

# THE EAST AND THE WEST.

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AN ADDRESS :

READ BEFORE THE MEETING OF INDIAN POSITIVISTS  
HELD IN CALCUTTA ON THE POSITIVIST MAHALAYA  
OR FESTIVAL OF ALL THE DEAD. 104.

*(30th December, 1892.)*

BY

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

Love for Principle  
And order for Basis ;  
Progress for End.

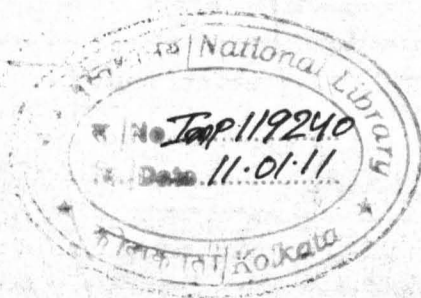
Live for others.                      Live openly.  
Submission is the basis of improvement.

When it shall be incumbent on Positivism to make its way to these immense populations, [*i.e.*, of India, Thibet and China] it will be the time to study carefully the natural progression by which of themselves they would ultimately have risen to the definitive level of the West, by a distinct but equivalent course. For, it is with these instinctive tendencies that we shall have wisely to connect our systematic acceleration, eliminating all the violent disturbing influences imported by monotheism, first Musulman then Christian. Nevertheless, reserving this important question, for the present we should concentrate our historical studies on the immediate ancestors of Western civilization.

P. 266 Catechism of the Pos. Rel. 2nd Ed.

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In our humble efforts to cultivate the Positive Religion in this far East the following points may be recounted as definite.

1. We take the Brahman's function in our society as truly a spiritual function. We are aware that Brahmanism has certain imperfections, even apart from the abuses recognised by the Brahmins themselves. But we are determined to do our best in conserving and not destroying the long established spiritual government of our country. Its improvement will come in due course. Even now it is capable of appropriating the valuable portion of all that the West has to bestow.

2. Indian Positivists with their alliance to Brahmanism cannot afford to suspend the adoption of a cult. And in offering our humble testimony to the students of Positivism in the West that Comte's teaching is really universal, we accept of Dr. Congreve's liturgy provisionally, until we have one of our own in the vernacular:—one which would be sanctioned by the Brahman priest. As Brahmanists, we also associate the institution of *Sraddha* with the Positivist worship of the Dead: and notably the *Mahalaya*, with the Festival of All the Dead.

Here I would urge that those who on occasions like that of today, desire not only to assist at ventilation of opinion, but also to observe a religious ceremony, should qualify themselves by the observance of private prayer upon the principles laid down by our great *Guru*. And if possible I would also suggest that some measures should be devised by each in his own way to institute a form of domestic worship. The surrounding Brahmanism requires, and Positivism alone is capable of rendering this assistance, in order to infuse a fresh religious spirit into our domestic atmosphere.

3. In the third place, whether in the practical bearings of our cult and the requirements of domestic worship, or as a pressing public question we have to approach the question of family organization in general and of our joint family system

in particular. In this matter, reform can come only from Religion; and there is a great deal to be said and considered from the Positivist point of view.\*

We entreat first of all those of our countrymen who are competent to examine the question with the help of Western ideas, to discriminate between the teachings of Comte, and of those other Western writers who cry him down for reasons which cannot possibly be mistaken by any Brahmanist. It seems desirable also that some connection should be established between the Brahman priesthood of India and the Western followers of Comte, whom I look upon as the Brahmans of the West. This matter is under consideration. But we are painfully conscious that Indians whether Brahmans or laymen, Positivists or non-Positivists are all devoid of influence with the Government of our country, and that until the Government can be constitutionally shut out of all interference with social as well as moral questions, our efforts at reform of family life must be more or less of the nature of a useful speculation.

Looking to the last-mentioned difficulty, I have always had to avoid political discussions from the positivist platform. *Here* we must not pretend that at heart we are not looked down upon by Government as conquered subjects, and that our privilege to hold public meetings does not stand threatened. And now, we have also to understand, that however submissive we may be, our attempts to secure concessions from Government, even our noblest patriotic efforts, are liable to be shocked and demoralized by insult of the most culpable kind. Insult offered to an equal is a provocation to violence. But insult to Indian subjects from the heads of our Government whose power to do wrong is boundless, is not only a mark of deplorable incapacity, but I think it indicates that the time has come for all honourable men to declare themselves, by standing aloof and absolutely ceasing to lend any sort of countenance to such men in such place.

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\*Among other points, the provision in her domestic seclusion and perpetual widowhood, for the sonless Hindoo widow, is capable of being approached, only by the Positivists among Western people.

4. Thus far our position is clear and intelligible. But I have of late been impressed by a difficulty which has been assuming larger proportions with recent changes in the attitude of Government. Is it possible to effect a fusion between the East and the West as Comte would have wished? And if not, whether it is our countrymen or Western Europe, which stands most in need of censure and improvement.

