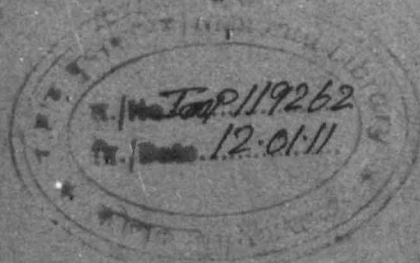


INDIA

Past and Present





India, Past and Present

By Lady Benson

*One of a series of lectures to be read to the Leaders of the
National Indian Association, Madras*

This is one of the "Lectures for Indian Ladies" which I hope is going to be a very interesting series.

The object before us is to arouse in Indian ladies a thirst for knowledge; a keen desire to be well educated, and to be fitted to take their share in the affairs of life.

SA. SUBRAMANIA Iyer, in an address delivered six years ago, said he believed in the future, he "believed in innumerable civilizations to come." He echoed the words of our English poet Tennyson who wrote

If twenty millions of summer
Are stored in the sunlight still,
We are far from the noon of man
There is time for the race to grow.

But, at the same time, Sir Subramania Iyer exhorted you to make the most of the present, to be up and doing, and to educate Indian women. "Indian women," he said "have to be educated." He asks you, "How can Indian women benefit by the high ideals of Indian womanhood presented

in India's epic poems, if they have no education, no intellectual work to do, nothing to earn, and are simply mothers?" I wish these words "Indian women have to be educated" could be written over the door post of every well-to-do Indian home.

Throughout this address, I shall try to quote to you as much as possible from the words of Indian men, so that you shall not feel that you are being lectured to on Western lines by an English lady, and wherever that is not possible the words addressed to you will be equally applicable to me as to you, as members together, East and West, of the great British Empire.

There is not much effort required to interest Indian ladies in the first half of this address "India Past." You are well read in your beautiful epic poems, the "Mahabharata" and the "Ramayana." These depict for you beautiful descriptions of cities and palaces, of kings and nobles, heroes and heroines, of wealthy citizens, and good women and brave men. It is well for the people of India to read and be familiar with this beautiful poetry. The danger to you and others lies in forgetting that these are poetical descriptions, not historical facts; that much that is described in them is the lofty creation of a poetical mind, or minds, and is not altogether a record of actual facts.

It is when you believe in the existence of a former "Universal Hindu Empire" and believe the statements, drawn from these poetical descriptions, that your country was better governed in the old

days than now, statements calculated to arouse a spirit of discontent and unhappiness in the minds of yourselves, and of your sons and daughters, then it is that it is better for us both to study the question seriously.

We must turn from poetry to actual facts. We want actual facts; nothing else is of any value.

Remember the saying of Sir Madhava Row :

Whatever is not True is not Patriotic •

If India was better off in the old days, the English ought to know about it, and learn about it: if it was not better off, is it not time for Indians to learn the real truth?

Indians talk and write of a past golden age when all India was governed by one Emperor, native born; they talk of the grand days of Rama, of Asoka, of Vikramaditya and others. They think that taxation under native rule was lighter and less harassing than at present. They think there were no famines, or fewer famines, than at present; that there was no plague; in fact that from the Hindu-Kush to Ceylon the country was ruled by magnificent monarchs of supreme power and dignity, the like of whom the world has never seen, under whose benignant and enlightened government, flourished all the arts and sciences; that the people were more free, and that there was little or no oppression of the people by corrupt officials. Indeed, one educated Indian argued from the *poetical* pages of the "Mahabharata" that in ancient India there must have been "one grand Imperial constitution" all

over the land, with the chief forming the responsible Council of the Sovereign! All this is a very pretty fancy, no doubt, but it is simply untrue. Apart from the facts of Indian history, think for a moment how impossible in practise such a conception is. How would it be possible for a Sovereign in South India, to travel merely in order to attend a Council at Ayodhya, all the length of India and back to his own country, at a time when there were no roads, or those in existence were mere tracks, and where he would, owing to the country being infested with gangs of robbers, have had to take an army, with its necessary transport, for his protection? A couple of years' absence would have been necessary. There is no record or admission by Chola or Pandiya Sovereigns that they were vassals of Ayodhya. Think of the impossibility of an Imperial Council, when there was no one language understood by all the people.

Let us teach the facts of *history* to the younger generation and thus secure that a just historical comparison, based on truth and not on misunderstanding, may become possible for the rising generation.

"The tiniest bits of opinion sown in the minds of children in private life afterwards issue forth to the world and become public opinion; for nations are gathered out of nurseries, and they who hold the leading strings of children may even exercise a greater power than those who hold the reins of government." If you teach your children what is not true, you are not patriotic.

The very name, *India*, is a growth of little more than a century. Formerly Europeans spoke of Hindustân, but "Hindustân" did not mean India any more than Hanover means the present German Empire. The races were just as distinct, the languages just as various as the races and languages of Europe. This subject was well-treated by Mr. Robert Sewell, I.C.S., in a lecture called "India before the English," from which I have gleaned the following details and also by the Rev. John Murdoch in "India, past and present."

The exact age of the great *Epic Poems* is not yet definitely decided. If they teach us anything at all historical, they prove nothing but the existence of constant wars of dynasties and races throughout the length and breadth of the Continent. According to the "*Ramayana*" (book IV) there were 14 separate races inhabiting the South of the Tungabhadra alone. In the "*Mahabharata*" we find two branches of the local reigning family fighting savagely for the territory of Hastinâpura. Six different kingdoms are spoken of as existing in one tract of the Ganges. When the Pândavas left Hastinâpura, a very short distance brought them to the countries subject to aboriginal chiefs called Râshasas (or demons). Ayodhya was only as far south-east as Allahabad. Arjûna's exile leads us to more *independent kingdoms*, the Nâgas and Manipura.

The Hindu poems, grand and beautiful as some of them are, must not be relied on for historical accuracy any more than even Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey*,

In Hindu poems, claims to Universal Monarchy are made on behalf of their chiefs, on very insufficient grounds.

They give rein to poetic license and creative imagination and oriental exaggeration.

