

the Indians are poor, it is because they are just being roused from a deep encrusted lethargy of more than a thousand years of anarchy, misrule, oppression, and insecurity, under which they could call neither their bodies nor their property their own. They are just being lifted on rough carts, on rough ruts of rough roads, until the roads are macadamised, and new carts built and greased to make their passage quicker from poverty to wealth. Putting aside higher politics, and the still higher aspirations of a democracy, which is not in being—for when in being its spirit will brook no superior—I would say that when the Mahar (of low caste) has asked, and the Brahmin has accepted, his right to the same table, India will have welded itself into a nation, and then what India asks shall be given. But until then, for the development of the wealth of the country the present Government are the best. India is endowed with great natural wealth, and we are handicapped with very light taxation in the race for wealth."

Mr. Broacha went on to prove this by showing the incidence of taxation in various countries. In India it is only Rs. 3 per head per annum, while in Great Britain and France it amounts to between Rs. 53 and Rs. 54. The average taxation for Europe, bar Russia, comes to Rs. 43 or Rs. 44 per head. In Russia it comes to Rs. 21s. or Rs. 22; in Egypt to Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 per head. In Japan, also an agricultural country with cheap labour, the taxation per head comes to Rs. 9, or just three times more than in India. Considering only land taxation in India, it comes to Rs. 1 per head, in Japan about Rs. 2½, in Egypt Rs. 7½. The taxation of India is light in all conscience. Mr. Broacha calculates that as compulsory taxes "the upper middle, the middle, and the lower middle classes pay 6 annas per head for

the Government of the country." These, he says, "bellow the loudest about the grinding taxation."

Another item it is necessary to call attention to is the incalculable amount of the precious metals that lie buried, hoarded, and useless all over India. Abdurrahman, the late Amir of Afghanistan, once remarked that if the Afghans ever joined Russia in the invasion of India, it would be only for one definite purpose : not dislike of the English or love of the Russian, but solely to loot the vast hoard of treasure known to exist in almost every native town ! It is a characteristic of the inhabitants of the peninsula to hoard money rather than lay it out in industrial developments. The coolie with a few rupees a month saves as much as he can, and either ties these savings in a knot round his loins or buries them under the fireplace in his hut. The trader does the same, only on a larger scale, while the native Raja seals up the bulk of his revenue in vaults below his zenana.

Statistics go to prove that four hundred lakhs of rupees' worth of gold, and five hundred lakhs of rupees' worth of silver bullion and coined rupees are absorbed annually by India. That is to say, the precious metals to the value of nine hundred lakhs of rupees, or £6,000,000 sterling, are every year being hoarded by the people. Add to this the import of jewellery, pearls, and precious stones, and you will have an incredible total of unused and unproductive wealth. The figures given represent only the annual

hoarding at the present time. But to this accumulating store must be added the untold millions' worth of gold, silver, and precious stones that have been lying buried in every town and village for countless ages back. It is only when one gets some mental conception of this fact that one realises the vast wealth of India which is available for India's welfare, but which for all practical purposes might just as well be lying in the bottom of the Indian Ocean. India may be likened to an ignorant miser, who lives in rags and apparent poverty, but who might, if cured of his hoarding propensity, live in a palace with every modern comfort and luxury.

Only one inference can be drawn from these facts and figures, and that is that India actually and potentially is one of the wealthiest countries in the world. The reasons why the Indians appear to be poor are, first, because of their own free choice they have hitherto preferred a low standard of living; and secondly, because of oppression in the past they have till now preferred to hoard their wealth, rather than lay it out, after the manner of Europeans, in opening up their country and developing its trade, commerce, and industries.

CHAPTER VI

SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

I TRUST from what has already been said it will be realised that the various races of the Indian continent can never fuse into one nation, nor can they have self-government on the one-nation basis. The present absolute rule of Great Britain over all the peoples is the nearest approach to such an ideal. Under existing conditions the Indians as a whole must in self-defence for a long time to come put up with an impartial arbiter, who will protect the weak against the strong, maintain internal peace and personal freedom, and guard all from foreign invasions by land and sea; and the only conceivable authority who can fulfil these conditions is Great Britain. But the fact that a powerful arbiter is necessary for an indefinite period does not do away with the possibility of establishing some form of local self-government based on other principles than those already tried.

I have shown in a previous chapter that the modern tendency of all races as they advance in

civilisation, stability, and self-reliance, is not to coalesce and fuse and form self-contained new races, but, on the contrary, to diverge from each other and assert their own individuality as separate peoples. Hence the plausible attempts that are being made by political cranks and faddists to make all Indians into one nation must necessarily be futile and retrogressive, such action being contrary to known natural laws. If I were an irresponsible despot with absolute sovereignty over all India, I would, to maintain my absolutism, consistently encourage the propagation of the one-nation idea. For as long as the misguided Indians pursued this phantasm I would feel safe in my power, as the stupid would always be dragging down the intelligent, the backward would retard the progress of the more advanced, and the pace of the whole movement would be that of the slowest and least developed race. Æons of ages would elapse before even a semblance of union emerged from such chaotic elements. The very futility of such unpractical efforts would be the mainstay of my despotism for an indefinitely remote period.

But, on the other hand, if the day dawned when each one of my subject races started a propaganda for separate racial self-development, *apart and distinct from each other*, I would have to recognise that the beginning of the end of my despotic rule had come. This conclusion would be forced on me

224 SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

for the following reasons:—(a) As each separate race advanced independently in civilisation it would gradually become self-reliant and self-contained, and would strongly resent being dragged down, or even retarded in its progress, by its other less enterprising neighbours; (b) as a practical man, though a despotic ruler, it would be to my interest and advantage to placate and help on the development of the inherent good qualities of such a progressive race till it could, metaphorically speaking, stand on its own feet; (c) the same procedure would be followed with successive races as they showed tendencies towards self-improvement, till at last a time would come when all the races in India would form separate self-governed States, acknowledging one suzerain power over the Indian continent.

It is possible in the far dim future, when all the Indian races have separately developed a high state of civilisation and self-government, that they may for purposes of defence against foreign aggression form themselves into the Confederated States of India, and so in an indirect way eventually become a community, internally dissimilar, but one in union against the outside world. But this consummation is so infinitely remote that to pursue the idea further would be a useless incursion beyond the realms of present-day politics.