The printed paper in my hand was prepared before the current question on jury trials came before the public and was put into type in order to be laid before you instead of being read. But the alienation aimed at by Government seems now to be so unmistakeable that I can hardly think of our religious movement except as deeply clouded by frowns of Government. I regret that our worship should be so disturbed. But I beg you to remember what I did not think it advisable to repeat over and over again in the paper I am going to read, that my object is to learn and understand, and not to criticise. I seek every body's help and more especially that of our European confreres. If a fusion is to be worked at, the approach must be made from the West no less than from our side. Is Europe making any peaceful approach towards us? And if not, how is Europe to be modified? And what besides is Europe's advice to us when purified of all that positivism regards as violent, vicious and immoral? We are an ancient people, now too far advanced in industry to recede into imitations of Western violence. Peace has been the aim and result of our Brahmanic discipline in this wide continent, and of our positivist teaching within these few square feet. And it is peace for which we must strive. But the violence of our Government can be repressed only from the West. Our dead ancestors whom I should have invoked to-night, are powerless in the present situation. And therefore in the name of Humanity, I call upon the West, whether positivist or not, to bestir itself as well for our protection, as for its own purification.

1, NEMAK MEHAL ROAD.  
26th Bichat, C. IV.  
December 27, 1892.

# THE EAST AND THE WEST.

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I AM anxious to say that on the question of Fusion of the East and the West my views have been somewhat changed. I think its accomplishment must be put off for a long time to come. But the obstacles as they appear to me require careful attention for their removal. The fact is attributable to the growth of **imperialism** in the West. By imperialism I mean extension of man's power over man through domination over the land. But I think there is an Eastern and a Western imperialism, as also a primitive and a modern one. The strength of numbers acquired by means of capital noxious as it often is, is not imperialism in its true sense. Imperialism is different from abuse of Capitalism. Primitive imperialism depended upon the genius and talents of individual men: such as Alexander or Hannibal. The imperialism of Napoleon and Bismark has I think been of the primitive type. Modern imperialism affects entire classes of men. It took shape in Spanish and British America. But it now sticks to Asia. America has become more democratic than Europe. I leave aside the question of African Empires as doubtful. The early history of Eastern imperialism is unknown. But the modern incursion of Europe in the East stops the growth of a Genghis Khan or Tamerlane. The German disturbance in the West is traceable to Napoleon: and Napoleon's conquests are traceable to arrest of his Eastern advance. Hence I would say that primitive imperialism depending upon individual men is out of date both in the East and the West. In the East imperialism is toned down under a hierarchy of temporal rulers connected with the land. The domination is of the Satrap



form. But I should like to hear from European thinkers whether modern Western imperialism as it affects Asia is not partly capitalism, and more particularly whether in the name of conquest it can dispense with the responsibilities of Capitalism and **Satrapism** both. I think that in the near future it must take the oriental shape of Satrap government. This and certain other cognate questions must be settled before our Positivist dream is accomplished of an United East and West, a **Human brotherhood** working under the persuasiveness of the priest, rather than the fury of the sceptre. In any case besides, we have to discuss not the genius of domineering Personages but the characters of Nations.

The question before me is **how do the peoples of the East and the West differ in mind and action**. And as it is in Bengal that the East and the West are in closest contact, the study has a special claim on us, I mean, the two classes of men : Anglo-Indians and Indo-Anglians. As Positivists we are Indo-Anglian. But we look forward to fusion with or without political separation. And with us the divergent influences have to be studied for remedial measures if any, rather than fomented by precipitate action.

In feeling and thought, it seems that Asia began early in its career of progress and civilization, but that it took no note of time. **The West** however beginning with Greece **has advanced more rapidly**, gone through far more changes **than the East** and has beaten us in many if not all respects. This changeful spirit in some form or other is acknowledged by the Western people themselves. But all change is not progress. And though **progress** is boundless, it **cannot** in its sounder form **ignore conservation and durability**. So that if perfection does not lie all in the way of Western Liberty and Revolution, we Orientals should beware lest in deprecating our stagnation and passive resistance, we become swayed by the fickle-minded ways of the West. It is to be feared that Western activity in the name of liberty often sacrifices discipline to the altar of license and anarchy.

**Eastern Discipline** is usually referred to the **Shastras** or **precepts**. But it arose from habit, and long experience has grown and merged into conservativeness. Western discipline is not a thing to be slighted. But it is not derivable from book, dogma or precept. It has to be acquired through life's contact, and under a social franchise, impossible to be attained by the Eastern people. Society is everywhere the best teacher of discipline. But in the East opinion is subordinated to authority ; in the West, it is shaped by the society. The Greek myth about Proteus is characteristic of the West. Its Eastern equivalent would probably be Narada, a very different being altogether. When Eastern discipline is condemned by or in the name of the West, for **defect of logic** there is a double confusion. The ultimate opinions involved on either side belong to different platforms ; those of argument and authority. But the logic as between first principles upheld in the East and the West is problematical to say the least. Hence when Eastern people run after Western opinion as authoritative, they belie Western teaching as much as they prove their native leaning towards oriental discipline.

