

this chapter will be found some details of individual 'embezzlements,' as the phrase of that day expressed it. These will indicate the scale on which nearly every Briton in India enriched himself. Modern England has been made great by Indian wealth, wealth never proffered by its possessor, but always taken by the might and skill of the stronger. The difference between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries is simply that the amount received now is immensely larger, is obtained 'according to law'; British money is seen to be invested, British goods are purchased—and payment must be made for whatever one buys. Further, 'services are rendered': these must be paid for.

'Could you not find the service in India itself, from among the Indian people?'

'We have never really tried, and do not intend to try.'

Apparently, everything is straightforward. But India has never said she wants these things. Indeed, her opinion on the matter, even though she pays, is the last consideration to be regarded, and no one troubles to regard it.

Here and here has India helped us,
What have we for India done?

Later pages will show how much of good has come to India from the British connection; likewise, how much of evil. But, once for all, with the result writ so large and writ so indelibly before our eyes, let us cast away the now out-of-date morality which taught that ill-gotten wealth cannot bring blessing or prosperity with it. Considering what England, owing to her appropriation of Indian moneys, counted for amongst the nations of the world during the whole of the nineteenth century, there can no longer be any doubt that 'out of evil good cometh,' nor, perhaps, of the sequel, 'Do ill that good

may come.' With some of the money thus obtained England struck down the ancient industries of India, and, during a whole century, has done naught that is worthy to constitute India a land of varied industries.

These be hard and cruel words for an Englishman to write. Written, however, they must be so as to help to an understanding of the wrong which has thus been done to India—and, in a deeper sense, to England. With understanding *may* come a redeeming of the wrong *may*, more likely, *may not*.

England's conquest by trade being complete, India lying at the feet of her conqueror, the time had come for a further step. How was this new (yet ancient) country, its brow wrinkled with the learning of the ages, its people steeped in spirituality, its morals equal, if not superior, to those of the West, to be ruled? Were its peoples to become British citizens or British helots? There was not much delay in coming to a conclusion. Peoples who had allowed themselves so easily to be robbed, who, in the astute intellect of a Nuncomar could be outwitted by the subtler mind of a Hastings—what was there for such a people but subjection?

II. CONQUEST BY DELIBERATE SUBJECTION :

India—not for India first, and then for England, but
India—for England, first and last.

1783—1833.

With the advent of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General of India in 1786, were exhibited the first real glimmerings of a conscience as to the principles on which the newly-acquired territories were to be ruled. Philip Francis, it is true, had revealed some facts, but he was unpopular, and therefore his views were ignored. It was open to us to associate the people of India with us in the administration of Indian affairs. Recognising how much they knew and how little we knew of the complexities of

rule in their own land, such a course seemed the commonest of common sense. Time has proved that the adoption of such a course would have been the noblest, as it would have been the most profitable, line of policy which could have been adopted. Through some strange psychological change in the mind of the inhabitants of India, or by the working out of some spiritual force,¹ the time had arrived when a foreigner's domination became acceptable, nay, more, seemed as if it were desired in fact if not in words. Strange to relate, this was as true of the martial races as of the peaceful peoples. Hindu and Muslim, Bengali, Madrassi, Maratha, Sikh—they all for a time resisted the foreign domination, they fought fiercely, but, having been beaten, they all accepted defeat, and contentedly acquiesced in the rule of the alien overlord. History records in its annals no greater marvel of one race overmastering another in all matters alike of mind and body. The leaders of British thought in those distant days may be partly forgiven in that they did not discern the possibilities of the future. 'Put the people of India in a position of equality with us?' they asked; 'that would never do. If we let them co-operate with us, if we give them the same facilities to acquire knowledge and experience as we possess, as they gain such knowledge and experience they will use it to get rid of us.'

So it has not been. Never has there been a national revolt in India against British rule. Never, I think, will there be. There was, in 1857, a mutiny of mercenaries. Never has there been an uprising of the people. Nor, had another course been adopted than that which unhappily was taken with the soldiers, and had not our

¹ Mr. Meredith Townsend ('Asia and Europe,' Archibald Constable), in his chapter, 'Will England Retain India?' calls it a lack of the power 'of accumulating thought.' He claims that the French ethnologist, the Count de Gobineau, has explained and justified this view in detail. The subject merits separate treatment, but I may say here the phrase does not seem to me to adequately describe, or even approximately, that 'something' which, in this age, has made ten thousand Indians quietly accept the domination of one Englishman.

bad faith' with the Feudatory States been so manifest, would there have been even a revolt of the troops. England, when she obtained supremacy in India, had a golden opportunity to enrich India whilst bringing prosperity to herself. She threw it away. Deliberately, she threw it away. There were not wanting, even then, wise men in plenty to show the truer way. Nevertheless, the wrong course was taken. Not colleagues, but subordinates; not, in their own land, rulers and chiefs, with reasonable ambition satisfied and a scope for natural and national energies provided—not these things for Indians. For them, of every caste and creed, the doom was fixed; they at home, among their fellows, were to become 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' with such employment in governmental service as would not be worth the acceptance of any Englishman, however poor. The decision was fateful, alike for India and for England. It was consciously taken. It has been accepted by the under dog in the struggle; it has only been varied infinitesimally by the dog on top, accordingly as to whether he found himself in a good humour or not.

Nowhere, perhaps, has the policy of keeping the Indians under found such plain-spoken and emphatic demonstration as in an official document written by a favoured Madras civilian, Mr. William Thackeray. At the time when Lord William Bentinck was Governor of Madras—August, 1803, to September, 1807—Mr. Thackeray was a member of the Board of Revenue in that Presidency: that Board is a survival, an atrophied survival, to the present day. The great fight as to whether peasant farmers, with the Government revenue periodically fixed, should be settled on the land, or whether landed proprietors and the permanent settlement, such as Lord Cornwallis had established in Bengal, should be adopted, was the subject of consideration. The Governor was a strong advocate for the peasant farmer; the Revenue Board member was even stronger on the same side. In the course of many inquiries, and

in the voluminous discussions carried on in the favourite Indian form of elaborate Minutes, each enough to fill a 200-page octavo volume, the foundation principles of Indian subordination and British supremacy were laid down most absolutely. Never, perhaps, has the arrogance and cruelty of alien rulers towards their subjects been more nakedly and cynically announced. That which was essential for English greatness in its home land, and for every other people in their respective home lands, was to be withheld, deliberately withheld, from the Indian people in their own country. Without circumlocution and with a cynicism which belies the profession expressed at the same time that the happiness of the people was the sole object of the new conquerors,¹ the subjection of many scores of millions of people for at least a century and may be for ever—(this world is to the strong and not to the amiable, to the brutal and not to the saintly)—was unconcernedly set forth in clear terms. The paragraphs in Mr. Thackeray's report which are the very negation of the charters in which nearly every civilised people find their rights enshrined, the paragraphs which have rendered futile Acts of Parliament subsequently passed, and even have made of none effect the Queen-Empress's Proclamation of 1858, deserve quotation in full. The argument is too interesting to be summarised, has been too fruitful in its baneful consequences not to be recalled and enshrined in twentieth-century literature, *verbatim et literatim*.

After arguing in vigorous terms against a landlord settlement—'one fat rajah supposes fifty-two ryots'² (peasant farmers)—Mr. Thackeray remarks:—

¹ Mr. Thackeray, although knowing the principle of land taxation depended wholly upon produce being actually forthcoming, did not hesitate to put the following cynical—and in practice cruelly harsh—dictum on record:—'It may be said the revenue will not be secure under a ryotwar settlement; however, if the ryots are put on such a footing that their lands are saleable, and that they ought to pay whether they cultivate or no, the revenue will be secure.'

² Later in these pages it will be seen what one Secretary of State, one Councillor, one Civilian or Military Pensioner, presupposes in the way of ryots' revenues.

'This quality of condition, in respect to wealth in land; this general distribution of the soil among a yeomanry, therefore, if it be not most adapted to agricultural improvement, is best adapted to attain improvement, in the state of property, manners, and institutions, which prevail in India; and it will be found still more adapted to the situation of the country, governed by a few strangers, where pride, high ideas, and ambitious thoughts must be stifled. ✓ It is very proper that in England, a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the service and defence of the state, or, in other words, that great part of the rent should go to an opulent nobility and gentry, who are to serve their country in Parliament, in the army and navy, in the departments of science and liberal professions. The leisure, independence, and high ideas, which the enjoyment of this rent affords, has enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it;—but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. ✓ They are directly adverse to our power and interest. The nature of things, the past experience of all governments, renders it unnecessary to enlarge on this subject. ✓ We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen. ✓ If we wanted rank, restless, and ambitious spirits, there are enough of them in Malabar to supply the whole peninsula; but these people are at least an encumbrance, if nothing worse; they can never do good, and, at all events, consume a good deal without rendering any equivalent service to the public. We must, therefore, avoid the creation of more; though we submit to the necessity of supporting those who now are. ✓)

'Considered politically, therefore, the general distribution of land, among a number of small proprietors, who cannot easily combine against Government, is an object of importance. The power and patronage, and receipt of the sircar rent, will always render zemindars formidable, but more or less so, according to the military strength and reputation of the Government. It is difficult to foresee what may happen in the course of a few years; and it is our interest to retain in our own hands as much power and influence as is consistent with the preservation of the rights of the people. By retaining the administration of the revenues in our own hands, we maintain our communication and immediate connection with the people at large. We keep in our own hands the means of obtaining information, the knowledge on which alone the resources of the country can be drawn out; the policy administered with effect; and perhaps the body of the proprietors secured in their possessions.

'Our first object is to govern India; and then to govern it well; and in these provinces it would seem that both these objects, a strong government and the security of private rights, would be attained by such a settlement as I have proposed.'

It is very proper that, in England, a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the service and defence of the State.'

And, in India? Are not Indians human beings? It may be, in the opinion of some, a contemptible few, that they are human beings; according to Mr. Thackeray if they are human beings they are of quite another order than ourselves, ranking distinctly below that order of human beings of which British folk are members.

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Clearly, an Indian hath not eyes, hath not hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, is not fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter, as hath and as is an Englishman. If we prick Indians they do not bleed—at least, they do not bleed as do Europeans; their suffering from famine, fever, and pestilence is not like the suffering of others: they are occupants of a 'human cattle farm,' placed in that position after careful thought and consideration, and—kept there.

Mr. Thackeray was without excuse. Lord William Bentinck, who of set purpose selected Mr. Thackeray as his mouthpiece, they holding ideas in common, is even more without excuse. 'Tis not as if they considered the people of India were incapable of reaching great intellectual heights, of developing and exhibiting noble character. In this same report Mr. Thackeray says:—
'It would be impertinent to show that the people of hot.

countries have been conquerors, sages, and statesmen.'¹ If it be impertinent to remark upon so self-evident a fact, what word is adequate with which to describe the carefully arranged shutting of the door leading to advancement upon an admittedly capable people? Once it was closed it was securely locked and barred. A small postern gate has been constructed through which a few Indians have been permitted to pass to certain positions of honour and emolument. But the great door is still closed—an impassable barrier. 'No Indians need apply.'

What Mr. Thackeray urged, nearly every Viceroy, every Governor, every Lieutenant-Governor, every Chief-Com-

¹ Further observations in the same paper show that Mr. Thackeray could discern good characteristics in the Indian people. He wrote:—'The general distribution of land among a great number of small proprietors will also contribute to the general happiness of the people. I say happiness, because it is our duty to consider the happiness of the mild, industrious, race, which Providence has placed under the British Government, before revenue or any other objects. The domestic happiness, independence, and pleasure of a country life, which the distribution of landed property alone can confer on the multitude, makes this far superior to any system. It may be considered an Utopia by some; however, I think that Government can, and ought, to extend this happy system to the provinces. The people of this country are peculiarly adapted to thrive as small proprietors. All their customs, opinions, and virtues are suited to this sort of life, and adapted to make them succeed in it. No people are fonder of a house, ground, and place of their own, of their families, of fame among their equals, of their hereditary occupations, and of the profession of agriculture, than the Hindus. Had they a field for the display of the industry which these feelings would excite, this great country would have a different appearance. The ryots are laborious, and, in some respects, parsimonious, inherit their skill and attachment to husbandry. We sometimes, especially those among us who know least of them, affect a contempt for the natives; they are indeed objects of pity, if our contempt for their character suggests ideas of arbitrary government: but, considered as husbandmen, who have understood and carried to perfection that primeval business of man (the cultivation of the earth) for thousands of years, they are very respectable. A few centuries ago the peasantry of England, and even now, the peasantry in many parts of Europe, are considered as inferior beings by their proud masters the great landholders the (zemindars), who urged their idleness, ignorance, and brutality, as a reason for keeping them in vassalage. Some great philosophers have affected to attribute to them indolence, not to be excited by any inducement; want of mental and bodily strength, which fitted them only for slavery to the people of hot climates.'—P. 991. Appdx. Fifth Rept. Sel. Com. E. I. Co., 1812.

missioner, aided by their respective subordinates, has consolidated into concrete facts. In so doing they have brought India to its present condition—so far as its native inhabitants are concerned—of national, mental, and social, degradation. An Act of Parliament with sonorous words as to equal treatment, words of Magna Charta strength, are so much waste paper in the presence of the gospel which Thackeray preached in 1807, and which James Mill, unashamedly, reiterated in 1831. It almost passes credence that one with the intellectual and political advantages possessed by James Mill should, apparently after due consideration, have urged the keeping of the Indian people in a condition of subjection, and even to argue that they would be the better for such subjection. He did this, however, and did it, too, with an effrontery which, in these days of smooth phrases and periphrastic disguises, appears brutal. The majority of Anglo-Indians and Britons, who take any interest in India, still think as James Mill thought and spoke. The difference is that Mill was frank; the others are disingenuous. He said exactly what he meant; they are past masters in the use of language which deceives. On the 25th of August, 1831, this happened before a House of Commons Committee^{*}—James Mill, of the India House, under examination:—

‘4193. Would not a considerable advantage accrue to the natives of India by the introduction of a system whereby natives and not Europeans might be largely employed in the collection of revenue? —The great advantage I should contemplate would be the cheapness. If the payments of the ryots were accurately defined, and there were an administration of justice sufficiently perfect to afford redress to the ryot for every grievance, you might then employ, without danger, the greatest rogues in the world in collecting the revenue.