The idea of unity on an equality basis is wholly foreign to the Indian mind. Indians always have been

and always will be aristocratic rather than democratic in their ideas of government. India is a land where no sentiment of equality exists. Every man, from the moment of his birth to the end of his life, has a place allotted to him by race, religion, caste, and hoary custom. If he is above in any way, he domineers over all below him; if below, he is abjectly subservient to those above. Equality in the European sense has not yet been grasped by the Indian mind. The one-nation idea is entirely a Western importation, introduced by certain Englishmen when incubating the so-called "National" Congress, which represents no nation in India. I speak from personal experience, as I joined the movement at its inception, hoping in some way to help my Indian fellow-subjects. I represented nobody and nobody represented me. We all elected ourselves, and my colleagues talked impractical and childish politics, which a third-rate debating society at home would be ashamed of. I soon realised that no good purpose could be served by such an amorphous institution, while it was eminently calculated to unsettle ignorant and weak minds and pamper the work of Government. So I gave up electing myself and consequently ceased to be a member.

Were it not that the sincerity of the factists who introduced the "one-nation" idea is well known, one could not help coming to the conclusion that they had deliberately planned a Machiavellian

scheme for retarding the progress of the Indians and keeping them in perpetual subjection to our rule. The natives, as is ever their way when impossibilities are promised, blindly followed the lead of these misguided enthusiasts, and have ever since been wasting their opportunities in vainly chasing a chimera. There is more disunion, discord, and diversity of opinion now among the Indians than there was twenty-three years ago, when the Congress propaganda was first started. The disintegrating influences are obvious to all: the sole factor of the cohesion among the Congress partisans is an ungrateful and senseless opposition to Government. Yet if the Government were abolished to-morrow, it would be followed next day by the extinction of the Congress, the component parts of which would immediately engage in an internecine war of extermination all over India.

I need not expatiate on the ethics of the "National" Congress party. The abuse of all constituted authority in and out of season is their only ideal. Their criticisms are purely destructive. They have not only hindered good government, but have thrown back the progress of their country by quite half a century. They may be given the credit of introducing a new pastime into India—and that is how, with safety to oneself, to bite the hand that feeds you. It is not only a safe, but a cheap way of attaining a much desired notoriety. It is, however, an amusement that can only be indulged in in the

British territory, as the atmosphere of the Native States instantly blights it. Only a determined suicide would attempt to abuse, or even mildly criticise, a Raja in his own territory; such folly would automatically cause not only the complete disappearance of the individual himself, but that of his family and belongings as well! We have much wisdom to learn from the Native States in such matters. The prestige of constituted authority is consistently and uncompromisingly maintained by the Indian Raja, who is fully aware that too much freedom among his countrymen in their present condition rapidly degenerates into irresponsible licence, which in its turn produces "wind in the head," as the natives aptly express it. For such a mental disease the ruler of a Native State wisely considers that timely prevention is better than a subsequent doubtful cure.

One deplorable defect which militates greatly against any stable form of self-government is the growing desire on the part of many Indians to achieve cheap and meretricious fame amongst their countrymen, regardless of the means used or the ill-effect of their examples on the rising generation. The substance is neglected and the shadow grasped. Real earnest, unobtrusive, and self-sacrificing work which makes for substantial progress and formation of national character is neglected, while notoriety is eagerly sought after for personal gratification. And what is still more deplorable to those who have

the country's welfare at heart is that hitherto Indian public opinion has not condemned such men and their methods.

Here are one or two out of many instances that might be given to illustrate this trait. In a large town in Upper India there lived an individual who was locally considered one of its prominent citizens. He was a man of neither family, influence, education, nor riches; still he was great in his own estimation and that of his countrymen. And for what, forsooth? Well, simply because he had instituted a lawsuit, and a discreditable one, against the head of a Government department. He had been a contractor and had tried to bribe the official to pass inferior work, but the only result was a rapid and forcible ejection from the irate official's house. Then followed a charge of assault and battery, the result, it was stated, of the official demanding a half share in the profits, which the honest contractor indignantly refused! Every one in the town was aware of the utter falseness of the charge, as the inner history of the incident was known even to the commonest coolie. Yet Government in its folly suspended the official and curtly ordered him to clear his character. At great inconvenience, expense, and mental worry he eventually was able to expose the whole conspiracy against him, and much more besides; and the contractor and his confederates and false witnesses were duly sent to gaol or fined. Another blunder

was committed by Government at this point. Instead of allowing the official to resume his post, and instead of publicly recognising his worth, as would in similar circumstances have undoubtedly been done in a Native State, he was weakly transferred to another district. When the contractor had completed his period of incarceration he was received by the native community as an envied hero. And ever after, up to the day of his death, he was pointed out with whispered admiration as the man who had the famous court case, and had driven out a great official from the district !

Another instance occurs to me of an educated Indian who was really an intelligent, peaceful, and law-abiding individual, but whose craving for notoriety eventually mastered his otherwise worthy character. He started in a modest and earnest way by writing and preaching on social reform, industrial development, the advantages of a strong and peaceful Government, the necessity of loyalty to constituted authority, and so on. He really did a good deal of genuine patriotic work, and earnestly practised what he preached. He expected recognition from Government, but none came, and this was a tactless official blunder. At this stage a word of praise, a small recognition of his public services, would have satisfied his ambition, as it would have brought him great "izzat," or honour, among his countrymen ; and, what is more, would have perpetuated his loyalty to the British Government.

230 SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

But the practical thing was not done. On the contrary, year by year an ungrateful Government overlooked him, and honoured and decorated with a lavish hand those who generally gave the most trouble to our administration. The result was a complete *volte face* on the part of my friend. He saw which way the wind blew recognition and fame, so he boldly transferred himself to the Congress party, and there he used his undoubted talents to vilify the very Government he had hitherto been praising! His activities were so great that Government soon recognised his ability, and it was not long before he received his much coveted official honours; but it was too late to make a good citizen of him, and he became after that what the native proverb aptly describes as "*na ghur ka, na ghat ka.*" That is to say, like the washerman's dog, which belongs neither to his house nor to the ford where he washes, but meanders aimlessly between both.