Here is an example: In a fine spirited chronicle of some chiefs in the Dekkan, descriptions are given of their victories and conquests. Their armies were as the sand of the sea, their cities built of precious stones, their streets paved with gold; the people always dressed in silks and satins. The Kingdom was the Maharajahdhirāja Chakravarte—or Universal Empire of all India. When the Raja moved to battle, the sun was darkened with the flight of his arrows, the tread of his elephants shook the earth to its foundations, so that even Indra trembled on his throne in heaven. And all this was written about a small princeling, who owned a little territory on the Krishna river, about 50 miles square, and never left it, and knew nothing beyond it!

When Alexander invaded India in B. C. 327, he found *no lord paramount in Upper India*. The Punjab was under separate kings, all fighting with each other. Megasthenes, a Greek traveller, (about B. C. 300) states that there were 118 nations in India, and mentions none of these as subordinate to Chandragupta. There was therefore no "Universal Hindu Empire" at that time, and for 600 years a large part of North India lay under *foreign domination*; Greeks succeeding to Persians, and Tartars to Greeks.

After this we come to *Asoka*, B. C. 250, and as it is on his behalf we hear claims put forward of universal rule, we must look with a little more attention to the history of his times. He succeeded to Chandragupta and Bimbasara. In his later life he became converted to Buddhism, and spread his doctrine far and wide over India. But he did not rule over the countries where he spread his creed, any more than the English ruled over China and Japan, though we have many agents in both countries spreading our religion there. In Asoka's 13th edict, he mentions his conquest of Kalinga, immediately to the South of Bengal, *and his resolve to make no further conquests*. In that war he declared that 150,000 souls were carried off as prisoners or slaves, 100,000 were slain, and many times that number died. He deeply repented all this terrific slaughter and suffering, and never again attempted a war of conquest. In this edict he distinctly states that his claim to any supremacy in India was a purely religious one. He expressly mentions "nations and princes that are his neighbours," he mentions a number of *separate nations*, over whom he claims no Sovereign rights. He sent *missionaries* as far South as North Mysore. He obtained permission of neighbouring kings to inscribe his edicts on rocks in their territory. It is thus shown that *Asoka* held no "Universal Empire" and that India in his time, as before, consisted of a large number of distinct nationalities, tribes and kingdoms. *Vikramaditya* is another for

whom "Universal Empire" is claimed. From the study of old inscriptions, it seems that what is called the "Vikrama Era," was not definitely founded by a king called Vikramaditya. There was a king of that name of the Western Chalukyas. *Vikramaditya I.*, B. C. 57, was a successful warrior, and patron of learning, but nothing could be further from the truth than to suppose that he pretended to "Universal Empire" in India. There are only three inscriptions known, which are expressly referred to the "Vikrama Era." The tract where it is first found in use is Eastern Rājputana. Only in A. D. 992, that is 170 years after the time of Vikramaditya I, is a King Vikrama spoken of, and this mention is in a poem. The most probable theory yet advanced as to the origin of the name is that "Vikrama-Kāla" means poetically war time, action time, otherwise, heroism, prowess. Long years afterwards the people connected the name with the name of a King Vikrama whom they supposed to have lived at that time.

Later on, they associated the celebrated King Vikramaditya with this epoch, being ignorant of his real date, and so the usage arose and became stereotyped. The name Vikramaditya is a "title meaning the very Sun or Source of Power and it has been given to several kings in Indian History."

About 500 years after the Christian Era, we hear of a very powerful Sovereign, *King Saladitya of Kanauj*. He seems to have held the whole of the North, but the North only. His attempt at con-

quest, South of the Nerbudda, failed entirely. Only in the extreme South do we find ancient Aryan sovereignties remaining undisturbed by foreign invasion. *They were at perpetual warfare among themselves.* These were the Cholas, Pallavas, Pândiyas, Keralas, Cheras, etc. They held the South of India below the Dekhan. So much for the South. Let us turn to the North. If perpetual strife and warfare between neighbouring princes had been the rule in the South, it was just the same in the North. Race fell before race, nation before nation, until the whole of that country fell under the sway of the invading Mahomedans. Delhi was captured A. D. 1193. Early in the 14th century, the Mahomedans swept the Dekhan, conquered the Kings of Devagiri and Oran-gal, and founded a dynasty independent of Delhi, called the Bahmani. In 1565, the Bahmanis crushed for ever the last great Hindu Kingdom of the South, that of Vijayanagar, which had, in its turn destroyed all the older Hindu Dynasties. Now for the first time in history we come to a period when India may possibly be said to have fallen under one rule. But this was not so in reality. The Mahomedan chiefs established a succession of separate sovereign ties, each one warring against the other, and all against their own overlord. The domination also was an alien, not a Hindu domination. We see, then, that the idea of an ancient and Universal Hindu Empire is founded on poetical fancy rather than historic fact.

I can quite fancy Indian ladies asking "How is it that the exaggerated and erroneous idea arose

There are several reasons for it. From the earliest times the Hindus have been wanting in the historic faculty, unaccustomed to retrospects. They have very few ancient chronicles of contemporaneous events of any historical value. They have no autobiographies, no historical novels to guide them as to the condition of their country in past days. Even on inscriptions, the faculty of faithful history writing has from the earliest ages been conspicuous by its absence in India. The Hindus of all ages appear to have cared little for the events of days beyond the limit of their own personal knowledge. The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression. The Mahomedans indeed have left valuable records of their times, such as the history of Ferishta, and many others, but the Hindus have left no such records. They think such records useless. When a thing is done, it is done, and there is no need to write a book about it. Hence legends have arisen easily, and there has been no authentic history whereby to hold in check the credulity of the people, or to test the accuracy of the statements made. The old Hindu inscriptions over temple doors have only lately been deciphered and translated. These have thrown much light on the past, and revealed much that was unknown before. Also a great mistake has been committed in not teaching the history of India more thoroughly in schools and colleges. Boys have been taught Greek and Roman history, the history of the middle ages of Europe, and the history of Great Britain. The

history of India, has been greatly neglected. Nothing could have been more foolish. The cry that India was better off in the old days can only arise from a deep seated ignorance of the facts of history, which prevents a just comparison between the past and the present.

Under the aegis of Great Britain railways and electricity have brought the furthest portions of India into easy communication with each other; English is everywhere the common language of the educated men: one Government is supreme throughout and holds in check all manifestation of ancient feuds and race hatred; one system of law and justice is established throughout the length and breadth of the land. In the conditions which surround them, to-day men see the possibility of realizing in the future the imaginative ideals of their ancient poets, and would fane accept them as historically true.