‘4194. Would not the people of India derive very considerable benefit from the natives being employed in the collection of revenue,

^{*} The Houses of Parliament seventy years ago were not so much afraid of work in the months of August and September as they now appear to be. This important inquiry into Indian affairs was carried on through those months.

where Europeans are at present employed?—An opinion is very generally entertained, but which I confess I do not participate, that it would be good for the natives of India to be more largely employed in the business of government than they are now. It appears to me that the great concern of the people of India is, that the business of government should be well and cheaply performed, but that it is of little or no consequence to them who are the people who perform it. The idea generally entertained is that you would elevate the people of India by giving them a greater share in their own government; but I think that to encourage any people in a train of believing that the grand source of elevation is in being an *employee* of Government is anything but desirable. The right thing, in my opinion, is to teach people to look for their elevation to their own resources, their industry, and economy. Let the means of accumulation be afforded to our Indian subjects; let them grow rich as cultivators, merchants, manufacturers, and not accustom themselves to look for wealth and dignity to successful intriguing for places under Government; the benefit from which, whatever it may be, can never extend beyond a very insignificant portion of the whole population.

'4195. Do you not conceive that the exclusion of the natives from the higher branches of the revenue employment is looked upon by them, and is, in point of fact, a stigma upon them?—I do not believe that they look upon it in that light.

'4196. Do you know any country in which it would not be so considered?—I should point to India as a country in which it is not so considered.'

'4197. Supposing, for example, Englishmen alone were employed in the higher branches of employment in Ireland, do you not conceive that the Irish would consider it a stigma upon them?—I consider that the feeling of degradation, from being governed by foreigners, is a feeling altogether European. I believe it has little or no existence in any part of Asia.

'4198. Do you not think that by the greater employment of the natives of India in the higher branches of employment the character of the natives would be ameliorated?—I should think that such employment would have little effect in that way. The thing of importance in order to elevate the character of any people is to protect them. Elevation is the natural state of a man who has nothing to fear, and the best riches are the effects of a man's own industry: effects which never fail when the protection is good.

'4199. Have you ever been in India?—I have not.

'4200. And you can only speak from what you have read and heard?—Yes.

'4201. Are you aware that petitions have been sent home by the natives of India, most numerous and respectably signed, complaining in the strongest terms of their exclusion from the civil, judicial, and financial, departments of government?—I am perfectly aware of such

petitions having been sent home, but I am far from supposing that these petitions speak the general language of the country.

'4202. What reason have you to think so?—I can only speak generally, because my reason is an inference from all I know, from all I have heard, and from all I have read, about the people.

'4203. Is the correspondence you have read native correspondence?—Not native correspondence.

'4204. Do you allude to the correspondence of the Company's servants in India exclusively?—Not exclusively.

'4205. You have not seen anything stated by the natives themselves upon that subject?—Not anything written by themselves upon that subject.

'4206. Are the petitions that have been referred to from the Presidencies or from the provinces?—From the Presidencies, I believe, exclusively.

'4207. Do you conceive that it is possible for any person to form an adequate judgment of the character of a people without being personally acquainted with them?—If the question refers to myself, I am far from pretending to a perfect knowledge of the character of the Indian people.'

It remains to the credit of the British race that, even during the days of darkness in India when such views were promulgated, men of light and leading protested against the iniquitousness as well as the folly and short-sightedness of such a mode of ruling India. Two witnesses may suffice—a Madras civilian [at the time Mr. Thackeray wrote what, for the credit of the British name had better never have been written, and which every one has striven to ignore so far as the words themselves are concerned], afterwards Governor of the Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro; and the second Protestant Bishop of India, Reginald Heber. Several citations from the former's writings are necessary: what he wrote early in the last century is in this century fulfilled prophecy. I have taken much; I have left untouched ten times as much, equally good. All of ill that he predicted has come to pass, while the burning injustice of it all thrills one now as it must have thrilled the noble-minded writer twice forty years ago.

'When we have determined the principles, the next question is, by what agency it is to be managed? There can be no doubt that it

ought, as far as practicable, to be native. Juster views have of late years been taken of this subject, and the employment of the natives on higher salaries and in more important offices have been authorised. There is true economy in this course, for by it they will have better servants and their affairs will be better conducted. It is strange to observe how many men of very respectable talents have seriously recommended the abolition of native and the substitution of European agency to the greatest possible extent. I am persuaded that every advance made in such a plan would not only render the character of the people worse and worse, but our Government more and more inefficient. The preservation of our dominion in this country requires that all the higher offices, civil and military, should be filled with Europeans; but all offices that can be left in the hands of natives without danger to our power might with advantage be left to them. We are arrogant enough to suppose that we can with our limited numbers do the work of a nation. Had we ten times more, we should only do it so much worse. We already occupy every office of importance. Were we to descend to those which are more humble and now filled by natives, we should lower our character and not perform the duties so well. The natives possess, in as high a degree at least as Europeans, all those qualifications which are requisite for the discharge of the inferior duties in which they are employed. They are in general better accountants, more patient and laborious, more intimately acquainted with the state of the country and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and are altogether more efficient men of business.

'Unless we suppose that they are inferior to us in natural talent, which there is no reason to believe, it is much more likely that they will be duly qualified for their employments than Europeans for theirs, because the field of selection is so much greater in the one than in the other. We have a whole nation from which to make our choice of natives, but in order to make a choice of Europeans we have only the small body of covenanted servants.

'If it be admitted that the natives often act wrong, it is no reason for not employing them; we shall be oftener wrong ourselves. What we do wrong is not noticed, or but seldom or slightly; what they do wrong meets with no indulgence! We can dismiss them and take better men in their place; we must keep the European because we have no other, or perhaps none better, and because he must be kept at an expense to the public and be employed some way or other, whatever his capacity may be, unless he has been guilty of some gross offence. But it is said that all these advantages in favour of the employment of the natives are counterbalanced by their corruption, and that the only remedy is more Europeans with European integrity. The remedy would certainly be a very expensive one, and would as certainly fail of success, were we weak enough to try it. We have had instances of corruption among Europeans, notwithstanding

their liberal allowances; but were the numbers of Europeans to be considerably augmented, and their allowances, as a necessary consequence, somewhat reduced, it would be contrary to all experience to believe that this corruption would not greatly increase, more particularly as Government could not possibly exercise any efficient control over the misconduct of so many European functionaries in different provinces, where there is no public to restrain it. If we are to have corruption, it is better that it should be among the natives than among ourselves, because the natives will throw the blame of the evil upon their countrymen; they will still retain their high opinion of our superior integrity; and our character, which is one of the strongest supports of our power, will be maintained. No nation ever existed in which corruption was not practised to a certain extent by the subordinate officers of the Government: we cannot expect that India is in this point to form an exception. But though we cannot eradicate corruption, we may so far restrain it as to prevent it from causing any serious injury to the public interest. We must for this purpose adopt the same means as are usually found most efficacious in other countries; we must treat the natives with courtesy, we must place confidence in them, we must render their official situations respectable, and raise them in some degree beyond temptation, by making their official allowances adequate to the support of their station in society.

‘With what grace can we talk of our paternal Government if we exclude these from every important office, and say, as we did till very lately, that in a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, no man but a European shall be entrusted with so much authority as to order the punishment of a single stroke of a rattan? Such an interdiction is to pass a sentence of degradation on a whole people, for which no benefit can ever compensate. There is no instance in the world of so humiliating a sentence having ever been passed upon any nation. The weak and mistaken humanity which is the motive of it can never be viewed by the natives as any just excuse for the disgrace inflicted on them by being pronounced to be unworthy of trust in deciding on the petty offences of their countrymen. We profess to seek their improvement, but propose means the most adverse to success. The advocates of improvement do not seem to have perceived the great springs on which it depends; they propose to place no confidence in the natives, to give them no authority, and to exclude them from office as much as possible; but they are ardent in their zeal for enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge.

‘No conceit more wild and absurd than this was ever engendered in the darkest ages; for what is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge, but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power? or what is even the use of great attainments if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose—the service of the community, by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various degrees of the public

administration of the country? How can we expect that the Hindoos will be eager in the pursuit of science unless they have the same inducements as in other countries? If superior acquirements do not open the road to distinction, it is idle to suppose that the Hindoo would lose his time in seeking them; and even if he did so, his proficiency, under the doctrine of exclusion from office, would serve no other purpose than to show him more clearly the fallen state of himself and his countrymen. He would not study what he knew could be of no ultimate benefit to himself; he would learn only those things which were in demand, and which were likely to be useful to him, namely, writing and accounts. There might be some exceptions, but they would be few; some few natives living at the principal settlements, and passing much of their time among Europeans, might either from a real love of literature, from vanity, or some other cause, study their books, and if they made some progress, it would be greatly exaggerated, and would be hailed as the dawn of the great day of light and science about to be spread all over India. But there always has been, and always will be, a few such men among the natives, without making any change in the body of the people. Our books alone will do little or nothing; dry simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect, it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward, no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people.

'This is true of every nation as well as of India; it is true of our own. Let Britain be subjected by a foreign power to-morrow; let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust or emolument, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge and all their literature, sacred and profane, would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest, race.

'Even if we could suppose that it were practicable, without the aid of a single native, to conduct the whole affairs of the country, both in the higher and in all the subordinate offices, by means of Europeans, it ought not to be done, because it would be both politically and morally wrong. The great number of public offices in which the natives are employed is one of the strongest causes of their attachment to our Government. In proportion as we exclude them from those, we lose our hold upon them; and were the exclusion entire, we should have their hatred in place of their attachment; their feeling would be communicated to the whole population, and to the native troops, and would excite a spirit of discontent too powerful for us to subdue or resist. But were it possible that they could submit silently and without opposition, the case would be worse; they would sink in character, they would lose with the hope of public office and distinction all laudable ambition, and would degenerate into an indolent and

abject race, incapable of any higher pursuit than the mere gratification of their appetites. It would certainly be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should be such a debasement of a whole people. This is, to be sure, supposing an extreme case, because nobody has ever proposed to exclude the natives from the numerous petty offices, but only from the more important offices now filled by them. But the principle is the same, the difference is only in degree; for in proportion as we exclude them from the higher offices, and a share in the management of public affairs, we lessen their interest in the concerns of the community, and degrade their character.

'It was from a conviction of the policy of extending native agency that the establishment of the revenue board cutcherry was recommended in 1822. The right of the people to be taxed only by their own consent, has always, in every free country, been esteemed amongst the most important of all privileges; it is that which has most exercised the minds of men, and which has oftenest been asserted by the defenders of liberty. Even in countries in which there is no freedom, taxation is the most important function of government, because it is that which most universally affects the comfort and happiness of the people, and that which has oftenest excited them to resistance; and hence both its utility and its danger have, under the most despotic governments, taught the necessity of employing in its administration the ablest men of the country.

'In this point, at least, we ought to be guided by the example of those governments, and employ intelligent and experienced natives at the head of the revenue to assist the revenue board. If in other departments we have experienced natives to assist the European officers, shall we not have them in this, whose duties are the most difficult and most important? We cannot exclude them from it without injury to ourselves as well as to them; we cannot conduct the department efficiently without them. But even if we could, policy requires that we should let them have a share in the business of taxing their own country.'

The above wise and weighty observations, a parallel to which is not to be found in present-day Anglo-Indian writings, are, as I have said, but a few sentences out of a hundred pages of equally luminous, high-minded, and statesmanlike utterances. Exigencies of space, however, forbid further citations.