Now as between permanence and change man, has to look to both in order to solve the problem of true progress and development. History may help us ; but it may also fail. Sound logic however is indispensable. Where a law of development cannot be established, the regulative function of opinion among a free people may become quite as bad, as when the logic of established authority cannot be found out among a people who are not free. In both these cases, the existent order of things drifting on to success or failure, has therefore, to take its spontaneous course. When a rational and hearty fusion of the East and the West has become impracticable, and when also the logic of the East and the law of the West both remain undecided, each must keep to its own ways upon peril of anarchy and self-stultification. There is now much lack of sympathy also between the East and the West. True



wisdom must therefore wait for mutual appreciation to grow first of all. Till then Western revolutionary Imperialism may have its day. But as it makes neither for law nor for logic, the sedate persistence of the East should not be a bad match for any amount of wandering fickleness which may be pitchforked from the West. We may not look for unity of principle when union in life, has become out of the question.

The incessant changes of the West have not only developed in most attractive form, a rapid flow of the spirit; but it has yielded the more substantial boon of **methodical thinking**. Perhaps it was the fickleness of the masses which evoked in wiser hearts the fetters of logical method. And method now seems to please the West far more than merit : the process concerns more than the results of thinking ; whereas new habits are harder to be begun by us than by Western people, though once established, they keep longer with us. Oriental sedateness seems as if it was afraid lest logic ( Nyaya and Mantiq ) should land it in darkness and error. And our sages of old like many of our best men now, must be presumed to have made up by quickness of parts for the shortcomings of method. If a conclusion is sound and works well, the logic and demonstration of the truth becomes of minor importance. The result has been that criticism and scepticism have followed in the wake of Western liberty ; whereas in the East precepts and dogmas have been bolstered up by authority and absurd fables. Western legislation often fascinates where the laws made are quite repulsive. Eastern dogmatism often rests upon unexplored but profound wisdom.

The intellectual character of a people has to be traced in the growth of **creeds** and **theories** credited by them. In religion Western theories are either a course of special pleading in support of Christian Dogma ( of oriental birth ) or an intolerant rationalism at war with Christianity. Christian Dogma with all its weakness leads on to authoritative Ethics. Western Rationalism gloats over its logic heedless of

- its inroads upon Christian ethics. Indo-Anglians are simply bewildered in the maze of Western metaphysics when they have not been besotted by Western cram. In the one case they become impenetrably selfish, in the other they are lured into vagaries. Western method either fails to influence their character or is driven by them into vagaries. The East with its habitual dogmatism has been trying only to sustain its steadfastness of character.

**Western Politics** has been no less revolutionay than Western Religion. Freedom of Government in the West means to us only its reverse; i.e., a concentration of authority in a temporal power subject to the figment of popular control and to limitation of time only. The rivalries between leaders and leaders and between leaders and followers are just now driving the West towards federal systems. This fact is so far significant to us, that it conflicts with Imperialism of all kinds. Federalism has an important factor in the judicial voice. But all over the West, there is too much of arguing in a circle as between legality and morality ; and federalism suffers from that confusion. As might be expected from this, Western public opinion is dubious and unsettled about the relation between spiritual and temporal authorities ; i.e. between persuasion and dictation. Thus it is, that Western method fails to attain stable results both in religion and politics. But it has succeeded marvellously well in **the physical sciences**. Only in this department we, come to touch upon Western industrial activity rather than any universal truths or general intelligence. The method of the Physical sciences has been tormenting to Western philosophy. Oriental students of these sciences ought to be put on their guard as to whether they are in quest of method, truth, or of gain. Where they look for Truth in the abstract, to proceed upon the scientific Method in philosophy or ethics becomes seriously confusive.

Upon the whole it would seem that in the West **analysis** has gone into experiment, **induction** and statistics. **Synthesis** and **deduction** have been neglected in comparison. In the

East, **conjecture** seems to have jumped up to **synthesis** and **authority**, with endless deductions in the matter of discipline. But co-ordination and classification have been defective. In the West, traditions have worked into history, and history into public opinion. In the East the place of history has been given to tales and parables ; and authority has gone into mysticism and nice and uncandid distinctions between the esoteric and the exoteric. The East has vaped off into wild subjectivism ; and the West is being stiffened by the objective and the realistic. The didactic has had too much influence on one part of the globe and too little on the other.

What is needed is the subordination of the of the subjective to the objective: the union of ethics with morality ; and harmony between teacher and learner. May it be that in this region of the intellect and theory, the East and the West shall need to supplement each other's efforts ! Meantime it is clear that in the commonwealth of thought, imperialism and caste are both out of place, and there is no justification for the Western industrial scientists to carp at the conservatism of the Brahman priesthood because the latter do not account for why they exist in accordance with Western logic.