Let us now take up the question of *Taxation*, and see if there is any truth in what many Hindus and others declare, *i.e.*, that "under their old chiefs the people were less heavily taxed, and that in themselves the taxes were less burdensome, and less irritating." On this subject the historical evidence is so rare, and what exists proves so diametrically the opposite of this erroneous popular belief, that it is impossible to account for the belief in any other way than that the wish is father to the thought in the minds of mischievous persons.

We shall find out what was exacted under the Chola Dynasty, which had its capital at Tanjore. It was a dynasty with a long life, and so it will yield an excellent picture of Hindu government. On the walls and gate-way of the great temple at Tanjore has been sculptured a very lengthy series of royal grants and royal edicts of the best days of the Chola Kingdom.

These have been carefully translated by Dr. Hultsch. We have a list of taxes, due by the inhabitants of a village, and made over by royal grant to certain persons in the 11th Century A.D.

Here is the list.—

“All kinds of revenue (laya) including the tax in money. Two taxes in Tamil, but the meaning is not yet known.

Tax for village watchman.

Tax for the village accountant.

Tax for unripe fruit in the month of Karthigai.

Tax for looms.

Tax for oil mills.

Tax for trade.

Another un-translatable tax.

Tax on goldsmiths.

Tax on animals.

Tax on tanks.

Tax on water-courses.

Tax on horse stables.

Tax on rice for every platter.

Tax on potters.

Tax for maintaining police.

Tolls :—Another un-translatable tax.

Tax on weights.

Fines for selling rotten drugs.

Tax on shops.

Tax on salt.

Tax on elephant stalls

Tax on weddings.

Tax on washerman's stones.

Rent for use of water, collections on leaves broker-age

• Tax on neatherds.

Fees on documents.

A special tax per head on all belonging to the Jain religion.

Perhaps you will think this must have been exceptional. Perhaps the Chola Kings were more grasping than other rulers. But to show you that this system of taxation was not exceptional, we shall quote what the taxation of the Indian citizen appears to have been when the Greeks visited India in B. C. 300; and also what it was shortly before the English took over the administration of the country, so that we shall obtain an insight into its condition in all ages.

We find from the description of Pallibothra (modern Patna) given by the Greek traveller Megasthenes, that the citizens of that town must have been greatly harassed by the provisions enforced by their ruler in order to fill his treasury. At that early date there was a regular Government registration of all births and deaths for purposes of taxation.

The buyers and sellers of goods in the bazaars were not left to themselves as they are now, but a State officer was appointed to watch all transactions, however petty, and seize for the State one-tenth of the price of everything sold.

Fraud in the payment of this tax was punished by death. Other officers, in the nature of police, exercised general supervision. Megasthenes tells us there were officers of State appointed to superintend all arts and sciences to prevent idleness on the part of the artisans, in order that the profits on the sale of the completed articles might be great. We will glance at the system of another Hindu ruler, Chika Deva Râya of Mysore, two centuries ago. He maintained not only all the old taxes at that time existing, but actually invented 20 new ones! All this lasted down to the times of the English. In the Coimbatore District in 1799, Major Macleod found the following imports in full force and effect :

Over and above the Land Tax :—

1. Tax on potters.
2. Tax payable by persons wearing caste marks on their foreheads.
3. Fees levied on stalls at weekly fairs.
4. Tax on dyed stuffs.
5. Tax on ghee.
6. Tax on tobacco.
7. Tax on grain shops.
8. Tax on chunam.
9. Tax on taliyaris.
10. Tax on agricultural watchmen (nirzāhtis).

11. Tax on keepers of pack bullocks.
12. Tax on dancing girls.*
13. Tax on overseers of labour (maistries).
14. Tax on immoral persons.
15. Rents for lotus leaves.
16. Rents for gardens in back-yards of houses, and
in plantations on river banks.
17. Fines on cattle grazing in fields.
18. Rents for young palmyra nuts.
19. Rents for tamarinds.
20. Rents for use of soapstone or potstone.
21. Rents for betel nuts.
22. Fees for the measurements of grain necessitated by the sharing system.
23. Taxes on offering at a sacred temple.
24. Levies made for the poor, or poor rate.
25. Taxes on agricultural hoes.
26. * State exaction of a portion of the fees paid by
villagers to their village officials. (This is in
itself another well recognized tax).
27. Tax on sale of cattle
28. Tax on cattle stalls
29. Tax on water-lifts
30. Tax on fisheries
31. Tax on looms
32. Levies made on ryots for the expenses of the
tahsildar.
33. A tax-cash payment per plough all over the
country,
34. An additional payment on every ryot for his
first payment of instalment of land revenue.

All these 5 are old
Chola taxes as well as
many others which
survived through the
intervening centuries.

35. Tax on houses.
36. Tax on shops.
37. Tax on carpenters.
38. Tax on goldsmiths.
39. Tax on blacksmiths.
40. Tax on paper-makers.
41. Tax on dyers.
42. Tax on shoemakers.
43. Tax on barbers.
44. Tax on washermen.
45. Tax on oil mills.
46. Tax on pack bullocks.
47. Tax on salt pans.
48. Tax on salt manufacturers.
49. Tax on iron smelters.
50. Tax on indigo makers.
51. Tax on drawers and distillers of fermented palm juice.
52. Tax on boatmen.
53. Tax on carts.
54. Tax on manufactures of beaten rice.
55. Tax on basket makers.
56. Tax on peddlars.
57. Tax on cattle and sheep per head.
58. Tax on blanket and carpet weavers.
59. Tax on mat makers.
60. Tax on stone masons.