Rightly is Sir Thomas Munro's fame maintained in Madras by one of Chantrey's finest equestrian statues. Had his spirit been permitted to pervade the purlieus of Indian administration as Chantrey's representation of the

man dominates 'the Island' in the Chinnapatnam of olden days, such a work as this of mine would have been unnecessary—would never have been written. So wise and perspicuous were his teachings that it is difficult for one who knows what he counselled to pass that statue without raising his hat as to a living personage. As for Bishop Heber, writing to the Right Honourable Charles Williams Wynn, in England, in a letter dated Karnatik, March, 1826, he says :—

'But there is one point which, the more I have seen of India, since I left Bengal for the first time, has more and more impressed itself on my mind. Neither native nor European agriculturist, I think, can thrive at the present rate of taxation. Half the gross produce of the soil is demanded by Government, and this, which is nearly the average rate wherever there is not a permanent settlement, is sadly too much to leave an adequate provision for the peasant, even with the usual frugal habits of Indians, and the very inartificial and cheap manner in which they cultivate the land. Still more is it an effectual bar to everything like improvement; it keeps the people, even in favourable years, in a state of abject penury; and when the crop fails, in even a slight degree, it involves a necessity on the part of Government of enormous outlays, in the way of remission and distribution, which, after all, do not prevent men, women, and children dying in the streets in droves, and the roads being strewn with carcasses. In Bengal, where, independent of its exuberant fertility, there is a permanent assessment, famine is unknown. In Hindustan, on the other hand, I found a general feeling among the King's officers, and I myself was led, from some circumstances, to agree with them, that the peasantry in the Company's provinces are, on the whole, worse off, poorer, and more dispirited, than the subjects of the native Princes; and here, in Madras, where the soil is, generally speaking, poor, the difference is said to be still more marked. The fact is, no native Prince demands the rent which we do; and making every allowance for the superior regularity of our system, etc., I met with very few public men who will not, in confidence, own their belief that the people are overtaxed, and that the country is in a gradual state of impoverishment. The Collectors do not like to make this avowal officially. Indeed, now and then, a very able Collector succeeds in lowering the rate to the people, while by diligence, he increases it to the State. But, in general, all gloomy pictures are avoided by them as reflecting on themselves, and drawing on them censure from the secretaries at Madras or Calcutta; while these, in their turn, plead the earnestness with which the Directors at home press for more money.

'I am convinced that it is only necessary to draw less money from the peasants, and to spend more of what is drawn within the country, to open some door to Indian industry in Europe, and to admit the natives of India to some greater share in the magistracy of their own people, to make this Empire as durable as it would be happy. But as things now go on, though I do not detract any part of the praise which I have, on other occasions, bestowed on the general conduct of the Company's servants, their modesty, their diligence, and integrity, I do not think the present Empire can be durable.

'I have sometimes wished that its immediate management were transferred to the Crown. But what I saw in Ceylon makes me think this a doubtful remedy, unless the Government, and, above all, the *people* of England were convinced that no country can bear to pay so large a revenue to foreigners, as to those who spend their wealth within their own borders; and that most of the causes which once made these countries wealthy have ceased to exist in proportion as the industry and ingenuity of England have rivalled and excelled them. Even Bengal is taxed highly, not indeed directly on its land, but in salt and other duties. But Bengal is naturally of such exuberant fertility, that whoever has seen it alone will form a too flattering estimate of these vast countries.'

Why have I disinterred from ancient volumes the foregoing unwise and supremely wise observations? Because the conflict represented by such protagonists—

THACKERAY and JAMES MILL *against* MUNRO and
HEBER

is proceeding now as it proceeded in the second and third decennial periods of the nineteenth century. The wrong step was then taken. The right step has yet to be taken. The mischief is that not a single high official connected with India at the beginning of the twentieth century considers any forward step is required. They all think of Indian Administration as the Great Duke thought of the British Constitution prior to 1832. It was from heaven. It is sacro-sanct. It may be that in the fortuitous (or other) concourse of circumstances

* Bishop Heber's *Memoirs and Correspondence*, by his Widow, vol. ii, pp. 413, 414. John Murray, 1830.

which we call national development, there is still room for the right step to be taken in India. It is to help in that being done, if haply it may be done, that the quoted passages, in such fulness, have been placed before the reader.

That sentiment in our national character which is proclaimed *ore rotundo* as 'British justice,' revolted at the condition of things Thackerayan. In the inquiry which preceded the renewal of the Charter in 1833 many questions were asked concerning the capacity of the Indian subjects of the King and the development of India's resources from within and through her own people. The evidence of Mr. Robert Rickards, who served for many years in Madras and Bombay, is wise far beyond the average of the evidence that has, from time to time, been given before British Committees on Indian subjects. Probably it is due more to what Mr. Rickards said than to anything else that the Act of Parliament of 1833, by which the Charter was renewed, contained so emphatic a declaration in favour of the employment of Indians in their own land, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed, as is to be found in the clause which runs :

'That no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject, of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of these, be disqualified from holding any place, office, or employment 'under the said Company.'

Used in the sense intended by their framers those words are among the most noble and most worthy ever legislatively recorded by a conquering Power. Had they been acted upon, the condition of the great country for which we are responsible and the welfare of the vast multitude of its inhabitants, for which we do not have

to account, as there is now no one to call us to account, would have been far better than can now be recorded.¹

Mr. Rickards was asked whether India did not require capital to bring forth her resources. 'She certainly does,' he replied. 'But the best and the fittest capital for this purpose would, in my opinion, be one of native growth. And such a capital would certainly be created among the natives themselves if our institutions did not obstruct it, by curbing the energies and confirming as they now do, the poverty of the great mass of the inhabitants.'²

It was pressed upon the witness that India would 'derive great advantages from men of talent and science and art' proceeding to settle in India. 'Yes, undoubtedly,' replied Mr. Rickards. 'But the presence of such men,' he went on to say, 'is not enough. A people in a state of confirmed and degraded poverty cannot, I apprehend, be roused to energetic habits by the mere stimulus of foreign example. On this account I think that our first attention should, as well in common justice as in policy, be directed to the improvement of the state and condition of the natives of that country.'³

In a fashion known so well in the last days of the nineteenth century, the question was asked: 'Have not many branches of commerce and manufacture been commenced and carried on by British capital and British settlers,

¹ This remark is true in the human sense as well as in the Divine sense in which it is used in the text. I myself heard Lord George Hamilton, during the early evening of August 16, 1901, taunt the friends of India in the House of Commons with the observation that in 1877 and 1878, when he was Under-Secretary of State for India, he had much more to do in the House than he had had since, in 1895, he became Secretary of State. If Indians want to know one reason why a back-wave has overthrown liberties they once possessed, they may see it in this observation. Such activity in the House of Commons as marked the years 1889, 1890, and 1891, when Charles Bradlaugh was 'Member for India,' would have prevented the falling back which all educated Indians mourn, while it would have ensured a great advance.

² East India Company's Affairs, 1831. • Reports from Committees, vol. Q. 2795.

³ *Ibid.* Qns. 2796, 2797.

and is not this enough?' No doubt, it was answered, there has been much of what you mention—indigo cultivation, for example, 'but'—and here I ask the reader's most careful attention, for in the sentence which follows is indicated, as though with the pen of Inspiration, the course which England would have adopted had she, in her intercourse with India, been really solicitous first of the interests of the Indian people :—

'But I still maintain that any improvement which may have arisen in consequence of the introduction of British capital and British enterprise into India, *is nothing in comparison with what would be the case if the natives of India were sufficiently encouraged, and proper attention paid to their cultivation and improvement.*'

In this sentence, for the advice it contains has been wholly ignored, lies the greatest condemnation imaginable of present Indian poverty and present Indian suffering. The path to prosperity was the path of honour and chivalry: it was clearly indicated; it was, in 1833, it is, in 1901, wilfully ignored. The Secretary of State will not acknowledge the existence of such a contingency. Not India, but England, is the first consideration always held in view in connection with Indian matters. Viscount Cross, when Secretary of State for India, furnished evidence thereof, without being aware that he was doing a gross wrong to the Indian people in the course he took. Each of his successors has taken special care to make their predecessor's sentiments their own. Whatever else concerning India may have been overlooked, that which was calculated to make English influence more and more dominant has never been forgotten.

I have linked the two preceding questions, asked in 1831, with the views held and announced at the present time. Two other questions asked at the inquiry seventy years ago—2807 and 2808—may similarly be specially

regarded as indicating that there is no real difference in the manner in which India is viewed now and at that distant period. It was a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, still living and engaged in strenuous work in London, who, a few years ago, remarked, in response to a suggestion that closer co-operation in the higher spheres of rule between Europeans and Indians would give the latter an opportunity of teaching us many things we did not know:—

'The Indians teach us! Absurd! Why, they know nothing we have not taught them! The natives teach us!'

In exactly the same spirit Mr. Rickards, in 1831, was asked:—

'Can you name any one improvement which has been made by the natives in your time that cannot fairly be traced to the example, or influence, of Europeans?'

The answer was as emphatic as it was lucid and undeniable:—

'I have already observed,' he said, 'that the improvements introduced by Europeans are limited in comparison with what might be the case if the natives of India were sufficiently encouraged; but in their present state of extreme poverty and almost slavery, it is not reasonable to expect that any great improvements can flow from them. One of the greatest improvements, however, of which the mind of man is susceptible, has been made by natives from their own exclusive exertions. Their acquirement of knowledge, and particularly of the English language and English literature, of which there are many examples in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay at the present moment, is quite astonishing. It may even be questioned whether so great a progress in the attainment of knowledge has ever been made under like circumstances in any of the countries of Europe.'

'Is not that,' it was asked, 'limited to those who have had particular intercourse with Europeans?'

Mr. Rickards, with observations which might with conspicuous benefit be reprinted and placed in a prominent position in every room of the India Office, and

in all official rooms in India, particularly in the working rooms of the Viceroy, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and of Members of Council, Commissioners, and Residents at Feudatory Courts, replied as follows :—

‘The examples to which I allude are among natives that have kept up an uninterrupted intercourse, certainly with Europeans, from residing at the different presidencies of India: but the exertions of those with whom I am acquainted have been altogether independent of European assistance; the natives to whom I allude being perfectly self-taught. I would beg leave here to add that if it be meant to imply, as some of the most distinguished literary authorities in this country have asserted, that the natives of India are incapable of improvement, I must protest against the doctrine, as being, in my humble opinion, an unjust and libellous judgment passed on the whole community. We have at this moment an illustrious example¹ in this country of what native Indians can attain by their own unaided exertions. Let it also be recollected that in many branches of art their skill is absolutely unrivalled. Several of their fabrics, such as muslins, shawls, embroidered silks, handkerchiefs, etc., together with pieces of workmanship in gold, silver, and ivory, have never yet been equalled by British artists. Their architecture, though peculiar, is of a superior order, and in the construction of great public buildings they have exerted powers of moving and elevating large masses which are unknown to European architects. Agriculture also made its first progress, and attained considerable perfection in the East, which in this respect set the example to Europe. In these, and many other arts connected with the comforts and conveniences of life, the natives of India have made great progress in some, and attained perfection in others, without being in the smallest degree indebted to the European patterns or example. I do not mean to say that their progress or advancement has been a hundredth part so great or so rapid as that of Europeans in the arts of life generally, but I do not think it fair to compare their present backward state with the advancement made by Europeans, considering the very different circumstances in which both are respectively placed. . . . Many persons, I apprehend, who now contend for the freest introduction of Europeans into India, to operate as a stimulus to native improvement, seem to forget the vast difference of character existing in the two parties; that consequently, to overrun India with Europeans before a better system of protection shall have been provided, would be to mingle a race of overbearing conquerors with submissive slaves, and that oppression and injustice

¹The great religious reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, doubtless, is here referred to. About this time he visited England, and wrote several valuable Memoranda for the Parliamentary Committee.

would be the inevitable result. Until the natives of India are raised (and I am sure they can be so raised with great advantage) to participate largely and actively in the government of themselves, I feel persuaded that India never will be justly or securely ruled under any European sovereignty.'

The reader must suffer some further citations in the text (and not be referred to a footnote or to an appendix) from Mr. Rickards' evidence. I wish to draw special attention to his remarks because, in every particular, they are applicable to the conditions of India to-day. Perchance where they failed to convince in the nineteenth century they may persuade in the twentieth century. Even now they contain such statesmanlike wisdom as to constitute them 'a counsel of perfection' quite within the realisable possibilities of the time—if the spirit to do justice to India were commensurate with the 'talk' on the same topic. I quote questions 2815 to 2820 (Question 2824 relates to a work in two volumes written by Mr. Rickards) and from 2825 to 2829; and also 2840–2842.

'2815. Are you aware that the natives of Bengal, in Oude, at present imitating European indigo settlers, prepare a considerable portion of that article now exported?—The natives of Oude have got lately into a better mode of preparing indigo for this market. This may be occasioned partly, no doubt, by the influence and example of Europeans, but in a great measure also, as I conceive, by the unsaleable state of the article in this country, from the badness of its quality, and which rendered it indispensably necessary that some improvement should take place before it could be brought into general consumption and use by manufacturers.