In the **practical pursuits** of life, the East is said to be too indolent. Our very working men it is said, stand much in need of supervision. The truth however seems to be that **labor is** with us **a function of life**, not instrumental to some other ends. Also, supervision is made irksome by unsuitable exercise of authority in the guidance. Nevertheless, Government is essential to discipline ; and it does serve as a powerful guide and support to our energies. The supposed extra need for supervision arises here from lack of that clear understanding which prevails in the West between employer and employee. Touching our labor-habits it may be observed that we have fasts and festivals but no sabbath. Western labor is a thing held apart from life. It is a question of gain. Rest is needed there to prevent slavery. And recreation signifies not so much the hygienic requirement, as the senti-

ment that in its absence, the man's life would not be worth living. In the East, rest of this kind is abnormal, but it is hankered after towards the close of life. Then too, the retirement sought for is not for recreation, but for culture in a life of seclusion and unworldliness. Moreover these habits and the attendant modes of thinking jar with contract-making. Offices are rather for life than for terms. To raise the standard of comfort is not the object of making money : the hankering is very great to make one's descendants rich. And provision for the rainy day is with the worker, less a matter of personal concern than one of public propriety : less of the nature of life-assurances, annuity-funds and even Government pensions, than what I suppose, would be in the West a principle of justice or rights as between a man and his family. And looking at the question in this light, I should say that provision of the kind referred to, is with us subject to the control and censure of the community at large, first all in the village and finally in the caste. Perhaps the parallel would become clearer if compulsory education in Western Society be compared with compulsion to see after the old and the widowed where, as in the East, education runs with caste.

**Time** is a foremost factor in Western industry. With us enforcement of contract is a source of unpleasantness, punctuality is a new-fangled idea ; dates are a trouble ; and people count time either by the season or, for astrological purposes, from sunrise and position of planets. It is hard o hazard a theory but it seems as if the West was anxious to make up in intensity and by speed for that earlier start in civilization which it is said, man made in the East. And it is the Western tension, not Oriental laxity which is characteristic of our numerous differences.

The fact comes however to be a more serious matter when it appears that a regard for time and gain has helped to develop in the West the new factor of **Capital**, whereas in the East capital has kept to its germinal condition at best.

... Labor transforms the resources of the Earth into capital. The evolution is in part what is called natural. But it is also artificial in the sense that a people's habits and instincts have largely to do with the growth of capital among them. Where we Indians have been fascinated by property and desire to serve posterity by perpetuities, Western people have sought to escape from the thralls of feudalism and primogeniture. Where we have hoarded our surplus savings in kind or specie they have virtually bestowed their wealth upon their contemporaries by lubricating exchange and commerce. Where we have come up to coinage or paper-money, they have confronted the question of standard and token money. Where we have hugged our usury and discounting, they have worked up a book credit and the clearing-house. Our metallic currency and bills of exchange it is true, could not come into existence without a measure of credit, but in the West, credit has become mechanical honesty. It is appreciated even by rogues. And the many devices of transferring and transmitting capital are as much significant of the particular people as of their intense desire to live well, move rapidly, and minimise the impediments of time and space. The Western people in their restlessness have gone on from change to change. But their impetus in life has secreted capital ; and capital is such a durable blessing that the East must confess itself completely beaten by the West in the practical pursuits of life.

The truth is noticeable in other relations also. The East lacks the Western instinct of connecting information with gain. On the one side of the globe knowledge sticks to abstract speculation, on the other it is trained towards the material sciences and industrial pursuits. Now between these two departments, abstract speculation and material sciences, stands knowledge in history and the corresponding science of sociology. And it strikes me as a crucial test that in the East philosophy is satisfied with parables and fiction, whereas to keep records and assort facts are felt as drudgery of purposeless kind. Clever people are averse to slowness in progress. Laborious induction as

an instrument of research is seldom relished, and plans and figured literature are a horror, especially when intended for statistical purposes unconnected with pecuniary profit. All these facts denote I think that **our labor** is so **self-contained** that it must fail to be appreciated if criticised as an instrument of knowledge, economy, rest or capital. It is a function of life as distinguished from self-directed effort. And effort, with us is nothing, as viewed apart from success, that is, salvation, in relation to knowledge, profusion in relation to economy, and capital and ease in relation to work and recreation.

If however slowness, dulness and stagnation have been our lot in practical and industrial pursuits, if our instincts for permanence and our impatience with logical method have made us slaves to custom, the converse circumstances have also called forth in the West that plague spot of industry : **competition**. Western philosophy itself is tainted with conceptions of competition. The remarkable synthesis of natural selection has in it so little of the subjective element as to be utterly denuded of didactic value. In that part of the world where man's struggle with nature has been most successful, and individuality has received the highest developement, the philosopher now tells his disciples, the humbler portion and therefore the bulk, of mankind that their inferiority has doomed them to slaughter at the hands of their superiors. Man's selfishness is certainly more powerful than his charity. But it is poor philosophy, to have to hold, that human charity being waste of labor, there is no disparagement in having to submit to the inevitable and therefore, to go on with an exterminating war of competition. But perhaps we touch here upon another fundamental truth : Eastern ethics has run off into mendicancy and suicide ; Western ethics, into competition and depopulation.