There is no space in this short review to describe all the tricks, and fraud, and oppression that these vexatious taxes involved. It was found that taxation rested chiefly on the poorest, who could not sufficient-

ly bribe the tax gatherer, and village official; the richer people in great measure escaping. The tax on shops was made so comprehensive that even women who squatted by the roadside, selling betel, tobacco, and petty wares in baskets, were taxed at rates varying from Rs. 3-8-5 (a star pagoda) to 92 annas. Here is a still further list of taxes found in the Government Office at Bellary.—

1. Taxes on the occasion of marriage.
 - (a) From bride.
 - (b) From bridegroom.
2. Tax for erecting marriage pandal.
3. Tax called Woodeky on widows' re-marriage.
4. Tax called Bediki on marriage of women to men while their own husbands are still alive.
5. Tax collected from persons breaking the rules of their caste.
6. Tax for re-admission to caste after having been expelled.
7. Tax leviable on appointment of a person to be a priest of the Gangam caste.
8. Tax called Pattan kainki, leviable on a person succeeding to the office of a priest.
9. Tax leviable from people of the Satani caste who perform worship in lesser temples.
10. Tax called Guggalun on pilgrims who return successfully from pilgrimages and perform their vows.
11. Tax on ovens used by washermen.

12. Tax on Government lands held on favourable tenure.
 - (a) Tax at $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of rice for every crop irrigated.
 - (b) Tax for a bundle of rice straw in grain for every field under tanks.
13. Tax on toddy and arrack.
 - (a) On the stalls.
 - (b) On the retail shops.

In the year 1853, the Madras Native Association presented a petition to the Committees of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into Indian affairs, and implored that the people might be relieved from at least one branch of this gigantic taxation which was then called *Moturfa*, a name received from the Mahomedans, "a tax on trades and occupations, embracing weavers, carpenters, all workers in metals, all salesmen, whether possessing shops (which were also taxed) or vending by the road-side)."

Let me now state what is the modern British system of taxation. We have assessed the land revenue at so much per acre (a fixed measurement) of cultivated land, the measurement of which is fixed by actual survey. Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar shows that the rates are at present between one-fourth and one-fifth for irrigated lands on the net produce cultivated after defraying expenses, and between one-fourth and one-sixth for unirrigated lands; in the case of lands in the poorer, dryer districts, it is very much less. Besides this, there is

the village cess and the local fund cess for the upkeep of all the roads, hospitals, bridges and dispensaries. These three cesses are, in the village accounts, lumped into one charge, and this one charge is what the ryot has to pay; it is fixed and definite; this single payment is all with which he is ever troubled, he pays it moreover by easy instalments. The higher class merchants now pay the income tax, and the income tax alone. There is no other direct State taxation, though there are local municipalities for municipal taxation to provide funds wholly spent on local improvements and wants, that being largely fixed by representatives of the people themselves. For the few years between the abolition of Moturfa and the institution of the income tax, the latter (merchant) class paid no taxes whatever to the State. They subscribed nothing to the maintenance and government of the country. The income tax is very moderate, all the poor being entirely free. As Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar said—"The trading and professional classes are bound to contribute their fair share to the public burdens, and therefore this solitary tax is quite sound in principle. It is only *sheer ignorance of what they suffered in the past* that makes them accept it otherwise than gladly." There is of course also indirect taxation in the salt tax, and the excise and customs duties and stamps.

But there is no civilized country in the world where the incidence of the whole taxation, direct and indirect, is less per head than in India. The average amount of taxation per head is Rs. 2 a year,

or 2 annas 8 pies per month. If an agricultural labourer does not go to law, nor use intoxicants, the only imperative tax which he has to pay is about 3 annas a year for salt. In dealing with taxation under Hindus and Mahomedans, I have said nothing about the fact that every invader of India imposed heavy impost and tribute, the prompt and full payment of which they demanded from the conquered. How could this amount have ever been collected except by grinding taxation.

It is the "*sheer ignorance of what has happened in the past*," to use an Indian gentleman's words, that is at the root of much of the present discontent and unrest. But we have no right to be ignorant, now that, owing to patient, scientific research and translations, old edicts have been deciphered, and much light has been thrown on the past. Fact can now take the place of fiction. I think few knowing the facts would care to return to the old system

Let us now look at the question of *Famines*.

It has been stated and repeated by newspapers, and agitators that—"the famines which have desolated India within the last quarter of the 19th century are unexampled in their extent and intensity in the history of ancient or modern times."

The Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata describes a famine of 12 years' duration! Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar says—"The Ramayana mentions a severe and prolonged drought which occurred in

Northern India. According to the Orissa legends, severe famines occurred between 1107 and 1143 A.D. The memory of a 12 years' famine "Dvadasavarsha Panjam" lives in tradition in Southern India. But if the accounts of "Universal Empire" are as they have been shown to be—poetical creations—it is possible that famines mentioned may be poetical creations too. It may be so. We will quote what Mr. S. M. Mitra writes of famines in Akbar's reign! It is admitted by every one that Akbar's reign was the best in the Mahomedan period of Indian history. Let us see how the great Akbar fared as regards famine. Three great famines desolated the country during his reign. The Mahomedan historian wrote—"Men could not find corn; they were driven to the extremity of eating each other, and some formed themselves into parties to carry off lone individuals for their food . . . at the time of famine and distress parents were allowed to sell their children."

In the 42nd year of Akbar's reign, 1596 A.D., "a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years throughout the whole of Hindustan. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain, and the necessities of ravenous hunger, human flesh was eaten. The streets and roads were blocked with dead bodies, and no assistance could be made for their removal."

After reading the above, can it be truly asserted

that the "recent famines were unexampled in their extent and intensity in the history of ancient or modern times?"

In 1570, there was a terrible famine on the West coast.

In 1648, in the Coimbatore district, a great number died.

In 1659, there was another, and in one small tract amongst the Christians alone 10,000 perished.

In 1709, there was a prolonged drought of several years.

In 1733, there was a famine in the Chingleput district.

In 1780, one over the whole of the Carnatic.

From 1789 to 1792, there was a terrible famine in the Northern Sirkars, and the people died in thousands.

If we knew more of the past history of India, we should find that seasons of scanty rainfall have perpetually recurred, as they are now recurring, in the natural order of things, WHICH MAN'S WILL CANNOT ALTER.

How did Hindus and Mahomedans deal with famines? It is not too much to say that little or nothing was done. The rulers apparently saw no necessity for attempting to save life, and left people to themselves.