'2816. Did the natives ever manufacture any indigo for export twenty-five or thirty years ago, or was it not entirely begun by Europeans?—Certainly not begun entirely by Europeans; for indigo as a colour was known and used in the East from earliest times, and therefore manufactured as well as exported by natives alone. The great extension of the manufacture of indigo in Bengal of late years is no doubt to be ascribed to British enterprise and capital, but of the present produce of the Bengal provinces (exclusive of what is produced in Oude) at least about 20,000 chests are actually grown and manufactured by natives alone, and consigned by them to other natives in Calcutta. Some of the specimens manufactured by natives

are to the full as fine as the most beautiful products of European factories; but this is not generally the case; a few of the native merchants only export this article direct to Europe, from not having correspondents in this country to whom to send it; the greater part, therefore, passes always through the hands of Europeans, as the exporting merchants.

'2817. Are the inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay living under the protection of the King's Courts, and in daily intercourse with Europeans, equal or superior in education and intelligence to the mass of British native subjects living in the provinces under the exclusive Government of the East India Company?—They are, generally speaking, a better educated race than the inhabitants of the interior, but this I ascribe to their living in much more comfortable circumstances than the inhabitants of the interior, and coming more habitually into contact with European refinement. Although the poverty of the interior habitually consigns its inhabitants to a state of confirmed degradation, in which improvement, either of their circumstances or moral habits, seems equally hopeless, there are still to be found in every part of India numerous individuals whose natural talents and capacity are fully equal to the inhabitants of the Presidencies.

'2818. Had the commerce of Calcutta and Bombay been left as formerly, exclusively to the East India Company and the natives, what in your opinion would at this day have been the condition of the natives of those places?—They would have remained, I conceive, as stationary, or perhaps declining, as all countries invariably do which are subject to arbitrary governments and monopolies.

'2819. Then the present improved state you attribute principally to the opening of the trade with that country?—I do.

'2820. Have such of the natives of Bombay as came under your observation any repugnance to commercial pursuits, or any indisposition to engage in external and internal trade, other than what may arise from the want of their having sufficient means?—Certainly no repugnance; they are on the contrary like all the natives of India I am acquainted with, very much given to commercial and industrial pursuits, and exceedingly well qualified to succeed in them.'

'2825. Are you not able to point out a few of those taxes which principally restrict and affect the commerce of the country to which the allusion principally was?—Where the revenue is collected as it is in India, on the principle of the Government being entitled to one-half of the gross produce of the soil, and vast numbers of officers, whose acts it is impossible to control, are also employed in the realisation of this revenue, it is a moral impossibility for any people whatever to live, or prosper, so as to admit of a very extensive commercial intercourse being carried on with them.

'2826. Are those observations which you have made the result of your own personal experience, or do you state them as acquired from

others?—The result of my own personal experience in the provinces in which I have served in India, coupled with official information as regards the other districts of India, taken from a very valuable collection of papers printed by the Court of Directors in four folio volumes and other official and authentic sources.

‘2827. Is the revenue levied on fruit trees, betel, pepper, sugar-cane, indigo, and other similar productions a fixed and moderate land tax, or in the nature of an excise in those parts of the territories of Bombay and Madras with which you are acquainted?—It is anything but a moderate tax; for, as I have shown in the above-mentioned work, it is in all cases exorbitant; and strange to say, in some instances even exceeds the gross produce of the lands or plantations on which it is levied.

‘2828. Do you consider it practicable, under such a system as you have stated, to manufacture those articles for foreign exportation, and competition with other countries?—It may be done in lands not subject to the afore-mentioned exorbitant tax. It may also be the case in Bengal, where the permanent settlement has been enforced for many years, and where its original ruinous pressure is no longer so severely felt; but it would be quite impossible in lands, for example, subject to the ryotwar tax, or from lands where from 45 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the gross produce is actually levied as revenue.

‘2829. You have stated that the tax is equal in some cases to the produce of the land; has land then a saleable value in any part of India where the taxes take away the whole of this produce?—I am personally acquainted with instances where the revenue assessed upon certain lands has actually exceeded the gross produce. I have also known other lands in India where a revenue has been assessed as being specifically derivable from rice lands, plantations of fruit trees, pepper, vines, and other articles, and each portion particularly described; but on comparing the assessment with the lands in question those very lands have been found to have been nothing but jungle within the memory of man. Land, however, has a saleable value in those parts of India where our revenue systems admit of some rent being derived from the land by the land-holder or proprietor; but when the whole rent is absorbed by the Government tax or revenue, as under ryotwar or Aumaunee management, the land is of course, destitute of saleable value.’

‘2840. Under such a system of judicature, police, and taxation as you have described, what prospect do you think there is of the inhabitants of British India becoming either a wealthy, a prosperous, or a commercial, people, and of their conducting a trade with this country commensurate with their numbers, and the extent and fertility of the country they occupy?—None whatever; the people of India are sufficiently commercial to answer the highest expectations

that can be formed, or desired, in respect to trade between the two countries; but our local institutions, including the revenue system, must be greatly altered or modified before the natives can become wealthy or prosperous; if the condition of the natives, their habits, their wants, their rights and their interests were properly attended to, all the rest would follow as a matter of course.

'2841. Does the answer you have now given apply to the Bombay, Madras, and Bengal Presidencies, where the nature of settlement varies?—To all.

'2842. Would you make any exception with regard to those parts of India where the permanent settlement has been established?—As regards the judicial system I think no difference exists; it appears to me to have been a failure everywhere, and to be ill-suited to the habits and wants of the natives of India; the revenue system has gradually grown into improvement in Bengal, owing in a great measure to the effect produced by the opening of trade, in occasioning increased demand for the productions of lands on which an unalterable tax has been fixed; in this way I conceive that the opening of trade to India has greatly conduced to give additional value to the lands of Bengal, and to enable those who now possess estates in that quarter to obtain a rent for them, and sometimes a high rent, where in the first instance there was none at all, or scarcely a sufficiency for a scanty subsistence.'

From the foregoing and from the evidence generally some good results followed. The tone of the debates in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons was eminently reasonable, while the Act that was passed inaugurated a new era—IN WORDS.

Apparently, if one might judge from the anticipations expressed, a really new era had dawned, New Heavens and a New Earth in which alone *Righteousness* should prevail were to mark the future of Indian and English relations. Perhaps, if steam communications and the application of steam power to manufactures had not then begun to change the face of the whole world industrially, the halcyon time indicated in the Act of 1833 might have come to distressed (and, therefore, oppressed) India. Unhappily for India, once more a market was wanted, and, under the mistaken idea that the great Eastern Empire of Britain would provide more customers,

and more profitable customers, by the people being kept in subjection and poor, compelled to take such exports as we chose to consider they needed, instead of enabling them to grow rich, and, themselves, of their own volition to buy of us, we entered upon the third stage of Conquest—a stage which continues to this day. It is a stage out of which thousands of millions of pounds have been made for and by England. Where that policy has secured thousands of millions sterling against the will of the people, the other policy would, probably, have brought us tens of thousands of millions from buyers who purchased out of their superfluity, and not, as now, who buy from us simply that which will only half cover their bodies against the cold o' nights at the expense of food which those bodies need for ordinary health.

III. CONQUEST BY 'POUSTA':

A Show of Fair Dealing accompanied with the Continuance of Indian National Inferiority—

1833 to 1947?

Amid the glow of self-satisfaction which came to every British heart from the freeing of negro slaves, and with the anticipations which were then widely prevalent concerning the improvement of the human race by political enfranchisement and general reform, the East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1833. Something of that glow irradiates the pages of this work on which certain passages from speeches then made are printed. The climax is reached by Thomas Babington Macaulay, then Member for Leeds, who was in himself—as Law Minister in India, as Member of Parliament afterwards—to show that much of what he said was of the tongue merely and not of the heart. Contemplating the Government of India of that day, he remarked, truly enough, 'I see a Government anxiously

bent on the public good. Even in its errors I recognise a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge. I see toleration strictly maintained; yet I see bloody and degrading superstitions gradually losing their power. I see the morality, the philosophy, the taste, of Europe, beginning to produce a salutary effect on the hearts and understandings of our subjects. I see the public mind of India, that public mind which we found debased and contracted by the worst forms of political and religious tyranny, expanding itself to noble and just views of the ends of government and of the social duties of man.'

This was not all. He proceeded, with vivid illustration and in eloquent phrases, to indicate what India should gain from England. He said:—

'There is, however, one part of the Bill on which, after what has recently passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to say a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause, which enacts that no native of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office. At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the most opprobrious of all nicknames by men of selfish hearts and contracted minds, at the risk of being called a philosopher, I must say that to the last day of my life I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause . . . It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us; that they were ruled by their own kings, but wearing our broadcloth and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their salaams to English collectors and English magistrates, but were too ignorant to value, or too poor to buy, English manufactures. To trade with civilised men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. That would, indeed, be a doting wisdom which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it a useless and costly dependency, which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves.'

'It was, as Bernier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants

'Doting wisdom' prevailed then, prevails now, nearly seventy years later. Exactly what Macaulay then denounced is what is true of our administration to-day. Proof of this is given in Chapter VIII.

whom he found in India, when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not venture to murder him, to administer to him a daily dose of the poudra, a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. The detestable artifice, more horrible than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English nation. We shall never consent to administer the poudra to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is power worth if it is founded on vice, on ignorance, on misery; if we can hold it only by violating the most sacred duties which, as governors, we owe to the governed, and which, as a people blessed with far more than ordinary measure of political liberty and of intellectual light, we owe to a race debased by three thousand years of despotism and priestcraft? We are free, we are civilised to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilisation.

‘Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour.

‘The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown our system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in England’s history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us.

Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature, and our laws.¹

And yet, seventy years later, we have advanced but a few short and mincing steps on the road so wisely and so daringly depicted. India's peoples are now much poorer than they were then. In one district in 1900 85 per cent. of the land revenue was directly paid to the Government officials by moneylenders, the cultivators being wholly without means to fulfil their obligations, while the leading medical journal in the world,² through its correspondent in Bombay, estimates that nineteen millions of British Indian subjects have, during the last decennium of the nineteenth century, died of starvation, and one million from plague. So far have we fallen from the noble and generous position of seventy years ago, when Macaulay, amid all men's applause, unfolded so glowing a scheme of administration and upliftment, that such a statement as the one quoted above arouses no interest of any kind amongst the members of so humane a profession as the *Lancet* represents. Even the editor of the journal himself did not consider his correspondent's remarks called for any comments from him. The doctors, in common with nearly all other Englishmen, seem to think that may be suffered by Indians, the twentieth part of which in this country would cause a revolution, with these now quiescent and

¹ Macaulay, *Speeches*, p. 78. Longmans, Green, and Co., Ltd.

² *The Lancet*, June, 1901. The estimate alluded to above will be found recorded in its appropriate Famine place, and thus appears twice in this work, for which I make no apology:—

‘Once printing may not suffice,
Though printing be not in vain;
And the mem’ry failing once or twice,
May learn, if we print again.’

thoroughly satisfied professional gentlemen amongst the leaders of the revolt. These many millions of deaths in India have become a commonplace in English current thought of so slight a character that two millions of Indian people may, on an average, die year by year in India for ten years on end, and when this fact is stated in a great medical journal, no single word of surprise or sorrow shall be expressed concerning so portentous a statement! While suffering almost beyond matching elsewhere in the world is going on, Lord George Hamilton, as Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, in the present writer's hearing, and Lord Curzon of Kedleston, as Viceroy and Governor-General of the Empire, take the spirit of the words of Macaulay as applicable to themselves. They are, they say, a Government anxiously bent on the public good of India. They are sensible, in their own bosoms, of 'a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to their charge.' Nevertheless, what was an impossible antithesis eighteen centuries ago, and was used by the Saviour of Mankind because of its impossibleness in practice, is not merely possible, it is actual fact to-day :

Of Lord George Hamilton and of Lord Curzon, the Indian people ask for bread and receive a stone ;¹ they beg for an egg and are given a scorpion.

Yet, while this is distinctly the fact, each of these estimable noblemen will feel as if, in my stating the above fact, which remains a fact whether I tell it or whether

Actually, a stone. In the *Times of India* a British colonel, who had been engaged in famine relief service, tells of people within his cognisance who ground certain rocks to powder to mix with the scanty portion of food they were able to obtain. This substance caused grave internal injury and frequently death, which was a pity, of course, but there was nutritious food in the country—if only the people had had the means to obtain it, if only the perennial needs of the India Office were not so great. The means which would have given them food was needed to swell the £860,000,000 of pensions, interest, etc., which the India House and the India Office have expended in England since 1835.

I do not, a gross libel were uttered concerning him. As against facts, undeniable and patent facts, intentions may be Heavenly, but they should not avail as a plea in mitigation of responsibility for the consequences of what this man or that man does or leaves undone. Nor do they in the captain of a ship, be that ship a billyboy or a first-class battleship, nor in an engine-driver. But the plea is all-sufficient when the captain or driver is called an Administrator and the people affected are dark-skinned. That the dark-skinned people are British subjects makes no difference.