Such incidents are not uncommon in India, and truly patriotic Indians are much to blame for not openly condemning those who court notoriety at the expense of national degradation. Great leaders are never made of such stuff, and no nation can hope for progress when selfish ends are followed under the guise of pseudo-patriotism. On the other hand, however, rightly or wrongly, a feeling prevails among the native community that open loyalty to the British Government does not pay—that name

and fame are more easily attained by blatant opposition to all things British. There are many good men and true who are now in opposition to us, and an infinitely larger number all over the country who have adopted a neutral attitude towards us, because of this unfortunate feeling. They speak with contempt about a Government which does not know how to discriminate between its well-wishers and its enemies.

Another defect which must be eradicated from the Indian character before real and solid progress can be hoped for is the deplorable absence of moral courage. I have seen a notoriety-seeking agitator with a few vagabond accomplices cow a whole district, every man in which knew that the agitator was wrong and that his preaching would end in trouble and disaster. Yet not a man moved a finger against the firebrand; some actually went so far as to make a pretence of agreeing with him! In any self-respecting European community such an agitator would promptly have been mobbed, ducked in a pond, and literally kicked out of the place. And if the mischief-makers could not effectually be dealt with in this rough-and-ready way, the whole population would immediately have sided openly with constituted authority, and thus any disturbing movement would promptly have been suppressed, to the advantage of all. Not so with the average Indian. From time immemorial he has been in the habit of siding with the strong, or those who appear to be

the strong for the time being, without any consideration for the rights or wrongs of the situation. This trait is an inheritance from the past ages of conquest, rapine, and oppression, when the only safety for the weak was to place themselves at the mercy of the strong, whoever they might be. It therefore follows that whenever a native sees a political agitator openly preaching disloyalty and opposition to our Government, his peculiar process of reasoning can come to only one conclusion, namely, that the Government is weak and impotent and unable to protect him. Government being weak, the other party must be the more powerful of the two. Hence it is wise to appease the other party and let Government take care of itself.

A peculiar incident happened in my own experience which will aptly illustrate this trait in the native character. A few years ago I had the honour of commanding a well-known Volunteer Corps in India. A Hindu landed proprietor from a neighbouring district was very keen at one time on joining my corps. He was a well-to-do, intelligent individual and an admirable character all round. I greatly valued his friendship, and as we were on intimate terms we discussed public matters without the slightest reserve. Many a time have I learnt wisdom and enlarged my Indian experiences from his instructive conversations. On one occasion we were discussing the question as to whether it would be politic to have native volunteer corps in India.

His verdict was that in peaceful times it would be a good move, as it would bring natives and Europeans together in friendly rivalry, and would greatly please the personal vanity of the former by placing them in this respect on an equal footing with the latter. But he said with great emphasis, "In war-time you would have to disband nine-tenths of them, as these native corps would be the first to be tampered with by foreign agents; and the members of such corps would be the first to feel the enormous pressure exerted by race, religion, caste, and family. If a race or caste became disaffected towards the British Government, every volunteer of that race or caste, whether he wished to or not, would *ipso facto* have to be against you."

I replied, "Do you mean to say that members of such volunteer corps would not have the moral courage to maintain their own convictions as to what is right and what is wrong?—that they would betray their Government if caste or family pressure was brought to bear on them for such a purpose?"

"Yes," he sadly remarked; "though I am sorry to have to admit it. You Europeans cannot even faintly realise what this overwhelming deadly pressure means. For instance, if there was rebellion in India and my caste and family were opposed to you, I would have to desert you in the hour of need, and make a pretence of being disaffected even when I was really not so. If I did not act the part allotted to me, I should soon be outcasted, my

family would, disown me, my life would be endangered, my property, my land, all would be taken from me by clever and unscrupulous forgeries, intrigues, and false evidence. Your very courts of justice would have to decide against me, as not a man would be found to speak the truth in my favour. My former associates would stand aside and remain neutral, my friends and partisans would in their own interests do likewise, or be cajoled, intimidated, or forced in self-defence to do likewise. No, it would not pay me to be loyal. As you rightly say, we have not got the moral courage to maintain the right against the wrong. There lies the greatest weakness in our national character. If we would overcome this defect we would be within measurable distance of being a self-governing people. Many of those among us who now outwardly assume a hostile attitude towards you are secretly praying to their gods to maintain your Government. They are playing a part—want of moral courage again."

Last but not least come the two most deplorable defects in Indian character, and these are the universal propensity for bribery and intrigue. Bribery is in fact not considered a crime, and under various euphemisms it is held to be even praiseworthy and natural. I once witnessed a bet between two natives that any native could be bribed. The bet was taken up and a prominent native official named as the one on whom the experiment was to be tried. To my astonishment the bet was easily

won. The money was accepted and the purpose for which it was offered was duly carried out. It was cleverly done, and nothing could be proved, but it was obvious the bribe produced the result. On another occasion I was in a Native State and was present when the Raja was offered a "*nazzur*," or present of Rs. 5,000, to cancel an obnoxious order of his own. The *nazzur* was accepted as a friendly offer, and the order withdrawn. But the sting of it appeared subsequently. Within six months the same order was reissued under some new pretext, but the Rs. 5,000 were never returned !

As regards intrigue, this bulks, if possible, even larger than bribery. As there is no sense of equality, every one who is in any way below considers it absolutely essential for his own welfare to intrigue and bring about the downfall of those who happen in any way to be above. This passion for intrigue has brought about universal suspicion and distrust, and is one of the chief causes of India's helplessness and degradation. They range from palace intrigues for power, place, or the throne, down to petty little intrigues between miserable coolies. It is everywhere the same, and has to be reckoned with in every walk in life as the great disintegrating factor in Indian life. The worst culprits in this respect are said to be the Bengalis, who are so expert in this line that, on the principle of set a thief to catch a thief, they are often employed in Native States to confound the intrigues of the Raja's own subjects !

