of earthenware. Their greater variety of shapes—each evolved for some particular purpose—evidence a long period of antecedent development, though it is curious how few of the vases are provided with handles Most of the pottery is plain undecorated red ware, but painted ware is by no means uncommon. As a rule, the designs are painted in black on a darkish red slip and consist of geometric and foliate devices with occasional figures of animals A few specimens of polychrome decoration in red, white and black have also been met with. Certain of the ceramic shapes and ornamental patterns betoken a connection with Baluchistan, as well as with Elam and Mesopotamia.

The presence of inscribed seals, sealings and other objects in almost every building is sufficient indication that the citizens must have been familiar with the art of writing, and it may be inferred that it was employed for business and other purposes.

I have given these extracts in full because in my judgment they are almost conclusive proof of a high degree of material civilization in the Indus valley region of India some 5000 years ago.[3]

It will be relevant to quote further here the opinion of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology, about the level of the general culture of the people of India at that time:

That by the above date city life in Harappa and Mohenjodaro was already remarkably well-organized and that the *material culture of the people was relatively highly developed*, is evident. Indeed, the roomy and well-built houses and the degree of luxury denoted by the presence in them of walls and bath-rooms, betoken a social condition of the citizens, at least equal to that found in Sumer, and markedly in advance of that prevailing in contemporary Babylonia and Egypt, where the royal monuments of the kings—palaces, tombs and temples—may have been superior to anything of their class to be found in India, but where no private dwelling houses of the citizens have been discovered at all comparable with those unearthed in India

Economic Condition

About the economic condition of the people of India, in the historical period, we have the evidence of literature, laws and folklore. The historical period in India has been placed about 750 B.C "The Sutras precede the earliest works on Buddhism. The earliest known Parana precedes the later law books by centuries," (says the *Cambridge History of India*). Taking all this into consideration and looking at the life of the peoples of

[3] For subsequent developments of Arts and Industries, I must refer the reader to the writings of Havell and Ananda Coomar—Swamy.

North India, as it survives in the records of their folklore, and of the discipline of the brethren who lived in close touch with all classes, Mrs. Rhys Davids, the writer of the chapter on Economic conditions in the *Cambridge History of India*, has come to the following conclusion:

> And we have seen agriculture diligently and amicably carried on by practically the whole people as a toilsome but most natural and necessary pursuit. We have seen crafts and commerce flourishing, highly organised corporately and locally, under conditions of individual and corporate competition, the leading men thereof the friends and counsellors of kings. We have found "labour" largely hereditary, yet, therewithal, a mobility and initiative, anything but rigid, revealed in the exercise of it. And we have discovered a thorough familiarity with money and credit ages before the seventh century A.D.

The same learned writer says

> that the rural economy of India, at the coming of Buddhism was (*i.e.*, about the fifth century B.C.) based chiefly on a system of village communities of land owners or what in Europe was known as village proportionship.

Speaking of the same period Professor Rhys Davids has said in his *Buddhist India:*

> There was security, there was independence, there were landlords and no paupers. The mass of the people held it degradation to which only dire misfortune would drive them, to work for hire.

These three quotations give a good picture of economic conditions in ancient India. Magesthanese and other Greek writers have testified to "the high level of veracity and honesty" in the India of the Mauriyan period (300 B.C.).

About the health of the people of India, in the Mauriyan period of Indian history, which almost begins with the "raid" of Alexander (325 B.C.), we find the Greeks stating:

> There was really very little for a doctor to do in India except to cure snake bites since diseases were so rare in India (*Cambridge History of India* P. 406).

Another Greek writer described the Indians to be singularly free from disease and long-lived. The people of Sind, Onesicritus said, sometimes reached 130 years.[4]

THE STATUS OF THE WOMEN

As for the status of the women in ancient Indian society one may fairly assume the accuracy of the following conclusions:

(a) The Vedic marriage was usually monogamic though polygamy was not unknown probably among the princely class.
(b) Polyandry was unknown.
(c) The poetical idea of the family was decidedly high, and we have no reason to doubt that it was often actually fulfilled (Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic India*, p. 488).
(d) Rigveda X, 85, discloses a society in which the parties to the marriage were grown up persons competent to woo and be wooed, qualified to give consent and make choice. (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, pp. 372 and 373).
(e) The same hymn gives evidence of the complete supremacy of the wife as mistress of her husband's house (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, pp. 372 and 373).
(f) No religious ceremony could be considered complete and efficacious unless both husband and wife joined in it.

[4] The intellectual powers which they displayed in arts and crafts were attributed, like the health and longevity, to the purity of the air and the rarified qualities of water, but their health was also attributed to the simplicity of their diet and their abstinence from wine. (Pp. 407 and 408 *Cambridge History of India.*)

(g) The words Pati (Master) and Patni (Mistress) signify equality of general position.
(h) There was no seclusion of women.
(i) No trace of *Sati* is to be found in the Vedic literature.
(j) Women enjoyed full rights of property (Stridham).

This is with regard to the Vedic period.. In the Epic period the position of women did not deteriorate. There was the same position of general equality. The Epic period expressly recognises marriages of love contracted otherwise than with the consent of parents. The tendency of the Epic period seems to have been to confer the status of marriage on all permanent unions, however effected,—permanent in the intentions of the parties. In fact even irregular unions were declared valid. Hindu law really makes no mention of illegitimacy of children. There are no caste distinctions. The wife enjoys full rights of property in her estate. Singing and dancing and riding were considered accomplishments, and otherwise also sex relations were of the best kind. Women were freely and highly educated.