Now famine is recognized as one of the most difficult problems with which Government has to deal. A hundred years ago it was looked upon as a visitation of God, utterly beyond the control of man

the people perished by millions; *the want of roads, cattle and railways* made it impossible to supply them with food. Now a famine code has been drawn up for the guidance of officials, relief works are instituted in distressed localities as soon as scarcity is declared, and every effort is made to support life and relieve distress. Many Government officials, both European and Indian, have died at their post struggling to help the people; many of you must remember the magnificent contributions sent out from England in 1877 and 1898 for the relief of the poor and suffering. My husband was one of the famine officers in 1876 and 1877 in the Ceded districts, and with him I saw what was done there to relieve suffering and hunger. We visited daily the great famine camps in his taluq, and saw the oldest and the youngest and those too weak to work being fed three times a day, and the able-bodied being given work and wages. If there had been more railroads in those days, fewer people would have died. Railroads are essential for the distribution of food in famine time. In times of drought and famine bullocks die from want of fodder, and though there may be plenty of food in Madras and on the coast generally, there is no means of getting it carried inland without railways.

This brings us to the subject of *Railways*. Fifty years ago there were no railways in India. People travelled slowly by bullock carts $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, or by carriages at 4 miles an hour. They were exposed to fatigue, to the weather, to robbers, to sickness, and often had to lie down and die alone.

What a difference to being whirled along smoothly and more quickly than if drawn by race horses.

Now, I daresay, you have often heard the assertion made that a great deal of money goes from India to England and that "England is bleeding India." Now you must learn that such statements are utterly baseless. *India pays no tribute to England. All the payments are interest on money lent, on services rendered, or materials supplied.*

You know that to make railways costs a very great deal of money. In most countries, the people themselves supply the money out of their savings. In India, the people said No; they required the money for jewels,* for marriage ceremonies, and other ceremonies.

Therefore the money had to be borrowed, and for borrowed money, as you know, interest has to be paid. If you borrow money, you have to pay the sowcar from 12 to 30, 40, or 50 per cent. Poor people borrow money at the rate of 1 anna per rupee per month, which is 75 per cent per annum. Well, the Government of India asked other nations to lend the money. Germany, France, America, Russia, all asked interest from 5 to 10 per cent. The nation that offered at the *lowest rate of interest was England*. She offered the money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I do not think any of you will say that is bleeding India.

Mr. T. N. Mukerji says—"No country having the faintest claim to civilization should now be

*The amount of jewels now held in India, cannot be less than 800 crores, it is probably much greater; at 12 per cent. interest, it would yield 96 crores a year. In Japan women have no jewelry.

without its railways. When we ourselves could (*would?*) not make them, the next best thing was to have them made by others, for it would not be wise to wait a century or two!

Indian railways now not only meet all charges from their earnings, but in 1901 yielded a profit of 115 lakhs. This profit will largely increase and become an important source of revenue, while very great benefit in other ways is conferred on the country. The railways give direct employment to a large body of men. In 1909, the railway service employed 525,000 persons, of whom over 508,000 were Indians. When Queen Victoria ascended the throne, there was not a single mile of railway in the country. In April 1909 there were 30,983 miles of rail, which carried 330,000,000 passengers and over 64 million tons of goods. Her reign was also distinguished for its grand *Irrigation Works*. In the year 1906-1907, 22,225,000 acres were irrigated and brought in a return of 8 per cent to Government on the capital expenditure and immense profits to the cultivators. The next 20 years will witness the completion of other irrigation schemes, which in magnitude and boldness will surpass even the *Periyar project*. It is like listening to a fairy tale of wonder and delight. Money for these works was also borrowed in England, where the rate of interest is lowest.

The interest paid on this borrowed money is one of the chief causes of the increase of the home charges, but it is met by railway fares and water rates. Railways and irrigation works are

some of the best means of mitigating famines.

The other home charges are for the *Civil Service and Army*, without which India would be in a state of anarchy and bloodshed as before. Let us see what is the price you pay for peace and development. Some Indians affirm that the employment of a highly paid foreign agency causes a large drain on the resources of the country. Let us see what the actual cost is. Lord Elgin, when Viceroy, obtained from the Finance Department an estimate of the total annual cost of the Indian Civil Service, including pay, pension, and exchange allowances. It amounted to an average charge per head of the population (221 millions of people) of 1½ pies per month. If Europeans were replaced by Indians on half their salary, the reduction would be less than 1 pie per head monthly. Besides, Indians would not be satisfied to do the work on half the salaries. As it is, many vakils make more money by their practice than the salary of judges. Year by year, since 1868, in accordance to the promise that Indians should be given a share in the administration of the country, the number of Europeans employed has been lessened and the number of Indians employed has been increased.

In 1904, six years ago, there were less than 6,500 Englishmen, whether brought from abroad or recruited in this country, employed on salaries of Rs. 75 a month and upwards, to administer the affairs of 230,000,000 of people, and 21,800 Indians on salaries of Rs. 75 and upwards. If we go below Rs. 75 a month, the disproportion would of course be over-

whelming. During the last six years many more Indians have been given a share in the Government. Will any one tell me in the face of these figures that our administration is unduly favourable to the European, or grudging to the Indian element? There are 15 Indian Judges of the four High Courts and Chief Courts, and Indians have seats in the Legislative and now in the Executive Councils. Of the 1,244 members of the Civil Service, 65 are Indians. To use Lord Curzon's words—"I hold on the contrary that our administration is characterized by a liberality unexampled in the world. You may search through history, and since the days of the Roman Empire, you will find no such trust. I have visited the Russians in Central Asia, the Dutch in Java, the French in Algeria, Cochin China and Tongking and have seen what there prevails; and if anyone thinks that they show proportions even remotely comparable with those which I have quoted I can assure him that he is gravely mistaken. It is true that, as a rule, the majority of the highest posts are and must for a considerable time be held by Englishmen, the reason being that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing, and partly by education, the habits of mind and the vigour of character which are essential for the task. Then the rule being a British rule, the tone and standard should be set by those who are responsible for it. The progressive growth of confidence that is revealed by the steadily increasing numbers of Indians employed is honourable to the British Govern-

ment, and honourable to the people of the country. It reveals a European system of Government, entrusted largely to non-European hands, and administered far less by the conquering power than by its own sons. And, beyond all, it testifies to a steady growth of loyalty and integrity on the one part, and of willing recognition of these virtues on the other, which is rich with hope for the future."

India is not expensively governed compared with other countries. The Government expenditure of India per head of the population is one-twenty-fourth that of France, one-thirteenth that of Italy, one-twelfth that of England, and one-sixth that of Russia.