236 SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

There is a native saying that "The Bengali is the brother of the 'white ant, which builds nothing, but undermines palaces." Ninety-nine per cent. of the present political unrest in India is the outcome of Bengali intrigue. The pity of it all is that Indians as a whole do not yet realise that by intriguing they proclaim their own inferiority—equals do not intrigue against each other as a rule, and there is no occasion for a superior to intrigue against an inferior. And further, it would be well for them if they understood that their present low position in the scale of nations is due mainly to this propensity for intriguing against constituted authority. So it was in the past, and so it will be in the future, until they learn to be frank, trustful, and helpful to each other and the Government of the country, be it British or native.

These are some of the characteristic defects noticeable throughout India, and which will undoubtedly hamper to a very serious extent the advancement of the country on Western lines; but, knowing the people as I do, I am sanguine under a really strong and impartial Government, and with the advance of education, all such defects will gradually disappear, especially when the Indian fully realises that true patriotism does not mean illogical, insensate hostility to all things foreign, nor a mongrel pseudo-sentiment towards other Indian races with whom he has nothing in common. When he understands that patriotism

means a sincere and unselfish love and attachment to one's own land, race, religion, language, and literature—an attachment that will be self-sacrificing, all-absorbing, and helpful to his own people—then alone will the renaissance and regeneration of India begin on true patriotic principles.

CHAPTER VII

ETHNOLOGICAL PROVINCES

WITH such ideals in mind, I believe the following scheme to be the best suited for the moral, social, industrial, and political development of the various Indian races, and the one most likely to encourage autonomous government in this country. But it is essential for the success of the scheme that each race should work out its own salvation, independent, unconnected, and untrammelled by its neighbours. This is a *sine qua non*. Any interference in each other's affairs and intrigues and combination for the purpose of silly abuse and hampering of the paramount Power will pre-doom the whole scheme to failure.

Granting these premises, I propose that a new map of India be constructed on an ethnological and linguistic basis. Boundaries should be demarcated round the habitat of each race. For instance, the Sindhi-speaking people should be separated from the Punjabis on the north, and the Rajputs and Cutchis on the west and south. There should

be a Punjabi province, a Maharatha province, a Tamil province, a Telegu province, and so on throughout India. The above are only a few of the leading divisions, but they will serve to explain my meaning. Each such division, according to its size and population, would be presided over for the present by a British Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commissioner. They would have adequate British and native staffs under them. The native staff would be entirely composed of people of the division. That is to say, you would not have Bengali officials in the Punjab or Maharatha, officials in Bengal.

When a division was composed of entirely one race, there would be no difficulty of forming a simple system of self-government on a national basis. But there are some portions of India which would be difficult to divide into racial divisions, as two or more races may be living more or less in juxtaposition. For instance, in Orissa, on the east coast, you will find, besides Oryias, lesser tribes of aboriginal Gonds, Khonds, Gadabas, and others. All tracts occupied by such people would form small subdivisions of Orissa, and their interests would be guarded by special officers under the Commissioner of Orissa.

To explain my thesis more in detail it is necessary to take a special people and formulate my scheme round them. We will take, for instance, the supposititious land of Rishiwara. Here the

Rishis would form the bulk of the inhabitants, speaking one language and practising one form of religion. In the country you would also find a small colony of Mahomedans. These would be descendants of, say, Persian and Arab conquerors, mixed up with converted Rishis and the offspring of mixed marriages between all these classes. Their language would be Urdu, though all would use Rishi, and the lower classes would probably use it exclusively. Rishi would therefore be considered the language of the whole country, and in this direction, therefore, all could meet on common ground for purposes of education and government. In religion and racial sentiments, however, a sharp distinction would exist between the Rishi majority and the Mahomedan minority. As our purpose throughout would be to develop each race on its own merits, we would have to carefully guard the racial interests of the minority and thus give them a fair and equal opportunity of attaining to their highest capabilities.

Primary education would be compulsory for both men and women, and would be entirely in the Rishi language. Beyond this, Mahomedans would also be taught to read and write their own language, Urdu. The upper classes would undoubtedly avail themselves of it, as it is the common language of all Mahomedans, and it may be styled the *lingua franca* of all India. English would necessarily for a long time to come be the vehicle of higher

education, as it is the only useful medium by which Western civilisation could be imparted to the inhabitants. Nevertheless, Rishi would be used as much as possible in higher education, and its literature would be encouraged, and text-books in the language would gradually be compiled on matters scientific, industrial, and social. Everything, in fact, would be done to create and foster a national literature. Urdu literature could always be obtained from purely Mahomedan divisions, many of which would undoubtedly come into existence under my scheme.

Each race would be thoroughly grounded in the history of India, and more especially in its own particular history, truthfully and impartially expounded. Immature and undeveloped minds would not, as is unhappily the case now, be stuffed with English history and that of other foreign races fundamentally different from them in national characteristics. All education would have two principal objects in view : first, the formation of character, and second, the production of practical men, who would turn their attention to the improvement of their own countries in industries, commerce, agriculture, and science. In fact, the national education would be practical instead of theoretical. It would produce level-headed professional men for all branches of work necessary to Rishiwara, and not windy-headed, superficially educated clerks jostling each other for an infinitesimally small number of Government

appointments. In economics the Rishis would be taught the necessity of co-operation and mutual trust. The absurdity of hoarding their money underground and the advantages of laying it out in the industries and development of their native land would also be impressed on their minds. Under such a system of education the appalling ignorance and the pitiful conceit of present-day Rishis would gradually disappear, and a people would be evolved which would be honourable, self-respecting, patriotic, and proud of their country, and whom every Englishman would joyfully welcome as an equal fellow-subject of one great Empire.

Rishiwara would be divided into districts with collectors, magistrates, and deputy commissioners at the head. Groups of districts would be under commissioners, and these in their turn would be under a Chief Commissioner, or Governor, who would be responsible for all departments in the State, and would correspond directly with the Supreme Government of India. His functions would combine those of President of the State and the Agent of the Supreme Government. He would govern with the aid of a representative executive council composed of all classes in the State. The Governor in Council would legislate for the administration of Rishiwara, subject to the formal approval and sanction of the Supreme Government. All the departments of the State would be directly under

the Governor, with the exception of the army, navy, railways, telegraphs, and foreign affairs, which would be controlled all over India by the Supreme Government.