Leaving aside philosophy, it appears that competition has taken a dangerous shape in Western domestic life. The **woman question in Europe** and America seems to be only a manifestation of unwholesome competitive energy. Woman has come to resent certain inconveniences of home-life, and to



avoid them she would work for gain both in and out of wedlock, rather than keep aloof from labor and competition. The idea seems to be that it is better to invest in a bank-book than to look upon domestic activity as the end of woman's life. It is the old craze for independence. But with my unavoidable partialities for the East, I would rather not dwell upon this delicate subject belonging to the revolutionary West.

There is also an out and out **struggle** in the West **between labor and Capital**. The coming trouble there, is socialism. What its future is no one can see. But Western collectivists do not seem to me to realise how Western property and capital have been set free for development by means of the device of transferability, and how transferability runs counter to collectivism in the so-called monopoly of property. It is transferability which brings to the Western producer of wealth, freedom for his energies, and an individual interest in the repression of indolence in his colleagues. All collectivism in the West as well as the East denotes a union of capital and labor. But the union lasts in the East and Eastern caste-life, because the people are not much concerned about liberty or monopolies, and furthermore because a safety-valve works here in the shape of mendicancy and monasticism. In the West ejection of idle men from the community cannot be dispensed with, despite the present rage against monopolies. Still less would the West consent that gains of labor should be made intransferable, so that for the sake of a man's past gains which have become already merged in the commonwealth, he should hold on to his collective work and remain slavishly bound up with his former colleagues. Even if he could renounce his past gains for the sake of freedom he could not ignore his own industrial capabilities in the future. And to break with one group of men he would certainly count upon his individual energies. But if he could dispense with both of them, that is, with his share in a common property and his right to transfer his share; he would only cease to have the true Western regard for freedom

and the products of his industry, for all capital in fact, and he would take to the easy-going ways of oriental work, and the oriental man. It follows therefore that competition between capital and labor can not be expunged by rebellion against capital which necessarily carries with it the monopolist's bands of property. There must be more of self-renunciation on both sides. Nevertheless it is but too true, that the Eastern solution of mendicancy is not adequate to the repression of competition and capitalism. And in regard to the woman question it is impossible to say what would be the case of the Hindu woman, when the Brahmanic model of self-surrender seclusion, and purity was renounced for the ideal perfection of the practical minded western woman.

Comte's remedy for these evils of practical life comprises a joint family system of a special kind and a temporal government having at its head a board of three bankers. His bankers would be subject by organisation to the persuasiveness or spiritual control of qualified philosophers ; and they would both work tacitly under the general moral control or opinion of the masses. I am not aware if Comte had it in contemplation that his bankers should possess discretionary powers to manage the country's capital, and do so upon his definite principles of morality. Subordination of politics to morality is however, one of his cardinal principles. But it is unquestionable that in spite of the vaunts of statesmen and parliamentarians, all political activity now hinges upon the power of the purse, and has to reckon with the command over capital which is held by the central Banks of each country. Thus the question comes to this: Is not the West tending more and more towards centralisation of capital? Are not employers of labor being placed more and more at the beck of Bankers? And does not the true hope of the Workman lie in a more ennobled and purified alliance between the Capitalist and the Proletariat? In other words, the socialist demunciations of capital and monopoly seem to me to be only driving to the positivist solution after all.

The whole question turns upon the nature and remedies of **human crime and poverty**. Both are unpleasant realities which it has become idle to discuss upon a theological or optimistic basis of philosophy and morals. Whether you believe in divine providence or not, you have to exercise your human providence all the same. For the repression of crime, temporal government is indispensable. But for provision against those infirmities which lead to poverty, the sovereign power has proved itself insufficient, by reason of its remoteness from the evil. It can hardly be questioned that domestic life itself requires to be improved; and that organization of industry must look to an improved domestic government rather than to the country's government, in order to ameliorate the relations between capital and industry, employer and employee, landlord and tenant. It is to the abuse of these domestic and quasi-public rights and duties that the most part of human suffering has to be attributed. Neither the terms of the criminal law, nor the freedom and narrow responsibility of the individual are sufficient for these our earthly purposes. But it is not capital which should be abjured. On the contrary, to elevate the government of the home and the workshop, it will perhaps be necessary to combine the authority of the sovereign and the power of the nation's capital, subject of course to spiritual control. But these immense problems which really arise out of the growth of Capital are fortunately for the East not so pressing here, as they are in the West. We have to grapple instead with suicide, mendicancy and neglect of wealth.