Sir Wm. Hunter writes—"It is easy to govern efficiently at a cost of 40s. (Rs. 30) per head as in England but the problem in India is how to attain the same standard of efficiency at a cost of Rs. 2-12 a head." Mr. D. Navroji said in England "that the employment of a foreign agency disabled India from saving any capital at all! On the contrary under a foreign agency it is quite certain that the population of India absorb and hoard far more of the precious metals than they did formerly, for during the past 50 years India's net absorption of gold and silver from outside has amounted to the equivalent of 6,303,000,000 rupees (an average of 126,000,000 a year) while, during the 22 years ending with 1857, the average absorption of the precious metals averaged only 32 millions a year. India now contains a far greater amount of the precious metals than she ever did before.

The census of 1891 showed that the people of India supported an army of goldsmiths 400,000 strong. Estimating their average earnings at Rs. 6 per month, this gives an annual outlay of Rs. 288 lakhs. Does this show growing poverty of the people? I personally asked the late Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar if he considered the estimate a correct and fair one. He laughed, and said that it was considerably *under* estimated, he considered the average earnings of goldsmiths more than Rs. 6 a month. It will be very interesting to see what the coming Census figures will reveal. Another indication of the growing prosperity of the country is the increase in Savings Bank's deposits. From 1884-5 to 1901, in *Government Banks alone* the number of Indian depositors increased from 193,687 to 739,213 and the interest earned from 11½ lakhs to 25 lakhs, and the deposits from 3½ crores to 9 crores.

Mr. Justice Ranade in his Poona address in 1903, said—"In 1888-9 we imported 41 lakhs worth of umbrellas, 15 lakhs worth of children's toys and games, 22 of stationery, 10 of soap, 10 of clocks, 20 of matches, 66 of glass, 41 of paper and 21½ of books."

Mr. N. T. Mukerji says on the subject of these imports—"Our wants have thus greatly increased, and we have to meet the wants by the sale of our produce. Increased wants, however, are a sign of increased prosperity. If we now feel a desire for better houses, better clothing, better food, and find ourselves more or less in a position to satisfy that

desire, it must be assumed that we have greater means, *i.e.*, greater wealth at our command than formerly."

The average Indian landholder, trader, ryot, or handicraftsman is better off than he was 50 years ago.* He consumes more salt, more sugar, more tobacco, and far more imported luxuries and conveniences than he did a generation back. The average villager eats more food and has a better house than his father. Brass or other metal vessels have taken the place to a considerable extent of the coarse earthenware vessels of earlier times, and his family possesses more clothes than formerly. There are exceptional districts where the population is either very dense, or the soil very poor and rainfall very uncertain, where the condition of the landless labourers is still deplorably low. It is not Government that is to blame for the poverty of the lower orders of the people of India. They are poor because the population has increased at such a rate as to outstrip the food producing powers of the land. Because every square mile of Bengal has now to support 3 times as many families as it had to support 100 years ago. "The mass of husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small husbandmen cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence. Now that the sword is no longer permitted to do its old work, that cholera, small-pox and famine claim fewer victims, *they must submit to prudential restraint on marriage* or they must suffer hunger.

Such restraints have been imperative upon races of small cultivators since the days when Plato wrote his Republic."

France is a fertile country, but the population is only 180 to the square mile. There are districts in India with 800 to the square mile. The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves.

Sir Madhava Row said—"The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils, and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils than the Hindu community."

Those who tackle the problem of *early marriage* will do more to benefit India than those who seek for political concessions. This remedy rests with the people themselves, not with the rulers. It should be pointed out that early marriage did not exist in Vedic times, that it leads to the production of weak and sickly children, and so to the degeneracy of the race; that to unrestrained marriages is due the over-population of India which causes 40 millions to go through life with insufficient food. You must all realize that where there is enough food for 12 in the house, and you have to feed with it 18 people, that the result cannot be so satisfying as if you had only fed the original 12.

Let us now turn to the subject of the Plague. I have received educated Indian ladies who have

said to me, "We are grateful for all the hospitals, schools, railways, and for peace and prosperity, *but* we never had plague in India in "the old days", and see how many thousands and thousands have died of plague!" This was said quite reproachfully by B. A. young ladies, as if the English had deliberately introduced plague into India! When told that there had been many previous outbursts of plague in India, and when given the dates of these outbreaks they said, "But we never learnt that in school or college; why were we not taught such facts?" Why indeed? . . . The question has often been asked of late years. The answer given is "We have not time to teach *everything* in school and college." Intelligent students should enlarge their own knowledge by reading. Besides, the history of taxes and social condition of the people comes more under the head of civics than history. It is very evident that "sheer ignorance" on these subjects lays students open to many pitfalls and easy credulity when given into the hands of agitators and sedition mongers and untruthful newspapers. There were outbreaks of plague in 1345, 1399, 1438, 1574, 1595, 1611, 1683, 1704, 1770, 1812, 1821. Of three of these outbreaks, 1611 to 1618, 1683 to 1693, 1812 to 1821, considerable details have come down to us. A paymaster in the Army of the Emperor Jehangir thus describes the awful virulence of the plague of 1611-1618:—"When it was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole, as if mad and striking itself against the door and walls

of the house would expire. If immediately after this signal the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle their lives were saved, if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death. If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of the dead man, he also could not survive the fatal contact. The effect of the epidemic was comparatively more severe on the Hindus than Mahomedans . . . In Hindustan no place was free from this visitation, which continued to devastate the country for a span of 8 years." In 1618, the Emperor Jehangir wrote : "The Almighty God has always and in all places extended His protection to His humble creatures and this is shown from the fact that at this very time it was reported to me that a pestilential disease had broken out in Agra and numbers of men had perished. For this reason I was fully confirmed in my resolution of postponing my march towards Agra, which occurred to my mind by the Divine inspiration." One cannot help thinking that the inspiration would have been more justly called "Divine" had it led the Emperor in 1618 to Agra, the plague-stricken capital, rather than away from it. In 1896, the plague assailed Bombay and Poona. Lord Sandhurst, the Governor, hastened to those cities, met the local authorities and concerted with them measures for the relief of the sufferers. There is not space in which to describe other outbreaks of the plague, its supposed causes and the treatment accorded to sufferers from it.* Professor Haffkine

has discovered a remedy, something like vaccination, which has been the means of saving many lives. It is called "Plague inoculation." It causes only a slight fever for a day or two. When an outbreak of plague is threatened, all should be inoculated. You will find the whole subject most interestingly described in a little pamphlet by the late Dr. John Murdoch, called "The History of the Plague and How to Stop its Ravages," which you can purchase for 1 anna 6 pies at the Memorial Hall, Park Town. I advise every one of you to buy a copy and ask to have it translated and explained to you. If every child in India could learn by heart the following few sentences, the death-rate in India would decrease rapidly. Here are the sentences :

1. Fever and cholera are caused by bad water.
2. Vaccination keeps away small-pox.
3. Filth is the mother of sickness.
4. Cleanliness is the mother of health and long life.