Rishiwara would have a special official newspaper in the Rishi language, publishing general news calculated to educate the people on all that would be useful to the State. But its chief function would be to explain and defend the policy of the Rishiwara Government, to contradict false rumours and misunderstandings, and to expose the machinations of all would-be mischief-makers; and, last but not least, it should also interpret the wishes of the Supreme Government to the Rishiwara public. Such an official journal in the language of the people would be published in each racial division; and at the same time there would be a chief official paper for all India published in English under the authority of the Supreme Government. This would explain, defend, and justify Imperial policy throughout India.

The Mahomedans would have one or more representatives on the executive councils, and their rights and interests, as well as those of other minor races in the State, would be strictly guarded against any encroachments by the preponderating Rishi population.

Rishiwara would in fact be practically self-governing and quite independent of all other such States in India. Its internal administration would

not be directly interfered with by the Supreme Government except in matters of Imperial policy, and the inhabitants would be left to progress in civilisation at their own pace. There would be no hustling and no maudlin philanthropy. If they had any virility and capacity for advancement it would come out under such conditions, and if they had not, they would be allowed to go their own pace without any sentimental anxiety on our part. In either case they would be happy in their own way, and would have nobody but themselves to blame if other Indian nations went ahead of them towards the goal of independence.

As an unknown writer has aptly stated: "The paramount executive for the well-being, happiness, and security of the myriad millions must rest for a time, that cannot be measured or computed, in the hands of Great Britain." But though this must be admitted for all India, it is necessary that we should gradually, *very gradually*, hand over the purely internal and local functions of the administration to its advanced inhabitants. The process, however, would necessarily be slow, and the Rishis would have to exercise patience and willingly co-operate in getting the training that would fit them for positions of trust and responsibility in their country. No civilised Government, and least of all that of Great Britain, would ever allow a noisy and self-interested minority to usurp authority for the purpose of misgoverning the inarticulate and helpless masses.

All the various nationalities in India would thus be simultaneously started on the road to self-development and ultimate self-government. Those which advanced rapidly would be given greater facilities and would necessarily be more independent than those that lagged behind. No greater incentives could be given to the peoples of India than the fostering of local patriotism and the consequent friendly inter-racial competition for civilised progress and ultimate autonomy. I also maintain that this scheme is the only means of establishing an *entente cordiale* between the Mahomedans and Hindus of India. Barring religious matters, on which these two sections of the Indian population can never be on one platform, it has been my experience that, in questions concerning their own native land, the mental attitude of both Hindu and Mahomedan is comparatively harmonious. There is a sort of incipient patriotism that brings them together as against Hindus and Mahomedans of another country. For instance, the Hindus and Mahomedans of Sind think more alike than does the Hindu of Sind and the Hindu of Madras or the Mahomedans of Sind and the Mahomedans of Bengal.

In this mental affinity lies the hope of a future solution to the partition question in Bengal. If, for instance, Bengal proper (excluding Oryias, Nagpuris, Beharis, Assamis, and all other border races) could be constituted into a new State on an ethno-

logical and linguistic basis, with a Governor of its own, it is quite possible that a real Bengali nation might eventually be evolved comprising both Hindus and Mahomedans of Eastern and Western Bengal. Such a union of Bengali-speaking people is very desirable, and devoutly to be wished. But two things at present militate against any such consummation. One is the Hindu Bengali's hostile and selfish intrigues against Mahomedan interests, and the other is his childish and imbecile opposition to all things British. The Mahomedans will therefore be wise to strongly uphold the Bengal partition until such time as the Hindus of their own accord genuinely remove the two unfavourable conditions mentioned. When that welcome time arrives the British will be the first to join the hands of Eastern and Western Bengal in a union of mutual respect and attachment, and Britannia will be proud of being the foster-mother of a brilliant race.

It is very necessary that my scheme for racial autonomy all over India should be favourably started and its growth carefully guarded to maturity. This can only be done with a powerful and sympathetic arbiter over all the land—a Government which will see fair play, prevent internal discord, and ward off aggression from without. The only possible Government for such a purpose is that of Great Britain. So the Viceroy in Council will, on behalf of the King-Emperor, be all powerful, and will continue to watch over the destinies of the

Empire. But he will be helped by an Advisory Council constituted of distinguished representatives of all the autonomous States as well as of the existing Native States. At first, and for some time to come, the Council's functions will be purely consultative and advisory; but in the fulness of time, when all the States have shown a real capacity for self-government on civilised principles, the Council would be transformed into a modified parliamentary institution for the Confederate States of India, with the Viceroy as President. The Governors and Commissioners would then remain in the States only as British political agents. But here we enter into realms beyond the sphere of present-day practical politics, and it is therefore unnecessary to speculate on this final phase of the Indian problem. Sufficient for the present is the realisation of separate racial States, in each of which the inhabitants would speak one common language and be imbued with one common patriotism for their native land.

Let us hope the Indians will fully realise that all this cannot come about in one day. There is no magic in politics. The development of a race must be gradual, steady, and progressive. Perfection will only be attained after years, or may be centuries. It is the slow growing tree that produces the soundest timber: mushroom growth does not last.

CHAPTER VIII

A FIRM POLICY

"HOW can encouragement best be given to legitimate political aspiration, and sedition most effectively suppressed?" To the first part of the question I answer that the true remedy lies in separate racial development, as already explained in the previous chapters. When a race improves from within as it were and concentrates its efforts on developing its own inherent qualities, it will have ample scope within itself for all legitimate political aspirations. A truly patriotic people will not waste their opportunities for advancement by thwarting the suzerain Power, which helps them along and guards them against outside interference. Their leaders will soon realise that they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by allowing other jealous and perhaps hostile races to interfere with their internal and domestic politics. "Self-help" will be their motto, and "Hands off" their attitude to outsiders.

The greatest folly the Indians have hitherto

perpetrated is the encouragement of the idea that they are all one and the same people, and that therefore they can combine to displace the British Government by an imaginary "national" Government of their own! This idea is the outcome of colossal ignorance of their own history, and their extraordinary inability to logically argue out the sequence of events. They can neither look back to what they were nor look forward to what they might be. Their thoughts and actions are always concentrated in the present, regardless of consequences. It is this defective mental horizon that has produced the political buffoon in this country, and resulted in the sorry spectacle of the warlike Punjabi being dragged at the heels of the effeminate Bengali.