How has all this come about? Why is it that to-day we regard with complacency horrors which, a generation ago, moved us to our inmost depths? Why do British hearts no longer beat responsively to, or appreciate, such noble and humane sentiments regarding India as those to which Macaulay gave expression? Why is it that now there are no Munros and Elphinstones among the Governors sent to India from England, few Rickards's or John Sullivans among Indian civilians, no Sir Lionel Smith among military men? Among thousands of civilian and military officials, in office and retired, who may be named in the same breath with these? There were none on the last Public Committee on Indian Affairs—that which inquired into Expenditure in India—save Sir William Wedderburn, and the only help he had from English sources came from Mr. W. S. Caine. It was a Native of India on the Commission, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Natives of India among the witnesses, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Dinshaw E. Wacha, G. V. Gokhale, G. Subramania Aiyar, who chiefly voiced the sentiments of Rickards and of Sullivan.

Why is it?

Because, shorn of the fatal consequences which accompanied the 'pousta' of which Bernier tells, the British 'pousta' has affected our moral and mental powers as well as those of the Indian people more immediately subject to it, but at the same time has left us active in

all other respects. Only our sympathy, self-respect, and righteousness have been numbed; our baser qualities have been quickened into greater activity. The need for markets for our products, combined with the fear, unacknowledged and carefully concealed but always with us, that if the Indians are permitted to occupy seats in the Executive Councils—Viceregal, Presidency, and Provincial, and in the Secretary of State's Council—it will not be possible, logically, for us to prevent a large measure of self-government being soon after accorded to India;—these things account for our utter indifference and neglect. Therefore it is that we make brave promises and break them; this is why we pretend to clear the way for Indians of capacity to rise high in the service of their country, and then 'cheat' them out of the offices we declared should be theirs—if they proved themselves to be capable of occupying them.¹ We have become so accustomed to regarding India as a milch-cow, though we never shock the facts or our sensibilities by using such an inelegant and indelicate expression, that anything which in the slightest degree appears to interfere with the continuance of this state of things seems to us to be contrary to what Divine Providence has designed on our behalf, the British nation, as every one knows, being God's own, incapable of wrong-doing. India is our wash-pot, and over the islands of the sea have we cast our shoe.

WHATEVER IS, IS BEST.'

So I heard it stated in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India. Therefore, of course, it

¹ Lord Lytton, in a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State, said: No sooner was the Act (1833) passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. . . . We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course . . . are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act and reducing it to a dead letter. . . . I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.'

must be so. And there is an end to all argument and to all patience with such misguided persons as those who, with irrefragible testimony in their hands, which they produce, would urge the contrary. What we choose to believe concerning India is alone that which is true. If there be evidence to the contrary, so much the worse for the evidence. We *know* we are doing well in India for India, and that knowledge suffices us. Any other opinion is condemnable, if not criminal.

APPENDICES

I

EXTRACT OF REVENUE CONSULTATIONS, FORT WILLIAM, MARCH 17, 1775.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MONSON,—From the proceedings of the last consultation it appears that Bridjoo Kishore, during his short stay at Calcutta in 1174, acknowledges to have dissipated the sum of 84,500 Sicca rupees in nuzzars (presents) to the gentlemen of the Council, in a present to Mr. Coxe, and in his own expenses; that he procured for himself the office of Dewan to the Rajah, contrary to the intentions of the Ranny. In his Accounts considerable charges are made to several persons: one of the enormous sum of 2,02,485 Rupees to Mr. John Graham; another of 30,425 Rupees to Bobanny Churn Metre, Bayan to Mr. Graham; 5,500 to Cantoo Baboo, Bayan to Mr. Hastings; and 500 to Kishen Churn Chatterjea, Cantoo Baboo's servant. From this conduct it appears that Bridjoo Kishore has been an unworthy and unthrifty servant to the Rajah, disrespectful to the Ranny, and a calumniator of the servants of the Company. Unless it should hereafter be shown that the sums debited the Gentlemen should have been received by them, I ~~think~~ ^{regard} him an improper person to be employed by the Company, or to hold any office of confidence or trust near the Rajah's person, or in his household.

I therefore move, That Bridjoo Kishore be entirely dismissed from the Rajah's service; and that the Ranny be permitted to appoint such persons as she shall think proper for the education of the Rajah, her son, and for the management of his household.

The Board agree to the motion,

From the Eleventh Report from the Select Committee on the Administration of Justice in India, pp. 759, 762-764.

EXTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF REVENUE, FORT WILLIAM, MAY 12, 1775.

Read the following Petition and Enclosures, from the Vackeel of the Rajah of Burdwan :—

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire, President and Governor, etc., Council of Revenue.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRs,—I beg leave to enclose the following papers, which are all the accounts of embezzlements which the Paisbear Roopnarain Chowdry, has been hitherto able to make out from Bridjoo Kishore's books, or rather leaves. In order to bring the Burdwan transactions under one point of view, I have brought into these Accounts what I formerly delivered into consultation on the 10th of March last.

DURBAR EXPENSES UNJUSTLY MADE BY BRIDJOO KISHORE ROY, OUT OF THE CONSUMMANY, ETC.

Cash paid to the following persons, from Bengal Year 1174 to the month of Poos, Bengal Year 1181, as follows :—

	Rs.
Mr. John Graham, as per Account No. 1, delivered in Council on the 10th March, 1775	Rs.2,02,485
Ditto, No. 2 do. do.	36,065
	<hr/> 2,38,550
The Honourable Mr. Stuart, as per Account enclosed, No. 3	2,17,684
Mr. Becher, ditto No. 4	2,100
Mr. James Alexander, ditto No. 5	31,000
Mr. Hastings, as per Account No. 3, delivered in Council on the 10th March, 1775	15,000
Mr. George Vansittart, as per particular Account enclosed, No. 6	35,400
Mr. Mackdonald, in Bengal Year 1179, in the 30th Assin, through the hands of Rammoo Podar, Provincial Cash-keeper	500
Mr. Fleetwood, as per particular Account enclosed, No. 7	23,450
Mr. Shott, in Bengal Year 1181, in the Month of Augum, through the hands of Rammoo Podar, but wrote in Kazedau Account, in the month of Poos	4,000
Mr. Swain, in Bengal Year 1179, in the 20th Assar Ackeray, through the hands of Rammoo Podar, by Callypersaud Bose	6,000
Colonel Sample, as per Account enclosed No. 8	3,000

Mr. Samuel Lewis, in Bengal Year 1181, in 27 Sraon,	Rs.
through the hands of Rammoo Podar, Provincial Cash- keeper, by Ramloccoon Mitre	2,000
Mr. Goodlad, as per particular Account enclosed, No. 9 ...	10,000
Bobanny Churn Metre, as per Account No. 5, delivered in Council on the 10th March, 1775	Rs. 30,425
Ditto, No. 10, enclosed this day	50,500
	80,925
Callypersaud Bose, as per Account enclosed, No. 11 ...	1,01,675
And smaller sums, the whole amounting to Sicca	
Rupees	12,05,054 11a. 6p.

(Signed by) ROOPNARAIN CHOWDRY.

Calcutta, 9th May, 1775.

II

TRIBUTES, AT THE INQUIRY OF 1831, TO INDIAN FITNESS FOR OFFICIAL POSITIONS IN INDIA.

Evidence of JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq., Collector of Coimbatore.

Mr. John Sullivan, of the Madras service, testified as follows:—

4769. You have stated your opinion of the native character, as far as you have had an opportunity of observing it, to be generally very favourable; do you confine that opinion to the natives of the district of Coimbatore, or to the Peninsula generally, as far as your knowledge extends?—It is a general opinion, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing it.

4770. You have visited Calcutta and Bombay?—Yes, I have.

4771. Consequently you can speak from your own personal experience?—Yes; my opinion was very favourable, particularly of the Parsees of Bombay.

4772. Would you not be disposed to place as much confidence in the natives of India as you would in your own countrymen?—Yes, if equally well treated.

4773. Are they not extremely anxious to be raised in the scale of society?—I consider them most anxious to be raised, and to feel acutely the depressed state in which they are kept.

4774. Have you not found that feeling to be general throughout India, as far as you have had an opportunity of observing?—Yes, universal, as far as my observation has gone.

4775. Are they not more anxious, in your opinion, upon that score, than even for the improvement of their worldly circumstance?—Yes, I think that the feeling dearest to their hearts, to be trusted

with that degree of power and official emoluments they invariably enjoyed previously to our obtaining possession of India.

4776. Have you not found, where you have placed confidence in natives, it has generally or always been rewarded by a faithful discharge of their duties?—It has been very frequently so. I have had cause to complain, like others whose confidence has been abused.

4777. Are you not of the opinion, that the more they are encouraged, and the more they are admitted into the employment of the government of the country, the more they will improve themselves?—I am decidedly of that opinion; and I should think that the best system that could be established at this moment, would be to entrust all the details of the revenue, and all the original suits in judicature, to natives, leaving the business of control to Europeans; the natives would do the details much more effectually than Europeans.

4778. Would not the situation of European servants in India be most completely helpless without the natives?—Yes, entirely so.

4779. So that they may be said to be mainly dependent upon the natives for carrying on the affairs of the country?—I consider the most efficient officers of the Government quite helpless without the assistance of the natives.

4780. Do you consider the natives of India a very sensitive race of people, and alive to kindness?—Yes.

4781. And grateful for it?—I think so, certainly.

4782. And anxious to make suitable returns?—Yes, I think so, certainly. I speak under qualification here, but fully as much so as any other people with whom I am acquainted.

5080. You were understood to say, that supposing the natives to be more generally employed in the different departments of Government, the expenditure of Government might be considerably diminished, do you conceive that the present Government of India is an expensive Government?—A most enormously expensive one, in the civil administration of the country.

5081. In what branches do you think a saving could be effected?—In every civil department, revenue and judicial.

5082. Do you mean by the employment of natives?—By the employment of natives, and by simplifying the machinery of government.

5089. When you say that you think the expenses of the Government might be reduced by simplifying the machinery, and calling more natives into employ, do you contemplate any reduction of the number of Europeans?—A very considerable reduction.

5090. Out of the five in Coimbatore, how many do you think might be dispensed with?—Four.

5091. Do you think that one European superintendent, with natives under him, could manage the revenue and civil concerns?—I think that he could. When I speak of the machinery of the Government, I allude to the presidency. The present mode of carrying on the Government is by a system of boards which are as complicated as anything can be. There is the revenue board, the military board, and the board of trade, so that the Government, in fact, have no direct communication with their executive officers, everything passes through these boards, and that leads to an enormous multiplication of records, and of course to great delays and expense.

5092. Would you propose that the one superintendent in the district should exercise the functions of superior judge of the district, and also of magistrate and collector of revenue?—My own idea is that the European should be confined to superintendence and control. I should conceive that both the revenue and civil and magisterial functions might be managed by the natives, with a strict European control. The greatest abuses of authority always arise out of the fiscal jurisdiction, not out of the ordinary magisterial or judicial functions.

5093. Do you conceive that the natives that would be called into action would be the persons who now act under the European officers, or that a new class of persons would be brought into operation?—Undoubtedly, those who have been regularly brought up; none but those duly qualified by previous education in the inferior offices of the civil administration should be permitted to occupy the higher grades.

5094. Are they not now found to be generally very corrupt?—If they are found to be so, it is in consequence, I conceive, entirely of our treatment of them; they have no interest in working for us, and therefore they invariably work against us when they can.

5095. And you conceive, that if they had better salaries and better prospects their corruption would be materially diminished?—I think that they would be nearly, I will not say altogether, as honest as Europeans, if we held out the same motives to them.

5096. Would not a larger extension of confidence to them produce a better state of feeling among them?—Unquestionably, that would be the result.

5097. Do you conceive that the experiment of the employment of native agency might be tried with advantage, in a particular district?—I am satisfied it might be, with great advantage—that is to say, if the experiment was made by a person favourable to its introduction, but not otherwise.

5098. Do you apprehend, that under the Madras presidency there are many persons of sufficient rank who concur with you in opinion?—I should suppose there are a considerable number; it is a growing opinion; I think it is an opinion amongst all those persons who are most conversant with the natives. Those in the trammels of a

judicial office have but little to say to the natives; this is not a matter of choice but of necessity. The Collector, on the contrary, has constant intercourse with all classes of the people; he has a deep personal interest in the prosperity of the country, and his object is to consult the wishes and inclinations of the people on all subjects. On the other hand, people who pass their time at Madras know very little of the natives; but amongst that class who have free intercourse with the natives, a considerable number, I imagine, concur in opinion with me.

Evidence of W. CHARLIN, Esq., Collector in Madras, and Commissioner in the Deccan.