Let us now think of the subject of "*Peace by Sea and Land*;" as a matter of fact I think that none of us give the subject of "Peace by Sea" a thought. It is quite hard now-a-days to realize that the sea was a source of danger from invaders. Yet it was only in 1861, that the Indian navy, after sweeping the robber hordes from the sea, and rendering Indian waters as safe as the English channel, finished its work and was abolished. It was one of Clive's achievements that he rooted out the pirate nests of the South-Western coast. Burmese pirates used to

sail up the great rivers flowing into the Bay of Bengal, turn on the villages, and massacre or carry off into slavery the inhabitants. The first English surveyor in the second half of the 18th century entered on his maps a fertile and now populous tract of 1,000 sq. miles on the sea-board as bare of villages with the words "Depopulated by the Maghs" or sea robbers. Now under the protection of the British navy there is peace by sea. Invasion by land has been for all time the great danger and trouble from which India has suffered and may suffer again. At its North-Eastern and North-Western corners are two opposite sets of gateways which connect India with the rest of Asia. Through these gateways successive hordes of invaders have poured into India and in the 18th century the process was still going on, for six such inroads took place in 23 years. Each set of newcomers plundered and massacred without restraint. These invasions signified not only a host of 20 to 100,000 barbarians on the march paying for nothing, and eating up every town, cottage and farm yard, burning and slaughtering on the slightest provocation, and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre of the capital of the invaded country. One gang of 25,000 Afghan horsemen swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra during a festival. They burned the houses together with their inmates, and carried off into captivity maidens, youths, and women. In the temples they slaughtered cows, and smeared the images and pavements with the blood. The border-

land between Afghanistan and India lay silent and waste ; indeed districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants.

THE AFGHAN QUESTION SURVIVES TO THIS DAY.

The North-Eastern border disclosed an equally painful picture. The history of the fertile valley of Assam is one long narrative of invasion and extermination. Anciently, the seat of a powerful Hindu kingdom, Assam was devastated, like the rest of Eastern Bengal, by fanatical Mahomedan invaders. During the 18th and 19th centuries, 60,000 square miles of fertile frontier districts lay waste. The security given by a century of British rule has resulted in bringing 13,000 sq. miles under the plough, giving each year 18 millions sterling worth of produce, or more than equal to the average cost of the Indian Army and the whole defence of the Indian Empire. Peace is only broken now from time to time on the Afghan frontier. Since the mutiny of 1857, the people of the country have not known what it is to suffer from the exactions and horrors of war. Even that was only a partial rising, yet it cost the country 49 crores. A real war would cost infinitely more, and crush out many of the now rising industries. Peace and plenty go hand in hand. War means wholesale expenditure ; even riots spell increased taxation. Long may the country enjoy peace, so that it may develop its resources and industries, continue its education, and bring about social re-

forms, as the people realize that "the permanent remedies for the poverty of the lower classes rest with the people themselves."

In old days, India was a self-contained country, where every one made his own clothes and tools and grew his own food. Since the introduction of machinery, India like every other civilized country in the world, has lost to a large extent these cottage industries in substitution for other industries. Indian embroideries, carpet weaving, and gold and silver work, have benefited by the growing foreign demand for these works.

Agriculture has expanded enormously. Tea, coffee, and jute cultivation have been created. More than half the tea required by the world is now supplied from India.

Coffee has suffered from leaf disease and by the competition of South America, still £743,000 worth of coffee was exported from India in 1907, and the value of these three industries in 1907 reached a value of £32,000,000. In 1856, there was hardly a power loom in the country, now there are 217 cotton mills, employing 212,000 people: there are 44 jute mills employing 167,000. There are 92 rice mills, 62 saw mills, besides flour mills, oil mills, iron foundries, woollen and paper mills, pottery and glass works, and the great workshops attached to railways and ship-building yards. The manufacturing industry of India is still in an early stage. Your educated sons should turn their energies in this direction, instead of all wanting to be vakils or Government clerks.

Formerly Hindu and Mahomedan sovereigns spent large sums on splendid palaces and tombs, mainly built by forced labour.

Commercial cities did not exist. The capital town then was the standing camp of the monarch and its trade depended on the presence of the Court. Magnificent Emperors required magnificent cities around them, and an inconsiderate or a tyrannical prince ordered the movements of the citizens as he ordered the movements of the troops. One cruel Emperor forced the whole inhabitants of Delhi to migrate to his new capital, Doulatabad, 700 miles away to the South. Thousands perished on the road. The king twice changed his mind. Twice he allowed the miserable people to return to Delhi, many died and the rest were ruined. "But," says the historian "the Emperor's orders were strictly complied with and the ancient capital was left desolate."

After having spent crores and crores on Futtipore Sikri, the Emperor Akbar ordered its evacuation, and to this day it is a magnificent and melancholy monument to the whims of an autocratic ruler.

Even the capitals of the sea-board provinces were chosen for military purposes. In Lower Bengal, the Mohamedans under different dynasties, fixed on six towns in succession as their capital. Not one of them had any foreign trade, or could have been approached by a ship: they were simply the court and camp of the king or viceroy for the time being.

The English, in the long list of those who have ruled India, appear not as temple builders like the Hindus; not as tomb or palace builders like the Mohamedans; not as fort builders like the Mahrattas; not as church builders like the Portuguese, but in the more commonplace capacity of town builders. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras are essentially the creations of British rule.