The first thing the various peoples of India must learn is that the word "India" is merely a geographical expression invented by Europeans to designate a vast continent, and that since the advent of the British the term "India" has continued to expand. The map of India has ever since been changing towards the west, north, and east, but it does not follow that, because a borderland is painted red on this map, the indigenous inhabitants of that land thereby immediately by some legerdemain become Hindus—say of the type of Bengal or Madras. The only cohesive factor in India is British sovereignty; remove that factor and its peoples would automatically cease to be

Indians. They would be known henceforth as Kashmeris, Punjabis, Sindhis, Rajputs, Maharathas, Bengalis, Assamis, Telegus, Tamils, Pathans, and an endless number of other distinct nationalities. Until this obvious lesson is thoroughly grasped by the Indians there can be no hope of any genuine political advancement. Self-contained development on a racial basis is the key to the whole problem. The race that first fully realises this, and ceases to meddle with the domestic affairs of others, will easily take the lead in India and soonest attain self-government on rational principles. Such a race will naturally in its own interests range itself on the side of law, order, and peaceful government, and it will therefore have ample scope for legitimate political aspirations in the promotion of the best and highest ideals of its own people.

We come to the second portion of the question : "How can sedition be most effectually suppressed ?" One word answers this, and that is—firmness. Boycotting, picketing of shops by hired ruffians, preaching of sedition, encouragement of race hatred, should all be summarily stopped. And when schoolboys are concerned in such practices they should, as a Japanese friend of mine has suggested, be promptly flogged, and their parents, guardians, or schoolmasters be severely fined, and made to enter into a bond for the future good behaviour of such youths. In India we must to a

very great extent do as Indians do in such matters. In a Native State, if a man preached disloyalty to the Raja, he would be seized, punished, and effaced in a couple of days, and all connected with him would suffer likewise. To act as a deterrent, punishment for political crime must be prompt, severe, and final. Native politicians desire self-government by their people, so they cannot logically object to the adoption of Native State methods for suppressing crime.

The Supreme Government must cease to pander to such plausible and long exploded shibboleths as "the equality of men," "liberty of the subject," and "freedom of the press." Indians, with their present limited range of political thought, do not understand such altruistic ideals. This is amply proved in the conduct of every Native State, where no two men are considered equal, where liberty of the subject is restricted to personal good behaviour, where absolute freedom of the press is not tolerated on the solid ground of expediency. By all this, I do not mean that such ideals should not sway our governing principles. They should always be kept in view, and gradually applied to the people as they attain a proper sense of responsibility. You cannot have absolute equality in a country where you have two such opposite extremes as a twentieth-century educated and polished native gentleman and a prehistoric savage in a state of rude nature—a juxtaposition that may be seen any day in and

around almost any large town in India. You cannot have complete liberty of the subject where the extreme products of the country can never take the same view of anything, and where all the myriad intermediate degrees of civilisation and savagery will differ infinitely in thought, belief, and conduct. You cannot rationally allow a native press—to a great extent ignorantly conducted—to freely preach false and erroneous principles to a still more ignorant public. It is not fair to the Government of the country, and is still more unfair to the unfortunate people, to subject them to the tyranny of an unwholesome press.

In our dealings with the ignorant peoples of India we want less sentimental theory and more practical common sense. The native press requires controlling for the sake of the people themselves. With few honourable exceptions these papers do not give any news at all, and are consequently of no educational value. Their contents are nothing but stupid, illogical, and destructive criticism of all things concerning the Government of the country, vilification of its officials, and advertisements, a considerable number of them obscene.

Such papers are mostly conducted by dismissed native officials, or by students who have failed in their exams., and failed, in fact, in everything else. All the mischievous trash they publish is swallowed without judgment or comment by the still more ignorant multitude, whose only arguments for per-

forming this mental gastronomy are, "It is printed, therefore it must be all true. If it was not true Government would have punished the authors and stopped the papers. As they have not done so Government must be in the wrong, and they are afraid to do anything"—and so on.

I have heard such statements made even by so-called educated natives, who in ordinary matters of business are as sensible and level-headed as one could wish. During the late Zaka Khel expedition on the North-West frontier, one obscure vernacular paper gave out that the British soldier could not fight, he was worthless in war; that one whole British regiment was absolutely wiped out by the Zaka Khel, and that this was the real reason why our forces hastily retired from the frontier; that the only thing that saved the entire army from total destruction was the brave front shown by the native troops! All this was conveyed in good faith by letter to me from an educated native gentleman who has travelled over most of the civilised countries of the world, and whom one would naturally credit with greater judgment and discernment. Yet he believed it all because a friend of his had told him he had read it in a vernacular paper somewhere!

It is this sort of unwholesome credulity which it is our bounden duty to control and guide on practical lines, and this, I maintain, can never be done until the present licence of the vernacular press

is curbed, and it is taught to realise its true position as a great educational factor in the country. It is useless to expect the people to move in the matter, as their whole conduct and attitude towards this press has shown conclusively that they have failed to realise how a licentious and untruthful press is destroying their mental equilibrium, undermining their national manhood, and exposing them to the ridicule and contempt of the civilised world. They will not or cannot help themselves, and therefore it is our bounden duty as the rulers of the land to educate the vernacular press and place it on a proper and useful footing.

This, I maintain, would not be difficult to accomplish if every vernacular paper was required to take out a licence for permission to publish. This licence would be given after due inquiries had been made as to the qualifications of its staff and directorate, and after a certain sum in cash or securities had been deposited as an earnest of good conduct. The first time the paper misconducted itself it would receive a warning and a severe reprimand; the second time, a heavy fine would be inflicted out of the deposit money; and the third time, the licence would be cancelled and the rest of the deposit money as well as the press itself would be confiscated. I would place the general control of a paper under a vigilance committee, composed entirely of educated and respectable native gentlemen of the locality, and as far as

possible of the same nationality as the staff and conductors of the paper. They would have the power to carry out the first and second sentence of punishment in cases of misconduct. The last sentence would be left solely to the police magistrate, and would be final and without appeal to any higher authority.