5296. You have stated that you conceive the reduction of the land revenue would be the best mode of improving the character and condition of the lower orders; have the goodness to state what occurs to you with a view to the amelioration of the character and condition of the superior orders.—I conceive the best way of improving the character and condition of the superior orders would be to leave open to their ambition some of the higher and more lucrative offices of the Government, and to allow them to participate as much as possible in the administration of their own country; it may not be politic to allow them to hold the highest departments, which, I conceive, should always be filled by Europeans.

5297. To what departments do you allude?—The judicial and revenue; from the chief political offices I should always exclude them.

5298. Did you say the higher or the highest?—In the highest I would not recommend their employment; those, I think, must always be in the possession of Europeans. By permitting the natives to fill a few of the high situations, we shall gradually raise a native aristocracy of our own, who, being indebted to our Government, will feel an interest in maintaining it, being sensible that they would be the first to suffer by any revolution; they would then consider the security of their own fortunes identified with the safety of the Government.

5299. How do they stand affected to our Government now?—The exclusion of natives from all offices and places of trust, except the subordinate ones, has a tendency to produce a deterioration of character. In this respect they sensibly feel the consequences of foreign rule, all the paths of honourable ambition being shut against them, and it may be feared that discontent will increase so that we may eventually become extremely unpopular. Indeed, I conceive that a general disaffection might be expected to take place, were it not for the sense generally entertained of the good faith of the Company's government, its regard for the rights of persons and property, and its strict attention to the religious customs and

prejudices of its subjects. Hence, though there is little attachment to our rule, and no great interest in its stability, there is a general feeling of respect, and a thorough confidence in the integrity of the English character, which, supported by the fidelity of our native troops, forms the chief support of our tenure in India.

5800. You consider that their feelings are at present those of a conquered and degraded people?—I conceive very much so.

5801. Are you of opinion that any improvement in the circumstances of the people has yet been effected by our government?—I am afraid that the nature of our government is not calculated for much improvement. The natives enjoy under our sway more security of property and person, and they suffer less oppression and less exaction than under the native rule. ¶They have generally, also, an incorrupt and impartial administration of justice, though, I am sorry to say, a very tardy and expensive one; but I conceive the degradation already adverted to tends very much to check improvement. The nature of our government is, in fact, adverse to improvement. Its officers from the Court of Directors here, and from the Governor and Council in India, downwards, are constantly fluctuating. Partial and limited experience is no sooner acquired than a change takes place before it can be brought into effectual operation. Plans of improvement are followed for a time, and then relinquished under a new Chairman of the Court of Directors, a new Governor-General, or a new administrator of the revenue; these frequent revolutions, by flood and field, occasion, in my opinion, a vacillation in the administration of affairs extremely injurious to the interests of the community in India.

5442. The Committee have no further question to put to you, but would be glad to know whether there are any suggestions you would make on any topics which have or have not been touched upon?—I am not prepared to offer to the Committee any suggestions further than to recommend, as far as I am able to do, the expediency of making throughout our territories the land assessment as light as the finances of government will admit, but above all to fix the limit of the field assessment, as the only sure means of affording protection to the ryot and providing against mal-administration. ¶And I presume to be the grand secret for the good government and the maintenance of tranquillity in India.

5443. Upon the whole the Committee are to understand that the more you have seen of the natives, the better your opinion of them?—I have always formed a good opinion of the native character generally; I think they will bear an advantageous comparison with the natives of any country in the world.

INDIAN CHARACTER AND SUPERIOR ATTAINMENTS.

Evidence of Major-General SIR L. SMITH, K.C.B.

5481. You have had a great deal of experience, enabling you to know the character of native officers?—I have.

5482. You have had also great means of knowing what European officers have done?—I have.

5483. Speaking of the conduct of both deliberately, what is your opinion of the comparison?—I think, generally speaking, native officers are on all questions of evidence, and certainly in reference to their own customs and laws, infinitely more to be depended upon than European officers.

5600. What is your opinion of the moral character of the natives of India generally?—I think, considering the disadvantages they have been under many years—not those of Bombay, but those above the Ghauts, where they have had formerly a very vicious government—they are a very good people, and in my opinion they have been greatly belied by all those who have written about them.

5601. Are they a cruel people?—By no means; all their chiefs were of rude military habits, which made the body of the people what they were, rude and violent, but they are essentially a good people; and where they have taken to cultivation, they are one of the most quiet, orderly, people I have ever lived amongst. In my own cantonment I had generally before the war upwards of 30,000 followers, and for four years we had only four capital crimes; what the punishments were I do not know, for we sent them to the Peishwa, we had not then any criminal law of our own; I do not believe there are many parts of Europe which could boast of such absence of crime.

5616. What do you think would be the effect on public feeling of giving the natives a power of deciding on the crimes committed by Christians?—I think the Europeans in general at first would be displeased at it. There is a tone, of course in proportion as they are ignorant of the natives, of superior feelings—a superiority which perhaps would make them shrink from coming into close contact with them in the exercise of such duties, but that ought to be done away; and it is to give them a beginning, and make the Europeans come in contact more with the people of the country, that I think the greatest good may be done to the country. They would resist a little, I think, at first; some of them are very haughty, some of them dislike natives, but do that away by bringing them together by law, and one party will feel himself more respectable, and both in the end be satisfied.

5618. Would there be any feeling on the part of Europeans in acting with natives on this service?—Perhaps at first they would object, in proportion as some men find it very difficult to conquer old tastes and prejudices; the greatest fault of Europeans in India is that

they are a little too aristocratical or distant, and keep aloof from the natives, not mixing half enough with them.

5619. Would you have any objection to be tried by a jury of natives?—No, I should not, myself, but I think I am, perhaps, an exception to most.

5624. You have said that the people generally have advanced in knowledge and intelligence during the last few years?—Yes, to a great degree.

5625. Are you speaking of the whole population of the country?—Yes; a school was established in the Deccan before I came away, and I had an immense number of applications to get poor boys in from my native friends, and in Bombay it has been going on for many years, and is on a most beautiful footing on the Lancasterian system.

5626. Do you consider that the people consider themselves degraded by not being admitted into the superior offices?—I think they must feel it.

5627. Is that not likely to increase with their increasing intelligence?—Most decidedly, it must increase.

5628. How is it to be met, if that is so?—Let them participate in the administration of the country, I should say.

5629. Should you say it would be safer for the government of this country to allow that intelligence to increase under that feeling of separation from the English, or to attempt to identify the natives and the English?—I think the first effect of it will certainly be, that it will tend to identify and make the people happy; I think that the ultimate end, when you have succeeded in educating the large proportion of the people, will be that they must find by every amelioration that you can give them, that they are still a distinct and degraded people, and if they can find the means of driving you out of the country they will do it.

5630. Can you prevent their finding out their strength?—I think the circumstance is so unprecedented in the history of man, that a handful of foreigners should continue to govern a country of sixty millions, which is fashionably called the empire of opinion, that the moment you have educated them they must feel that the effect of education will be to do away with all the prejudices of sects and religions by which we have hitherto kept the country—the Mussalmans against Hindoos, and so on; the effect of education will be to expand their minds, and show them their vast power.

5631. Would not the abolition of the existing disqualifications of natives, which they feel to be a degradation, and their participation with Europeans in all the advantages of our civil institutions in India, be a material corrective of such a tendency arising out of education?—For a time, as I have said before, no doubt it will.

¹ A poor Deccani boy from this very region, helped by Mr. J. N. Tata to continue his education at an English university, was bracketed senior wrangler at Cambridge in 1899.

5682. Would it not identify them with British dominion, and give them a common interest in preserving it, which they do not now feel?—To a certain extent it might do so.

5683. Do you not consider that such securities for the attachments of the inhabitants of India would be both more honourable to the country, and more to be permanently depended upon than any other attempts to govern India by keeping its natives in darkness and ignorance?—I would decidedly enlighten them as much as possible; but then you lose the country.

5684. Supposing any rival European Power were to find its way into India, would it not, by holding out the abolition of the existing disqualifications of natives, find the certain means of seducing them from their allegiance to us?—If they can once establish themselves, of course it would depend vastly on the Power; they know there is no European Power like ours likely to conquer the country.

5686. Supposing those disqualifications were removed in time by ourselves, would any inducement remain to the people of India to prefer the dominion of any other European Power?—No, I do not think any European Power could have any influence with them, if we use our power properly, by giving them a participation in the government of the country, and promoting education and civilisation.

5639. If in the progress of time India were to become sufficiently instructed to understand the principles of the Christian religion, and to comprehend the nature of government, such as that which belongs to the British Constitution, is it your opinion that in that state of civilisation India would permit itself for any length of time to be governed by the authority of England?—No, I should say not; taking the history of nations, that they would feel the value of governing themselves; it is human nature, I think, that they should.

5640. Is it not the case that in that state of civilisation which you contemplate as of advantage, the British dominion in India must also be contemplated by you as to cease?—I have expressly said, that I feel the effect of imparting education will be to turn us out of the country.

5641. If that should take place, are you prepared to say that India may not be of more value to us than it now is?—By no means; America has been of more value to us separate than as a colony.

5642. What portion of the population of India is most attached to the British rule, whether the most ignorant or the most intelligent; or, in a word, is there any part of India with which you are acquainted where the attachment to the British Government is so strong as at Bombay?—I should say the most intelligent; I look upon it the people of Bombay, who are intelligent and well educated, have higher expectations from those advantages, and look up to Government with more confidence to derive those advantages; therefore that they must have stronger excitement of loyalty and affection to Government than those who are perfectly ignorant.

5643. Are the Committee to understand your opinion to be, that in proportion as India becomes civilised and instructed, there would be a desire for independence?—I should think there naturally would.

5644. Even if that independence took place, you are not prepared to say that India might not be equally valuable to England as it now is?—Certainly not; there would not be such an outlet for gentlemen's sons for appointments and things of that kind, but I should think the profit of the country would be as great; there would be none of the expense and all the advantages.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY : WHERE DOES INDIA STAND ?

India in a Worse Position To-day than on January 1, 1801.

A Condescension to Particulars :

- (a) Wealth.
- (b) The Poverty of the People.

A Significant Contrast.

- (c) National Industries.
- (d) Government Service.
- (e) Moral, Intellectual, and Spiritual, Position.

Appendix :

How Lascars voyaging to England would suffer moral harm
and India material damage.

‘The arrival in the port of London of Indian produce in Indian-built ships created a sensation among the monopolists which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The shipbuilders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm; they declared that their business was on the point of ruin, and that the families of all the shipwrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation.’—TAYLOR’s *History of India*, p. 216.

1801.
Lord WELLESLEY,
Governor-General.

1901.
Lord CURZON,
Viceroy and Governor-General.

WITH the beginning of a new century it may not be unsuitable to ask and to answer the question contained in the heading to this chapter. So far as the present writer is concerned there can, unhappily, be no hesitation as to what must, of necessity, be the reply. The question cannot, with any approach to

accuracy, be answered save in some such sentence as this :—

India stands in a terribly worse position to-day than that which it occupied when the first dawn of 1801 trembled across the bay of Bengal and flashed upon the hilltops on the north-eastern coast of Hindustan.

It matters not in what direction one looks, so far as the material prosperity of the vast mass of the population goes, the answer must be seriously adverse in comparison with the ancient time. Not now is prosperity, but once was prosperity. In all of a material character that goes to make a prosperous realm, India on January 1, 1901, was a greater number of leagues behind India on January 1, 1801, than I, for one, care to try to count. To finish assertion and to come to facts :—

WEALTH.