The foregoing aspect of industrial life brings me back to the previous question of **imperialism in the West**. The power of capital and the authority of the sovereign are altogether different springs of human activity. And the question is which of these is the really efficient factor in the present domination of the West over the East? It is unknown to us whether Russia seeks from Asia, money more or less than quiet submission. But I am bound to declare that I have no opinion of the Englishman's cant about British prestige in

the East. Avarice and desire of power are both selfish motives, and the latter is obviously less unsocial than the former. True imperialism in so far as it seeks power over man, has necessarily to repress the more degrading greed for lucre. But I am afraid ~~that~~ the Anglo-Indian's anxiety to make money from the East, is greater than his desire to influence our hearts and mind. An external test for the question may be found in the enquiry how far he seeks to establish his domicile in the East. And it cannot be denied that since the opening of the Suez canal, if not since the days of the overland journey, or the experiences in America, the attractions of the East for the Englishman have become very unmistakeable in character. And the fact implies that his avarice has developed more than his imperialism. Much is said of the soundness or hollowness of Indian loyalty to the British throne. Subjection is never conducive to candour or courage. But it would prove to be a great delusion to the effusively loyal Indian, if the Anglo-Indian's imperialism were found to exceed his avarice. I speak under correction of course. The myth of political charity as a factor of British conquest and commerce is now happily exploded. Only, it is a pity, that Catholic priests and Christian churchmen are none of them alive to the situation, and that many prominent Indians pretend to superior cleverness in seeing desire of power rather than avarice in the Anglo-Indian's character. Both these sections are responsible if they subserve to purposes foreign to their hearts and heads. But the better portion of the Anglo-Indians clearly see through the game, and they are pugnacious only for their outspokenness. Respect for each other as well as self-respect, however, demand uncompromising veracity on each side. The importance of this question lies in **the outlook** upon which we Indians have to reckon in order to understand our political and personal duties.

A particular friend of mine always disputes with me whenever we converse on the subject, that the Indians are fast declining into Eurasianism. I am of opinion that the present appearances of the Eastern people are not to be trusted. Western

Europe is evidently moving from imperialism, farther to the West, I mean, towards unity of principle with America. The advance of Russia towards the East has been preceded by sale of her American possessions, as Napoleon's sale of Louisiana to the United States was characteristically followed by his assumption of the title of Emperor. It is not clear what Mr. Disraeli and Lord Lytton meant by seeking the title of Empress for Her Britannic Majesty. But in the case of Russia a break of policy has of late been clearly noticeable. The cleavage of the East and the West will therefore be marked out on the map somewhere in the heart of Russia itself. India cannot be Westernised unless the West sticks on to us in future. If England had been really anxious for her Indian Empire, she would not only have behaved differently, but her own democratic instincts would be more at stake. And the history of the Irish question has not shown that imperialism is gaining ground in Great Britain. If Queen Victoria desires India for imperialist as opposed to capitalist purposes—if it be a personal consideration with her, that may be another question. But that speculation is said to be useless. It is the Anglo-Indian community who are most swayed and disturbed in their Oriental concerns by home influences. The spirit of change which touches us under British contact cannot seriously affect us, unless an important section of British Imperialists cut themselves off from the British democracy for the sake of the Indian Empire. But even then, they would have to be Orientalised far more than we were Westernised. Thus the seeming Anglicism of to-day is bound to be more inconsequential than the Semitic proclivities of our ancestors who passed away in the forties and fifties of the 19th century. My friend referred to before, is apt to become impatient when I make light of the present, which seems to be so galling, in view of my future-forecast, which is of course open to doubt. But the question is of wide and general interest. And whether or not our Anglo-Indian fellow citizens will moderate their capitalist susceptibilities for any really Imperialist concerns in India, we

• have to understand that we cannot leap out of the East. Since then we cannot be Westernised, it would be necessary for the English, the Russian, and the French imperialists to orientalize themselves. And for us Indians, to stem, rather than to flow with, the present Westernizing tide becomes a duty for any thing that calls us to the contrary direction.

To my mind the question really is one about the capitalist influence of and in the West. That influence is very noxious at present, in so far as it virtually, though perhaps unconsciously, tends toward enslavement of the laboring classes. And if Western labor is so seriously threatened, it should not surprise us to observe that in so far as Western capitalism has spread out into the East, this so-called Eurasianism of ours means not only a moral enslavement for Brahmanists, but that it tends also to kill our industries and to pauperise our people. That the Indians are being driven towards the condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water may not be gainsaid by the most self-deluded of the Anglo-Indians. My point is that the fact in question is due to the degradation of Western capitalism by the taint of avarice, and to the moral failure of England to improve upon its too cheaply earned Empire in Asia. It should have added to the responsibilities of her power, but in that respect Western democratic ideas are radically at fault. Where Papal spirituality got tainted with Spanish greed for conquest, Protestant individuality could not hope to gain in steadfastness and wisdom through contact with an ethical system based on mendicancy. On the other hand Brahmanic mendicancy however suicidal has a marvellous power over us through the moral influence of the Hindu woman, and especially the Hindu widow, and that influence may not be speedily shaken off.