Such a scheme would insure the paper starting on a respectable business basis. It would have the advantage of having its conduct under the responsible control of the natives themselves, and lastly its final extinction would be automatic, as the licence would only be cancelled and the press confiscated after all other remedies, applied by the natives themselves, had failed to check misconduct. As the failure would be with the natives themselves, Government could not be blamed as at present for taking drastic and final measures. And lastly Government would have the advantage of always feeling the political pulse, as it were, of the native community, as the attitude of the vigilance committee towards the views of the paper would be an indication of their attitude towards Government. Such a scheme, while allowing for reasonable and dignified criticism of Government, would effectually prevent all political mendacity, scurrilous abuse of officials and native princes, and seditious and disloyal intrigues against constituted authority. No respectable vernacular paper would object to its adoption, as its own self-respect and dignified

conduct would render it immune, as now, from punitive consequences of the law. But it would be impossible for third-rate rags to exist, as they would automatically bring about their own suicide.

Another cause of sedition in India is our irrational system of education, which is superficial and entirely misdirected. What good result can be expected from an ignorant native, a descendant of hundreds of generations of illiterate forebears, who is suddenly caught and rushed through various impractical schools and colleges, on such mental pabulum as Herbert Spencer, Macaulay, Rousseau, and Kant? The wonder is that there are any level-headed men left amongst the so-called educated. We neglect to teach them their own history, while we cram them with European and American history, and other unsuitable literature. We teach them no religion, no moral principles, no manhood; and little or nothing is done contributing to the formation of character. We turn out, in fact, a lot of literary prigs and unmanly cads, instead of solidly educated men and broadminded gentlemen. The need of India is for men who have received a thorough training in commerce, trade, industries, agriculture, mining, mechanics, engineering, and other practical callings.

Again, another cause of disaffection and contempt for Government is the laxness with which we maintain our prestige in India. Nowhere can a peaceful and civilised Government be maintained, and least

of all in India, when the people at large are not taught to respect constituted authority. In India respect for authority has been and always will be the bed-rock of all forms of government. No Native State would for a moment allow the scurrilous abuse and the attacks on its officials that we permit in British territory. A native Prince, referring to the frequent attacks on British soldiers by villagers, once said to me, "You are allowing the foundation-stone of your Government to be shaken. If it goes on much longer your whole administration will fall to the ground. In India we worship power, and despise anybody who does not maintain his *izzat* [honour and dignity]. For every soldier that is attacked by villagers, you lose the respect and goodwill of thousands of Indians, who are then willing to believe anything that is said against you." How true all this is can easily be realised nowadays, when rebellion, murder, and anarchism stalk the land as a result of our previous laxness in maintaining order. Every attack on a Government official, from soldier to Viceroy, should be swiftly visited with condign punishment—direct on the actual perpetrators, and indirect on all remotely responsible for the act. We cannot afford to allow even the commonest European to be maltreated because he is a European, or because he is a Government official.

It may here be as well to call the attention of the Indian politicians to the degrading practice of

employing schoolboys to do their dirty and dangerous work for them. When the men of a race sink so low as to demoralise and prostitute their own offspring, they publicly condemn themselves, and proclaim their utter unfitness for any form of self-government. There is nothing that shames the true friends of India so much as this contemptible practice, and until it is wholly given up the Indians can never hope to have the respect and sympathy of any civilised people. Let men meet men, my Indian friends, but for the sake of your own *izat* keep your women and children out of the arena.

Slowness to move, procrastination, and leniency are well-known Oriental defects, and are believed by the native to be the results of weakness and fear. As a native shikari once remarked to me, "When a wounded bear does not come straight down on me as he ought to, I know he is afraid of me, and after that I feel I can destroy him with impunity whenever I feel inclined." When the seditious and disaffected in India have politically wounded the Government, and the latter does not come straight down on them, the absence of prompt action is immediately construed into weakness and fear, and, like the shikari, they come to the conclusion they can destroy Government with impunity. I reiterate, that when there is deliberate mischief against the Government or its officials, the punishment must be swift and thoroughly deterrent; there must be no maudlin sentiment and leniency.

This leads me on to our laws. These in the present condition of the country are too cumbersome, too complicated, too costly, and in many cases a direct incentive to political crime. Our system has bred a multitude of lawyers, who prey on the ignorant multitude and who are generally the leaders of disaffection. It has produced a contempt for our Government, because with its legal technicalities and quibbles, backed up with bribery, corruption, and false evidence, a political criminal can nearly always escape scot-free. For every known criminal that thus escapes his just doom, a hundred more join the ranks of the disaffected; and so the ball of sedition keeps rolling on, ever increasing in force and magnitude, till it now threatens to overwhelm us altogether. Even in civil matters there is already too much law and too much interference with the people. There ought to be a separate political law, shorn of all legal technicalities and complications, and it should be so framed that its application in all cases would be prompt and decisive; and, above all, there should be no hesitation in applying it. In saying this I voice the opinion of all peaceful and law-abiding Indians, and they form the vast majority of our fellow-subjects.

CHAPTER IX

A RECONSTRUCTED INDIA

TO sum up all that has been said. India must henceforth be considered and treated not as one country with one people, but as a vast sub-continent of Asia, with a congeries of separate nationalities, having different religions, languages, sentiments, and idiosyncrasies. The country must be grouped into racial divisions and governed on that basis. Each race must be allowed to develop on its own inherent merits, and one dead level of uniformity should not be expected. Each racial division should, under British supervision and control, employ its own people as far as possible in governing itself. All education should be practical and cheap and not academic, and should be carried on to a very great extent in the language of the people. Only the higher education should be in English, and this should be paid for at its proper value. The European officials in such racial divisions should spend the greater part of their service in divisions where the same language and customs

prevail, as this is the only way we can identify ourselves with the inner sentiments and aspirations of the people.