One hundred years ago, in spite of the conveyance ('convey, the wise it call,' said Shakspeare) of vast amounts of ill-gotten wealth by civilians and military men and others to England, especially from Bengal and Madras, there was still much accumulated wealth throughout the continent. Other conquerors before us in India settled in the country; what they stole remained in India; they spent it or hoarded it in India. It might be taken from Bengal to Delhi, but much of it found its way back to Bengal, and Bengalis in high office in Delhi had their fair share of what was available. Save in a few historical instances India's treasure was not removed from India, and even what was taken was not extraordinary in amount. Nearly the whole of the wealth remaining in the country a hundred years ago has been so drained away that there is now less of popular pecuniary reserve in India than in any civilised country in the world. During the famine of 1900 so completely had the reserves been exhausted that a large number of very ancient coins found their way into

ALL THE MONEY TO BE REPAID SOME DAY 81

circulation, and, in 1901, were offered to numismatists in London. How terrible the drain has been may be judged by various statements made at divers times. Notable amongst them Montgomery Martin's remarks of nearly seventy years ago. 'The annual drain of £3,000,000 from British India,' he said, 'has mounted in thirty years, at 12 per cent. (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to the enormous sum of £723,900,000 sterling.' From that day to this there has been no cessation in the flow. More: with every year it has increased until the stream which in 1830 was regarded as almost beyond control, has increased tenfold, and has become altogether beyond control. It is true the area drained is larger now than then, but the proportion of wealth annually taken is far greater. During the closing ten years of the nineteenth century it became beyond control, to the extent of involving more than half the cultivators in the Empire in almost irremediable debt;¹ it has turned the moneylender into the real lord and sovereign of India, while twenty millions of patient, suffering, excellent, people have died prematurely from want of food and from the diseases occasioned by privation and from plague. During the last thirty years of the century the average drain cannot have been far short of £30,000,000 per year, or, in the thirty years, £900,000,000, not reckoning interest! Against this great and forcible withdrawal, forcible by economic law in the first instance, by British might in the second, is to be set the money loaned by England to India for warlike purposes and public works, only a small portion of which has been wealth-creating to an appreciable extent, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, and the sum total of which does not compare with the drain to England. And, further, all of it has to be repaid some day. It may, in another chapter, be possible to strike the balance, although only approximately, between the two sides of the account,

¹ In the Bombay Presidency, according to the Maedonnell Famine Commission Report, four-fifths of the cultivators are indebted.

but the very best that can be shown will leave an almost unthinkable deficit on India's side, a deficit only realisable as it may be brought to bear year by year on the existing population, and thus carried to the individual home. The argument applied to the individual Indian will be found developed at greater length elsewhere. Here, it can only be stated in outline. That India is not far from collapse is proved by the frequent famines now prevailing and the ominous fact that although, even in the worst of years—the years 1900 and 1901—enough food was grown to feed the people, the people had not the wherewithal to buy the food which would have kept them alive, and, obtaining which, with their own means, they would have retained their homes and not have lost their families and their few possessions. The present Secretary of State (Lord George Hamilton) has made the expression, that the recent famines are famines of money and not of food, a part of current historical phraseology. It is not, however, an accurate statement, save to a very limited extent. There would not be food enough for all the people, nor anything like food enough, were a favourable response given to the Christian's prayer: 'Give us this day our daily bread.' My information and calculations lead me to express the opinion that if provision were made for as much to be eaten as is needed for health, three-fourths of the country, for at least three months in the year, would be on short rations and many millions of people on none at all. Speaking in general terms, India, at the beginning of this century, has *no working capital*: all her working capital has, under a mistaken system of government, been drained to another country, and she is, in herself, wholly resourceless, as resources go among modern nations. She cannot recuperate herself from herself in existing conditions.

THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

If the foregoing remarks be sustainable, it follows that now there is vastly much more requirement of the

necessaries of life among the people than was the case a hundred years ago. Statistics for 1801, by which an exact comparison can be made, are not available. One of the witnesses at the inquiry which preceded the renewal of the Charter in 1833, said¹:—

‘It may be asked if the labourer of India is placed on a par with the labourer of Europe. In India, within our own provinces, it may be said there is no distress except in times of scarcity; and since we have ensured to the merchant the unrestricted sale of his grain, prices have adapted themselves to the productiveness of the crops, and there has been no scarcity or famine similar to what was known when the grain merchant was forced to sell his grain at whatever price the Government of the country was pleased to dictate. In India the labourer of our provinces has no difficulty in maintaining himself and his family with independence without resorting to the charity of the public, and we know the reverse to be the case in our native country.’

Here, too, are rough means by which the grave decadence of the past twenty years may be apprehended:—

In 1880: ‘There remain forty millions of people who go through life on insufficient food.’—*Sir W. W. Hunter* at Birmingham.

In 1893: The *Pioneer* sums up Mr. Grierson’s facts regarding the various sections of the population in Gaya, and remarks that the conclusion is by no means encouraging. ‘Briefly, it is that all the persons of the labouring classes, and ten per cent. of the cultivating and artisan classes, or forty-five per cent. of the total population, are insufficiently clothed, or insufficiently fed, or both. In Gaya district this would give about a million persons without sufficient means of support. If we assume that the circumstances of Gaya are not exceptional—and there is no reason for thinking otherwise—it follows that nearly one hundred millions* of people in British India

Mr. Wood, p. 580, ‘Affairs of the East India Company,’ 1883 (445-II.).

are living in extreme poverty.' The whole of the article from which this passage is taken is quoted later.

In 1901: 'The poverty and suffering of the people are such as to defy description. In fact, for nearly fifteen years there has been a *continuous famine in India* owing to high prices.' Thus, on May 16, 1901, wrote an Indian Publicist of ripe experience and wide knowledge.

(Since Sir William Hunter's remarks were made the population has increased (or is alleged to have increased) by nearly thirty millions. Meanwhile the income of the Empire has greatly decreased during this period. Wherefore this follows: that if, with the same income, in 1880 forty millions were insufficiently fed, the additional millions cannot have had, cannot now have, enough to eat; this, again, ensues:—

40,000,000 *plus*, say, 30,000,000, make 70,000,000; and there are this number of continually hungry people in British India at the beginning of the twentieth century.

That is my own estimate, made several months ago, and, like all my estimates, is too conservative; for it will have been observed that the *Pioneer*, the ever-ready apologist for British rule in India, eight years ago put the British people who are living in extreme poverty' at one hundred millions.'))

NATIONAL INDUSTRIES.

These have been ruthlessly destroyed, and, during the earlier part of the century, destroyed without any pretence at concealment of the circumstance that English industries were to be benefited by the destruction. The passage quoted at the head of this chapter furnishes a notable illustration. A hundred years ago shipbuilding was in so excellent a condition in India that ships could be (and were) built which sailed to the Thames in company with British-built ships and under the convoy of British frigates. The Governor-General in 1800, reporting to his masters in Leadenhall Street, London,

said : 'The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England.'¹ The teakwood vessels of Bombay were greatly superior to the 'oaken walls of old England.' Let note be taken of this testimony² :—

It is certain that our present policy prevents us availing ourselves of all the advantages which our Indian possessions are capable of producing. Perhaps the time is not yet arrived when this question can be calmly, impartially, and without prejudice, discussed. Nations are slower than individuals in ascertaining their real interests, and it is only lately, notwithstanding that we have acknowledged the scarcity of timber at home for shipbuilding, that we have endeavoured to avail ourselves of the valuable productions of the forests of India.

In Bombay alone, two ships of the line, or one ship and two frigates, can be produced to the British navy every eighteen months. The docks at Bombay are capable of containing ships of any force.

Situated as Bombay is, between the forests of Malabar and Gujarat, she receives supplies of timber with every wind that blows. Flax of a good quality is also the produce of our territories in India. It is calculated that every ship in the navy of Great Britain is renewed every twelve years. It is well known that teakwood-built ships last fifty years and upwards. Many ships Bombay-built, after running fourteen or fifteen years, have been bought into the navy and were considered as strong as ever. The *Sir Edward Hughes* performed, I believe, eight voyages as an Indiaman before she was purchased for the navy. No Europe-built Indiaman is capable of going more than six voyages with safety.

Ships built at Bombay also are executed by one-fourth cheaper than in the docks of England.

Let the result of these observations be reduced to calculation, and the advantages will be evident.

Every eighteen months two ships-of-the-line can be added to the British navy, four in three years, and in fifteen years twenty ships-of-the-line. Thus in fifteen years we should be in possession of a fleet

¹ Again : 'From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the art of shipbuilding has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress, and supported by abundant and increasing supplies of timber), it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage, to whatever extent may be required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal.'—*Lord Wellesley*, in 1800.

² 'Considerations on the Affairs of India, written in the year 1811,' by Lieutenant-Colonel A. Walker. H. L., 1858 (445-VI.), p. 316.

which would last fifty years. The English-built ships requiring to be renewed every twelve years, the expense is quadruple. Suppose, therefore, a ship built in England to cost £100, in fifty years it would cost £400, but as a ship of equal force to last the same period would cost in India only £75 of the sum, the difference in favour of India-built ships would be £325 per cent.

Say that a ship-of-the-line in its original cost is £100,000.

	£
Four times renewed	400,000
A Bombay ship... ..	75,000
Saving	<u>£325,000</u>

This calculation is excessive, but it is chosen to show how much may be saved, even although one-half may be erroneous.

Were it not for our numerous captures we should probably have had some difficulty in keeping our navy complete. Has it been found that the number of prizes brought into our ports has diminished the demand for our own ships; or has it had the effect of producing any of those consequences which jealousy imputes to our Indian-built shipping?

The docks that have recently been constructed at Bombay, under the superintendence of Major Cooper of the Engineers, are elegant specimens of architecture, and excite universal admiration. They are capable of containing vessels of any force.

In Bengal, Prince of Wales Island, and other maritime stations, excellent ships may be constructed, and the number may be increased to a much greater extent than the above estimate; but the estimate has been purposely confined to Bombay, which is furnished with docks, and the ships are there constructed with more advantage than anywhere else; and it is our grand naval arsenal in India.

Of course no heed was given to such wise counsel. Nor, were opportunity to offer for India to-day to render like service to the Empire at large, would it receive any greater favour.

To mention the above is to show, as by a lightning flash on a dark night, how far, industrially, with the sole exception of the spinning and weaving of cotton by steam machinery in Bombay, the India of Lord Curzon is behind the India of Lord Wellesley. As, again and again, I have wandered through the records of obscure administration in India during the past century, growing more and more woeful as instance upon instance forced

upon me the unteachability of the Anglo-Indian civilian, scarcely anything has struck me more forcibly than the manner in which the Mistress of the Seas in the Western World has stricken to death the Mistress of the Seas in the East. Statistics for the beginning of the century are not available—to me at least; I can only learn about India that which is permitted to appear in Blue Books and in works written about India—official generally. But from the Statistical Abstracts I gather these significant facts :—

	1857.	Vessels.	Tonnage
Indian	(entered and cleared)...	34,286	1,219,958
British and British-Indian	„ ...	59,441	2,475,472
	1898-99.		
Indian	(entered and cleared)...	2,302	133,033
British and British-Indian	„ ...	6,219	7,685,009
Foreign	1,165	1,297,604

That is to say, the Indian tonnage in 1898-99, compared with British and foreign in 1857, is one-seventieth of the whole trade now against one-half then. And, from Mr. O'Connor's report on the trade of India for 1899-1900, which carries the figures a year later than the above, I take the following funereal comment on the extinction of Indian shipping :—

Native craft continues to decline :—

	No.	Tons.
1898-99	2,302	133,033
1899-1900	1,676	109,813

As for Indian manufactures generally, on the theories prevalent early in the nineteenth century, they were deliberately throttled. The circumstance that the British authorities acted in accordance with the teaching of the times is a plea which is barred by the principle on which we held the country. The story I am about to tell throws a curious light on our frequent professions that we remain in India for the good of the Indian people first, and for any benefit to ourselves next. ' No Govern-

ment ever manifested, perhaps, a more constant solicitude to promote the welfare of a people; and it is with satisfaction and with pride that I can bear an almost unqualified testimony in its favour.' Thus Mr. St. George Tucker, a Director of the East India Company, who, immediately, proceeds to make his own eulogy ridiculous by substituting a statement of fact for a flight of fancy. He said:—

On the other hand, what is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country in relation with India? The silk manufactures, and its piece goods made of silk and cotton intermixed, have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and, of late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent., but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics which heretofore constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions.¹

We compelled India to take our goods either with no import, or with a merely nominal import, duty. How we treated Indian articles appears from what Mr. Tucker says in the preceding paragraph, but the testimony of Mr. Rickards,² may be cited. He remarks:—

The duties on many articles of East India produce are also enormously high, apparently rated on no fixed principle, and without regard to market price. For example:—

Aloes, subject to a duty of from 70 to 280 per cent.			
Assafoetida	„	233 „	622 „
Cardamoms	„	150 „	266 „
Coffee	„	105 „	373 „
Pepper	„	266 „	400 „
Sugar	„	94 „	393 „
Tea	„	6 „	100 „

. . . The rates of duty imposed on Indian imports into Britain, when compared with the exemption from duty of British staples into India (cotton goods being subject to a duty of only 2½ per cent.), constitute an important feature in the present question. Indians

¹ From a letter to Mr. Huskisson, written in 1823. 'Memorials of Indian Government.' Richard Bentley, 1853, p. 494.

² Report Select Committee, East India Company, 1831. Appendix, p. 581.

within the Company's jurisdiction, like English, Scotch, or Irish, are equally subjects of the British Government. To make invidious distinctions, favouring one class but oppressing another, all being subjects of the same empire, cannot be reconciled with the principles of justice; and whilst British imports into India are thus so highly favoured, I know that Indo-British subjects feel it a great grievance that their commodities when imported into England should be so enormously taxed.