A further question is as to how Western domination over the East can be rendered more responsible than it is at present. One of the solutions offered to this question is, to extend the **British Constitution** to the Indian Empire. This is after all only the subject people's view of what has been called



annexation policy on the part of the dominant power. A second solution has been offered by Mr. Cotton in his *New India* and his *England and India*. I share the same view. And I hold that the **Satrap form of government** is better suited to the East than any form of Western popular government. Now it appears that in spite of the apparent growth of British imperialism in India during the last five or six years, the Government has had serious misgivings about the annexation policy under which the Empire has grown from the beginning. That also shows why India cannot be Westernised. If the Government had been successful and self-satisfied with the annexation policy, they would go on trying to change the subject community to their own habits and modes of thinking. But the tendency as it is, shows that the Government is looking for, officials who might stand between the sovereign and the people, and be made permanently responsible for popular conduct. This system fails, because Anglo-Indian citizens insist upon making all mere officials submit to their own sovereign democratic control. Hence, the British Satrap is a most miserable personage I fear, in his own heart and mind. However, if India cannot be westernised some new solution ought to be forthcoming; or the Oriental Satrap form of government must be reverted to. On the one hand, it is necessary to ameliorate the capitalist cravings of the Western aggressors, and on the other, to elevate the British Indian magistracy by adding to its permanence and responsibilities and by disencumbering it of its greed for money. It is possible to satisfy an avaricious king or Soubadar—but to deal with a whole nation hankering for wealth is a far more difficult matter.

On our side, the most powerful obstacle to progress is the difficulty of our elaborating capital upon the Western model without departing from the lines of Oriental industry. I have already said how our antecedents have been against our requirements. But we possess an aptitude in mastering true and definite precept. And we ought to know that **our labour should not be debased** into an instrument of gain, though

our gains should aim at attaining the vitality of Western capital. This is the great problem for us all in the East. It certainly cannot be solved in a conquered country like the British territories in India. If it is solved by the East, it can only be in some such independent country as China or Persia, or possibly in the so-called feudatory states, that is, the few real satrapies of British India. But it is also possible that its solution will be anticipated in the West by further progress; and then there may be a chance for us Indians, we who are being more and more emasculated in the name of that shameful travesty of Roman glory—the *pax Britannica*. It can hardly be any great fault of Englishmen that they cannot reconcile democratic sovereignty of the people with imperious dictatorship, by means of the elaborate machinery of a Western administration. It is for philosophers to solve the problem. And I for my part, can only look to the Positivist leaders to expound the subject to European statesmen on the one hand, and to the Western proletariat on the other. It is painful to have to declare the futility of all the practical efforts hitherto made towards fusion of the East and the West. But the bitter truth has to be confessed in any case.

The West will know how to solve its own capitalist problem; and it would be as foolish as idle for us Orientals to speculate upon that matter. But as in all intellectual affairs we have to borrow the results of thought from everywhere, and the methods of thinking from the West, so in the machinery of Banking and the devices of credit, **we need not despair** that the East shall yet be able to utilize its material resources independently of the West. It may be hoped that the present Western doctrines of collectivism will settle down into a system of State-Banking with some efficient moral control, so as to prevent abuse of capital and oppression over the poor. Now if Eastern discipline be no bar to develop the traditional satrap-form of government, our satraps should take charge of the nation's capital, and devote their life-long energies and undivided responsibility, otherwise called individuality, to

the welfare of the people subordinate to them ; while the reverence of the people should come home to their hearts purified and modelled by that civic trust and credit which is characteristic of Western banking, rather than by the confidence which is said to be reposed upon judges in democratic countries.

What ought to concern us most is to recognise and appreciate **our natural genius** for Labor, for Truth, and for Permanence. Labor has been with us a function of life, and it should not be degraded into an instrument of gain or ease or comfort. That being the case, I do not know but that we should beware of the Western contagion of selfishly striving for advance in the standards of our comfort and living. That way I fear, lies the wide-road to competition, and eventually to pauperism. It cannot be that impecunious men should be contented while their richer neighbours go on craving for and grasping at higher comforts. The result of competition is that while no one gains in happiness, an important section of the lower classes, sink from poverty into pauperism and lawlessness ; and the rest of the society, the bulk of the community as the middle class, take to false displays of comfort. We have been better off than Western people in this respect. With us, though a contrary tendency is not to be overlooked, yet generally speaking, our labor has been an end by itself. And it would only be a vicious return to man's natural disinclination for labor, if we came to prefer the gains of labor and the corresponding comforts or pleasures of living, to superior aptitude in labor and the enjoyment of labor for its own self. Unfortunately with our minds fastened upon the West, this truth cannot be perceived unless it is examined with the greatest care and discrimination.