It is during the Sutra and the Smirti period that the position of the Indian woman becomes one of dependence, and caste restrictions are enforced. The position of a Hindu mother has always been and is infinitely superior to anything known in any other part of the world. As regards inheritance in a divided Hindu family, the widow, the mother, the daughter and the sister all have rights of inheritance under certain circumstances. The widow has a right of adopting a son to her husband under certain circumstances, a right perhaps known to no other part of the world. It is maintained that if one compares, period by period and epoch by epoch, he will find that at no period of the world's history before the nineteenth century, was the general position of the Indian woman inferior to her sisters elsewhere, except perhaps as far as it was affected by the custom of child marriage and the prohibition against the remarriage of widows. In the best period of ancient Indian culture, however, both these customs were non-existent. In medieval India they were the product of political conditions.

WAR TIME SANCTIONS

The standard of culture in a community is, I think, best determined by the treatment it sanctions for enemies in war time. In the war of 1914–18, "Kill the enemy and the enemy nation by all means available" was the principle. The Indians, however, had no bombs, and no submarines. They did not evidently know of poisonous gases, nor did they blockade whole countries for the purpose of starving them to subjection. Nevertheless, the Epic period of India shows ideals of war loftier than anything known any where else in the world. The Mahabharata and the Sutras lay down high ideals of war morality. The warrior was specially enjoined to avoid doing any harm to women, old men, men bearing no arms, and non-combatants. To kill the enemy by fraud, or to starve or blockade him was considered unworthy of a warrior.

Apastamba and Baudhyana and Gautama prohibited the use of poisoned arrows or an attack on those who supplicate for mercy or are helpless, such as those who have ceased to fight, or surrendered. That these rules were followed in actual practice can be abundantly proved by the pages of Rajput history. Even in medieval India Rajputs showed more humanity and chivalry in war than the Europeans did in 1914–18.

Gautama X, 18, lays down that a

king commits a sin if he injures or slays in battle

those who have lost their horses, charioteers, or arms, those who join their hands (in supplication), those who flee with flying hair, those who sit down with averted faces, those who have climbed (in flight) on eminences or trees, messengers, and those who declare themselves to be cows or Brahmans.

Baudhyana on p. 200 says:

Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their minds, (nor with those) who have lost their armour, (nor with) women, infants, aged men, and Brahmanas.

The Greek writers have made it a point worthy of mention that the cultivators took no part in war.

"War rolled past them. At the very time when a battle was going on, the neighboring cultivators might be seen quietly pursuing their work of ploughing or digging unmolested" (*Cambridge History of India, p. 410*).

THE ART OF GOVERNMENT

I am sorry that considerations of space forbid me from saying something about the art of Government in ancient India. Government in ancient India was much more civilised and humane and in a way more democratic than it has been in any country in the world before the eighteenth century A.D. In certain respects it would bear good comparison even with modern Governments of Europe and America.

THE EFFECT OF MODERN EUROPEAN CULTURE

So much about the spirit of the culture of Ancient India. Now I shall discuss the effect of modern European culture on it. It is too early yet to speak of the permanent effects of European culture on Hindu civilization. One can only mention certain tendencies. As far as religion is concerned, India has little to learn from Europe.

Neither Christian dogma, nor Christian theology, nor European philosophy have made any appreciable impression on the Indian people. No doubt the number of Christians is increasing every year, but the reason for it is other than the superiority of Christian doctrine. European non-religionism also is not having much vogue. Speaking of the nation as a whole, India is not likely to lose her spiritual mentality. But her spiritual outlook is bound to be transformed by the general European outlook on life. Back to the simple religion of the Vedas with their joyful outlook on life may be the outcome, but it is dangerous to prophesy. In the matter of the rights of women, the change in the mentality of educated India is distinctly progressive and it may be confidently asserted that *Purdah* (seclusion of women), early marriage, the prohibition against widow remarriage, will go. There has never been any *Purdah* in the south. In the north its rigour has been confined to city folk of respectability, mostly *Musalmans*. In the villages throughout India there has hardly been any *Purdah*. The custom of child marriage is fast disappearing. That also was confined to particular classes. Prohibition to widow remarriage was never universal. It was generally confined to the higher caste. Among these, too, widow remarriages are multiplying. The present custom of marriage being arranged by parents will also cease to function and marriage by choice among adult persons will take its place. The immediate cause of it may be the impact of European civilization, but it will not be a new thing. The economic independence of women may come, but only to a limited extent, as Indians on the whole still loath to think of their women

having to earn either for themselves or for others. There is a deep-rooted sentiment against it, with a reason behind it. Birth control is, I think, an entirely new idea for India. It will grow. As regards the improvement of the Hindu women's position for the purposes of inheritance, that too may come, though the break up of the joint family system and the power to dispose of one's property by will make it rather unnecessary.

In education the women are coming into their own. That again will be reproducing ancient conditions. The effect of European art on Indian art was at first horrible. But the Indian art and ideals are fast recovering, and will probably create an entirely new system peculiar to India and her civilisation.

In the matter of Industrial art, Europe's cheap designs have almost completely destroyed Indian ideals. Machine has killed the soul, and the result is only a caricature of its former self. There is a revival in this respect too. As far as clean and hygienic living is concerned, India can not do better than revert to her ancient ideals. European influence in this respect is partly good and partly bad. The bulk of the people are too poor and too ignorant to observe rules of hygiene, and the Government is too callous to spare money for public health arrangements. Things may improve slowly.

On the whole, I am inclined to think that the influence of European culture on the Indian mind has not been much for the good of the latter. In the long run, as I have already remarked, no culture can remain purely local. India will certainly learn many things from Europe, and Europe also, as she comes to know India better, will grow in her appreciation of ancient Indian culture. European science and European learning is producing a revolution in people's mentality all over the world and India can not and will not remain unaffected. Nor is there any reason why she should. India wants to take her proper place in the up-to-date nations of the world, and has no ambition to be an isolated unit.

INDEX

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