In 1661, Bombay was ceded by the Portuguese to the British crown, as part of the dower of the wife of Charles II. and he rented it to a company of London merchants for the annual payment of Rs. 150. Instead of a few fishermen, Bombay has now a population of nearly a million, is the greatest commercial city in Asia, and is studded with magnificent buildings.

Calcutta, the present City of Palaces, consisted of three clusters of mud huts on the river banks. It has a population nearly double that of any city in Great Britain except London. It would have been destroyed as a port by the silt and sand of the river but for the strenuous efforts of the English. The river engineering of the Hughli forms one of the memorable triumphs in the contest of man with nature. Observations on the condition of the Hughli's channels are taken *hourly*. Gigantic steam dredgers are continually at work, and the shifting of the shoals is carefully recorded. By these means the port of Calcutta has been kept open for ships of the largest tonnage, and saved from the fate of the six other historical ports built

on the banks of the Ganges, every one of which is now blocked up with silt and sand, and is unapproachable by sea-going ships of the present day.

Besides building towns and railways and canals, healthy quarters have been erected for the troops all over India, and the mortality has been greatly reduced, both in European and native troops.

Most of the large prisons have been built or rebuilt; lighthouses have been provided round the Indian coasts. The ancient beautiful buildings of past dynasties have been cared for and conserved; at places like Agra, Delhi, Madura, Benares, Lahore, Ahmedabad, Gour, Budh Gaya, and Bilsa.

There are now 70,000 Post Offices and boxes, and 800,000,000 letters and packets pass through them. A letter now travels safely for 6 pies ($\frac{1}{3}$ d) from Quetta in Baluchistan to Bhamo on the borders of China.

There are 69,000 miles of telegraph lines and 7,000 telegraph offices. The fee for a short message for a distance which may reach 3,000 miles is 6 annas.

There are 2,514 hospitals and dispensaries in which 412,000 and 24,470 out-patients were treated in 1907. The number of Indian practitioners who have been trained in modern surgery and medicine is now more than twenty times as large as it was in 1857.

As for *Education*, in 1907 there were 179 colleges and college departments, with 26,000 undergraduates on the rolls. In 1907, the total expen-

diture was Rs. 60,000,000. One result of the spread of education has been a great increase in the number of books, magazines, and newspapers published in India. It would have been thought that this should have been an unmixed blessing to the country and people, but alas! in many cases newspapers have, by turning the liberty of press into the license of the press, been the cause of much mischief. Often conducted by disappointed half-educated men they have vented their personal spleen on Government, by violent attacks and persistent misrepresentations, in very many cases poisoning the minds of the people, and notably, of students, against Government, bringing anarchy and unrest into the country, where there might be only profound peace and prosperity. This blot can be better removed by the people themselves than by Government. The rulers of Native States have taken firm and strong measures to stamp out the evil.

In the words of Mr. Gokale—"The presence of the English is essential for the peaceful development of India, and all truly patriotic sons of India should strengthen the hands of Government and loyally co-operate to maintain the British Raj."

India is not yet ready, nor will she be ready for very many years to come for Swaraj. Were the English to withdraw to-morrow, in less than three months fighting and confusion would result and once again outside domination would be sought or thrust upon the country. Some seem to think that the Japanese

would be pleasanter rulers than the English. If the Koreans were asked, they would tell you that on a certain date all their "kudumis" were cut off, and their ladies forbidden to wear their distinctive green mantle. I doubt if Hindus would find that a pleasanter regime to live under than the British!

I will close this short review of a very long subject with the opinions of two Indian statesmen, of an American, and of your late King Emperor, of blessed memory. Sir Madhava Row says—"The longer one lives, and observes, and thinks, the more deeply does one feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils, and more from self-inflicted, or self-created, and therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu community. It must be frankly and gratefully admitted that the British Government of India is incomparably the best Government we have ever had. It is the strongest, the most righteous, and the best suited to India's diverse populations and diverse interests. It is the most capable of self-maintenance, of self-renovation, and self-adjustment, in reference to the progressive advancement of the subject race."

The late V. Ramiengar, Dewan of Travancore, writes—"We live under the mildest, the most enlightened and the most powerful of modern Governments; we enjoy in a high degree the rights of personal security and personal liberty, and the right of private property, the dwelling of the humblest and meanest subject may be said to be now as

much his castle as that of the proud Englishman in his native land ; no man is any longer by reason of his wealth, or of his rank, so high as to be above the reach of the law, and none on the other hand is so poor and insignificant as to be beyond its protection. In less than a short century, anarchy and confusion have been replaced by order and good government as if by the wand of a magician, and the country has started on a career of intellectual, and moral, and material advancement of which nobody can foresee the end. Whatever may be the shortcomings of Government (and perfection is not vouchsafed to human institutions and human efforts) in the unselfish and sincere desire which animates them to promote the welfare of the millions committed to their care, in the high view they take of their obligations and responsibilities as rulers, in the desire they show at all times to study the sentiments and feelings of the people, and carry them along with them in all important measures, and in the spirit of benevolence which underlies all their actions, the British Indian Government stands without equal."

In February 1902, President Roosevelt said—
"India affords the most colossal example in the history of successful administrations, by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break-up of the Roman Empire. Unquestionably mistakes have been made, but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English

has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of a white race during the past two centuries. On the whole, it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the natives of India themselves, and if English control were now withdrawn the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence. All the weaker peoples and the most industrious and law abiding would be forced to submit to indescribable wrong, and the only beneficiaries would be the lawless, violent and blood-thirsty men. The great salient fact is that the presence of the English in India has been for the advantage of mankind; and every well-wisher of mankind, every true friend of humanity should realize that the part which England has played in India has been to the immeasurable benefit of India, for her honour, her profit, and her civilization. We should feel profound satisfaction in the stability and permanence of British rule."

In conclusion, it may be permitted to recite the gracious words of the Proclamation by the King Emperor of the 2nd November 1908 to the Princes and Peoples of India--"Half a century is but a brief span in your long annals, yet this half century that ends to-day will stand amid the floods of your historic ages, a fair shining landmark. The Proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown, sealed the unity of Indian Government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous and the advance may sometimes have seemed slow; but the incorpora-

tion of many strangely diversified communities and of some 300,000,000 of the human race under British guidance and control has proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours of the past half century with clear gaze and good conscience."



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