There is also another point to be considered. The **dignity of labor** is supposed to lie in the independence which it brings. This however is the democratic view of the question. Independence is oftener than not, abused into rivalry, which is competition in one shape, and into insolence, which is the

democrat's manner of pleasing himself. But man as a social being is never independent. The surplus products of one's labor would rot unless it could be exchanged and put in circulation for the country's commerce. And commerce means mutual supply and dependence. Now the form of independence which is desired in the West, comes not from mendicancy, nor from hoarded wealth, nor even from bare investment in commerce ; but from the man's personal credit with his Banker, founded upon deposit for circulation of capital. All this is excellent arrangement. Only, it should not overmaster the ultimate moral purposes of capital and the true interests of a nation's commerce. Again, the independence which is derived from proceeds of labor conjoined to Bank-credit, does not speak much for any antipathy to a life of domestic restraint which it may foster. To have to depend only upon the Banker's honesty and prudence is certainly not incomparable for personal glory or dignity to affectionate and laborious dependence upon home, relation and friend. Woman is blundering in this matter in the far West, and we should take lesson from that fact. True dignity of labor lies in having on the one hand, the power to resist tyranny, and also to enjoy labor by itself and without being deprived of a home ; and on the other, in appreciating the valuable products which labor yields to man, and through his commerce carries to the door of all men who require them. This last utilitarian aspect of the question has only to be recognised in order to transform all labor into a charity of the most exalted kind. The world has now come to appreciate industry even on its esthetic side. But it is not given to all who labor, to enjoy their own handiwork as artists. There remains however the aspect of usefulness in all labor. And the East, since it has been disturbed in its labor by the West into a keener sense of gain than before, must now learn to recognize these nobler aspects of labor in order to be restored to that tranquil progress, which no one can rob from mankind in its larger groups, even if

universal brotherhood be a dream and omnipotent goodness, a myth.

To sum up : In affairs of the mind, the East can lay claim to steadfastness of purpose and constancy of the heart. The West has brought brightness to human life by its changeful spirit. The East has proceeded leisurely to catch at truth and wisdom. And the West has settled the sound methods of acquiring new truths. In the affairs of external work, the West has made wonderful progress in the departments of profitable knowledge and in promoting public good by means of capital. The East has kept to labor as a part of its slow and sober life, and has failed to turn capital into public good. Competition is the plague of the West, and self-surrender that of the East. It is not possible that these divergences would get spontaneously removed. Imperialism must fail. Man's industry is a powerful deterrent to war. Western democracy also moves in a contrary direction. The evil of the day comes from wrong-hearted capitalism. Capitalism ought to find its solution in the West. Meanwhile Eastern labor stands deeply threatened. Our hope lies in this, that Western domination whether of Russia or of England is bound to be Orientalised in the East, because of the revolutionary course of democracy in the West. For ourselves, it would be best to improve upon subordination to superiors, and the responsibility of satraps to authorities above them for the good of the common people. Banking should be promoted, avoiding noxious competition and combining sovereign power and the people's confidence. The utilitarian and altruistic ends of labor should be appreciated in pursuing labor and in avoiding the intoxications of competition and competitive gain. But these far-reaching results may not be left to the spontaneity of history. The philosopher has much to do to prevent disastrous movements and to guide man to virtue, happiness and truth.

*October, 1892.*

## APPENDIX.

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IN an article headed "what should be the Attitude of the Pulpit to the Labor Problem" in the International Journal of Ethics for July 1898 the writer Mr. W. L. Sheldon says :—

It is not enough to have the superior intellect, the self-sacrificing devotion, the true and perfect spirit ; it is essential that the new leaders should be men of wide learning and great practical experience. When we consider the delicate and complicated questions at the present time to be settled or acted upon by the labor-leaders, it is astonishing that they do not make even more mistakes.

My hope as a religious teacher lies in another direction. It is in the possibility of a second coming of men, somewhat of the type of St. Francis of Assisi ; that is to say men who have lived the life of the world, done great work, equipped themselves with knowledge and experience, gifted with insight and judgment, eminent for wealth and social position—who may sacrifice their personal opportunities, abandon their station in the world, and go down to apply their gifts and acquirements to the cause of the lower stratum of society. They would have to be so qualified as to lose nothing in delicacy or refinement of character while they would be required to live to the very end of their days the life of the humble and the poor. It would demand unusual physical and intellectual strength for them to endure all those conditions. But if they could do it, if they could go down there and live in that way as the working man lives—so winning his sympathy and confidence, trusted by him as well as by the class from which they came—they might be able to inaugurate a movement that could transform and elevate the efforts of that wage-earning element which is now groping so blindly for its own amelioration. That class will not accept guidance unless they first have received sympathy, and the guide himself can accomplish nothing unless



be acquainted by study and experience with present social conditions and the laws of past history.

Whether this other kind of leader will come we cannot say. Nevertheless it is equally certain that if we as the clergy or as ethical lecturers, not push on ahead—if we do not insist and insist that the work has to be done—if we do not stand to the work ourselves whatever others may or may not do—if we do not begin to apply these religious feelings to the actual world, then we have failed in our mission. We must make the effort until the better leader comes. When he appears we can lay down the mantle and give it to other shoulders."

MR. STEAD'S REVIEW OF REVIEWS,

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