These racial divisions would be started on their career with the same European staff as is considered necessary for the Government of the country at present; but gradually, as the people acquired a sense of responsibility and showed themselves fitted for self-government, the European staff would be removed until the irreducible minimum considered necessary for the maintenance of British sovereignty was reached. In the course of time practically the whole governing staff might be natives of the division; and there is no reason why there should not ultimately be even a native Governor, with a local Legislative Council. But, of course, such a consummation will be entirely dependent on the growth of education and sense of responsibility to the suzerain Power, which must necessarily be British for an indefinite time to come.

The Supreme Government will be carried on as now by a Viceroy in Council. He will be assisted by an advisory council consisting of representatives from all the racial divisions. The Supreme Government will have absolute authority over the army, navy, railways, telegraphs, postal and customs departments, and will control all the internal and foreign politics of the whole Empire. The prestige of the Supreme Government must be maintained at all costs. There must be no dallying with sedition,

and no maudlin sentiment. Mischief-makers of all kinds should be dealt with promptly and decisively, regardless of what might be said by ignorant busy-bodies at home. The Government attitude should be, on one side, one of sympathy, friendliness, and sincere concern for the welfare of the people; on the other side, one of unsentimental justice, prompt chastisement, and unswerving determination. There must be the velvet glove and the iron hand, the olive-branch and the sword. There can be no medium course in India. The vernacular press must be brought under control in the manner I have already indicated, as much for the sake of peaceful government as for the rational education of the people themselves.

Our civil laws may be retained as they are in the large towns, but they require considerable cheapening and simplifying throughout the country. The power to appeal should be reduced, and except for grave crimes the judgment of the court of first instance should be decisive and final.

There should be little if any interference with the customary usages and ordinary lives of the people. Their social evolution should be left to themselves. The misdirected zeal for village sanitation should be curbed or wholly checked for the present. Official interference with village government should be discountenanced as far as possible.

The people should not be worried to clean out wells and tanks which have been in use from time

immemorial on account of the officious zeal of some sanitary inspector. They must not be forced to cut down hedges and shrubbery round their ancestral homes just because someone sees imaginary cobras in such places. When the people themselves ask for such action to be taken, *then* Government should promptly move in the matter, not before. The inept rewards spent on killing snakes and wild beasts should be discontinued, and the money should be utilised for some more practical purpose. The death-roll ascribed to snakes and animals is for the most part fictitious. The rewards go not to the villager, but to the native official who writes up the record; to the professional shikari, who makes a livelihood out of the shooting in the neighbourhood, and to the snake-charmer, who mostly breeds the snakes for which the rewards are given! As for the statistics, I know from personal observation, and from what reliable natives have told me, that a very large number of cases of suicide, infanticide, poisoning, and other secret forms of murder are hushed up with a little expenditure of money and the death entered in the official returns as due to some animal or snake.

All this grandmotherly concern for the protection of the native against himself may appear laudable to goody-goody folk and the comfortable arm-chair critic at home; but such minute interference with the daily lives of the people is intensely irritating, and often leads on to higher forms of discontent.

when the professional agitator mendaciously distorts the intentions of Government. The secret of success in this direction lies in leaving the people alone as much as possible. If the natives of this country are ever to develop higher forms of civilisation, they must be left to develop them in their own way; there must be no hustling on our part. All we are called upon to do is to give the people a strong and peaceful Government; for the rest they must be allowed to work out their own salvation in lines they understand and can utilise themselves.

The inhabitants of India, taken as a whole, are peacefully inclined, law-abiding, charitable, and admirable in many of their personal characteristics. Those who have taken the trouble to study them, and understand their customs, beliefs, and racial sentiments, must end by having a kindly respect and liking for them. I have lived a great part of my life among them, and have resided in practically every part of their country, with Rajas in their palaces and with ryots in their mud and thatch huts; and I personally feel so great an attachment to the land of my adoption that when I retire from active life I mean to settle in it, feeling sure my many native friends will help to make my residence among them welcome in the future as they have in the past.

I mention all this lest it should be inferred from my previous criticism and advice that I am prejudiced against the people and their ancient country.

On the contrary, I have been animated with the friendliest feelings ; and if I have used plain words and stated some unpalatable home-truths, it is because, as the old Indian proverb aptly says, "The enemy flatters, only the well-wisher tells the truth." I may or may not be mistaken in my views. I give them for what they are worth, and therefore trust they will be read in the spirit in which they are written.

EXPERIMENTAL REFORM

By MOGHAL

CHAPTER I

POSSIBILITIES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

IN considering the question whether it be possible for the diverse races of India to become one united self-governing community we are unfortunately confronted by one of those problems which, intensely interesting as they may be, are yet outside the pale of actual definite conclusion. We may argue as we will with a view to establishing our negative or affirmative, but so long as the subject remains within the realms of controversy at all, we can prove nothing. The dispute, in fine, is of the *solvitur ambulando* order. Once let a united self-governing community become an accomplished fact and the event, it is clear, will answer all doubts and adverse speculations. There will be no further room for discussion. But no disputant can fairly be called upon to logically prove a negative, and in the particular theorem we are considering no mere academic correlation of probabilities will demonstrate a possibility. Personally I should hesitate

270 POSSIBILITIES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

to say that such an event as Indian political homogeneity is impossible ; but this hesitation, I frankly admit, is a mere confession on my part of the limitations of human prescience. I can only deal with what appeals to me as being the reasonable possibilities of such a political cohesion.

It seems to me that the term " united self-governing community " demands some attempt at precise definition. By such a term it would be illogical to postulate too much. All self-governing communities which may logically be termed " united " have yet their very distinct phenomena of political cleavage. And this, indeed, has ever been so, even from the days when Lot and Abraham found it necessary to part company owing to the strife between their herdmen. The antiquity of social and political cleavage might easily be proved, were proof necessary, by references to the history of the Greeks and Romans, or other nations of the past. Plebeian and patrician, oligarch and democrat have their counterparts in socialist and aristocrat, using the latter term not quite in the sense of the Greek *aristos* ; and though to-day we may not find so pronounced a Tory as Dr. Johnson, it is certain that our modern Liberals labour under no delusion as to the dual personality which vivifies and controls the State. But these factors of divergence and differentiation are quite compatible, as we know, with a real and national unity, and this being admitted, we may well consider on what basis of solidarity a national