The following charges on cotton manufactures in 1813 are significant :—

Flowered or stitched muslins of white calicoes	£	s.	d.
(for every £100 of value)	32	9	2
And further ditto ditto	11	17	6
Calicoes and dimities ditto	81	2	11
And further ditto	3	19	2
Cotton, raw (per 100 lbs.)	0	16	11
Cotton, manufactured ditto... ..	81	2	11
Articles of manufacture of cotton, wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with duty (for every £100 of value)	32	9	2
Hair or goat's wool, manufactures of, per cent....	84	6	3
Lacquered ware, per cent.	81	2	11
Mats and matting, per cent.	84	6	3
Oil of Aniseed, per cent.	84	6	3
Oil of Cocconut, per ton	84	8	3
Tea, in 1814, custom and excise	96	0	0

These burdensome charges were subsequently removed, but only after the export trade in them had, temporarily or permanently, been destroyed. The manufacturing industries which have been established during the century will be found described in some detail in the chapter on The Resources of India—Who Possess Them? When, however, all has been considered and allowed for, it remains that, practically, in the clash of machinery in the million and more of the world's workshops to-day there is no contributing sound from India, a British country. One-fifth of the people of the world, in an age of mechanical production, take no recognisable part in manufacture by machinery. Once they occupied a respectable manufacturing and exporting position; now they have no posi-

tion as such save in the Western Presidency, and there side by side with the most poverty-stricken of all the agricultural regions in India.

GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

In 1801 a large part of India had not come under British domination: it was not indeed until nearly fifty years later that the Lawrences and others of their day began the 'settlement' of the region of the Five Rivers. With what disastrous result a previous 'settlement' in the North-Western Provinces was arranged the *Pioneer's* description of the settlement of Gurgaon by John Lawrence will tell.¹ A hundred years ago the many Indian Courts provided positions of influence, honour, emolument, which gave scope to the proper ambition of thousands of able men, benefited tens of thousands of families, and produced, by the lavish expenditure of the resources of the country *in the country*, a widespread prosperity and personal contentment. Wars, it is true, now and then occurred; acts of rapine and cruelty were not unknown. But for ten persons affected by such incidents ten thousand persons were unaffected, while variety of service and occupation were open in a vast number of directions; these, by the opportunities they provided, more than counter-balanced the injustice which was but occasional. In all parts of their own land, save that already under British domination, Indians of a

¹ Gurgaon was, in 1877, a district with nearly 700,000 inhabitants.

From 1837 (Lord Lawrence—then Mr. Lawrence—being Settlement Officer) the district has been steadily rack-rented.

In 1877 the rents were raised.

Rains failed, crops were ruined, the Government demand was nevertheless exacted, with these consequences, as officially admitted:—

At the end of five years it was found that 80,000 people had died; 150,000 head of cattle had perished; 2,000,000 rupees of debt, to pay the Government rents, incurred; the people were emaciated, and unable to reap a good crop when it came.

Mr. S. S. Thorburn, ex-Commissioner in the Panjab, says the first effect of the British occupation of the Panjab was over-assessment, and, referring specially to Gurgaon, remarks, 'at first ignorantly over-assessed by us.'

hundred years ago could become that for which their personal bravery and intellectual acumen fitted them. Every civilised country requires a certain number of high officials: where now Europeans occupy important positions, Indians were then at the top of the tree.¹ In a phrase,

¹ In 'Asia and Europe,' by Meredith Townsend, published by Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., Westminster, the following observations on this point occur:—

'It is the active classes who have to be considered, and to them our rule is not, and cannot be, a rule without prodigious drawbacks. One of these, of which they are fully conscious, is the gradual decay of much of which they were proud, the slow death, which even the Europeans perceive, of Indian art, Indian culture, Indian military spirit. Architecture, engineering, literary skill, are all perishing out, so perishing that Anglo-Indians doubt whether Indians have the capacity to be architects, though they built Benares; or engineers, though they dug the artificial lakes of Tanjore; or poets, though the people sit for hours or days listening to rhapsodists as they recite poems, which move them as Tennyson certainly does not move our common people. Another is, that the price of what they think imperfect justice is that they shall never right themselves, never enjoy the luxury of vengeance, never even protect their personal dignity and honour, about which they are as sensitive as Prussian officers. They may not even kill their wives for going astray. And the last and greatest one of all is the total loss of the interestingness of life.

'It would be hard to explain to the average Englishman how interesting Indian life must have been before our advent; how completely open was every career to the bold, the enterprising, or the ambitious. The whole continent was open as a prize to the strong. Nothing was settled in fact or in opinion except that the descendants of Timour the Lame were entitled to any kind of ascendancy they could get and keep. No one not of the great Tartar's blood pretended to the universal throne, but with that exception every prize was open to any man who had in himself the needful force. Scores of sub-thrones were, so to speak, in the market. A brigand, for Sivajee was no better, became a mighty sovereign. A herdsman built a monarchy in Baroda. A body-servant founded the dynasty of Scindia. A corporal cut his way to the independent crown of Mysore. The first Nizam was only an officer of the Emperor. Runjeet Singh's father was what Europeans would call a prefect. There were literally hundreds who founded principalities, thousands of their potential rivals, thousands more who succeeded a little less grandly, conquered estates, or became high officers under the new princes. Each of these men had his own character and his own renown among his countrymen, and each enjoyed a position such as is now unattainable in Europe, in which he was released from law, could indulge his own fancies, bad or good, and was fed every day and all day with the special flattery of Asia—that willing submissiveness to mere volition which is so like adoration, and which is to its recipients the most intoxicating of delights. Each, too, had his court of followers, and every courtier shared in the power, the luxury, and the adulation accruing to his

the measure of Indian degradation now, as compared with then, may be thus expressed :—

Not one Indian, during a whole century, has occupied a seat in the Supreme, or Presidency, or Provincial, Executive Councils, nor in the Secretary of State's Council in England.

It is true there has only been an average of about one hundred and fifty millions of people in British India

lord. The power was that of life and death; the luxury included possession of every woman he desired; the adulation was, as I have said, almost religious worship. Life was full of dramatic changes. The aspirant who pleased a great man rose to fortune at a bound. The adventurer whose band performed an act of daring was on his road to be a satrap. Any one who could do anything for "the State"—that is for any ruler—build a temple, or furnish an army with supplies, or dig a tank, or lend gold to the Court, became at once a great man, honoured of all classes, practically exempt from law, and able to influence the great current of affairs. Even the timid had the chance, and, as Finance Minister, farmers of taxes, controllers of religious establishments, found for themselves great places in the land. For all this which we have extinguished we offer nothing in return, nor can we offer anything. We can give place, and, for reasons stated elsewhere, it will be greedily accepted, but place is not power under our system, nor can we give what an Asiatic considers power—the right to make volition executive; the right to crush an enemy and reward a friend; the right, above all, to be free from that burden of external laws, moral duties, and responsibilities to others with which Europeans have loaded life. We cannot even let a Viceroy be the ultimate appellate court, and right any legal wrong by supreme fiat—a failure which seems to Indians, who think the Sovereign should represent God, to impair even our moral claim to rule. This interestingness of life was no doubt purchased at the price of much danger and suffering. The Sovereign, the favourite, or the noble, could cast down as easily as they raised up, and intrigue against the successful never ended. The land was full of violence. Private war was universal. The great protected themselves against assassination as vigilantly as the Russian Emperor does. The danger from invasion, insurrection, and, above all, mutiny, never ended. I question, however, if these circumstances were even considered drawbacks. They were not so considered by the upper classes of Europe in the Middle Ages, and those upper classes were not tranquilised, like their rivals in India, by a sincere belief in fate. I do not find that Texans hate the wild life of Texas, or that Spanish-speaking Americans think the personal security which the dominance of the English-speaking Americans would assure to them is any compensation for loss of independence. I firmly believe that to the immense majority of the active classes of India the old time was a happy time; that they dislike our rule as much for the leaden order it produces as for its foreign character; and they would welcome a return of the old disorders if they brought back with them the old vividness, and, so to speak, romance of life.

throughout this period, and that number of human beings MAY never have produced one man fit for such a position anywhere in the world. Yet, in the Feudatory States—so far as Residential control would permit, which was not very far—some of the finest administrators of the century in any country have arisen, men who may be matched, so far as opportunity served, with the leading statesmen of any European country or the United States of America. The men to whom I refer, with a very few exceptions, were subordinate officers in the British service, and, but for the chance given by the Feudatory States, would never have risen higher than a Deputy Collectorship. In Sir Salar Jung, Sir Madhava Row, Sir Dinkar Row, Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar, and many other Indian administrators, were found instruments which in the old days of faith (days now, alas! destroyed for Anglo-Saxondom by Imperialism so-called) would have been regarded as Providential provisions to solve the difficulties in the way of a true and righteous government of India. Compare Sir Salar Jung's administration with that of the British Provinces. As against the interference of the Resident and the friction caused by the retention of the Berars, (although each of the articles of the treaty had been or would be complied with—powerful hindrances these to successful work—) must be placed the force of one mind continuously acting towards a given end. This gave Sir Salar Jung and all other native-Indian statesmen, in their respective spheres, a power the greatness of which may easily be overlooked. What Lord Salisbury has said of the rule of India in its higher ranks, that it was 'a government of incessant changes'—('It is,' he added, 'the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years')—may be said also of British rule in little. After making full allowance for continuity of policy, Sir Salar Jung's achievements rank before those of any administrator with like duties and opportunities which India has known. 'Take this series of comparisons prepared by me sixteen years ago:—

GROSS LAND REVENUE COLLECTED.

<i>The Nizam's Dominions.</i>		<i>The British Indian Empire.</i>	
	Rs.		£
Collected in 1853 ...	64,85,098	Collected in 1853 ...	16,190,000
„ in 1881 ...	1,88,40,861	„ in 1881 ...	21,860,000
Increase	<u>Rs.1,18,55,763</u>	Increase	<u>£5,650,000</u>
Percentage of increase	260 per cent.	Percentage of increase	less than 25 per cent.

INCREASE OF REVENUE.

Sir Salar Jung's last year of office compared with his first shows :—

1853.	Rs.	1881-82.	Rs.
Total revenue	68,01,130	Total revenue	3,11,40,588

Or an increase of 357·84 per cent. This was the result of unremitting care and consideration, combined with the exercise of the often disunited qualities of prudence and stonewall firmness.' In this unique combination of qualities the late Sir Salar Jung stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries—Anglo-Indian and Indian.

COST OF COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS REVENUE.

<i>The Nizam's Dominions.</i>		<i>The Berars.¹</i>	
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Average per cent.	6 7 3	Average per cent. ...	45 14 5

Or seven times higher!

REVENUE COMPARISONS.

<i>The Nizam's Dominions.</i>		<i>The British Indian Empire.</i>	
	Rs.		£
Revenue in 1853 ...	68,01,130	Revenue in 1853	28,610,000
„ in 1881 ...	3,11,40,658	„ in 1881	68,870,000
Increase	<u>Rs.2,43,39,528</u>	Increase	<u>£39,760,000</u>
Increase nearly	357·84 per cent.	Increase	230 per cent.

¹ The condition in H.H.'s districts and in the Berars are exactly the same, or should be, seeing the territories join each other. The expensive administration of the Berars, and the consequent withholding of profit revenues from the Nizam, has long been known to all acquainted with Indian affairs. It is a transaction which, if it were the other way about, would draw from English public men comments concerning 'oriental perfidy' which would be unparliamentary in their vigour.

It will probably be said that Sir Salar Jung did all this so well because he followed the British plan. Granted. I am not contending for the overthrow of British rule, but for its being remodelled in such a way as may bring satisfaction to the Indian mind and prosperity to the country. What denial of service has meant in the loss to India of men who could wisely and well have administered her affairs may be judged by what Ranjitsinghi has done in cricket against the best batsmen of England and Australia; by what Paranjpe, Balak Ram, Chatterjee, and the brothers Cama have done at Cambridge University against intellectual athletes from all parts of Britain; by what Professor Bose is now doing in electrical science, and Dr. Mullick in medical practice. There may be a few Indian judges in the High Courts of India—not a dozen in all—and a couple of score great Indian pleaders, here and there an Indian Collector, and one solitary Commissioner in Bengal; but they are as naught in number compared with what their numbers should have been and would have been under a rational and fair system of government. Great work has been done by Indians; but it has been in Feudatory States and in England where a chance, denied to them in their own land, was open to them. Given fair-play, Indian administrators would, in their way, and so far as circumstances permitted, have become the equals of Bismarck, of Cavour, of Gortschakoff, of Gladstone, or of Disraeli.

Sir John Malcolm, in his day, warned the authorities of the mingled folly and injustice of the course they had then too long adopted. As usual, the words of three generations ago possess an application as great now as they ever did. 'There are reasons,' said Sir John Malcolm (or supposed reasons, let me interpolate) 'why, as foreign rulers, we cannot elevate the natives of India to a level with their conquerors. We are compelled by policy to limit their ambition, both in the civil government and in the army, to inferior grades, but this

necessity constitutes, in my opinion, the strongest of reasons for granting them all that we can with safety. Their vanity and love of distinction are excessive, and a politic gratification of such feelings may be made a powerful means of creating and preserving a native aristocracy worthy of the name, and exciting to honourable action men whom a contrary system must degrade in their own estimation and in that of the community, and who, instead of being the most efficient of all ranks to preserve order, and give dignity to the society to which they belong, and strength to the Government to which they owe allegiance, are depressed by our levelling system into a useless and discontented class. Many, judging from results, ascribe it to the want of virtue and good feeling, and to rooted discontent in this class, what appears to me to be distinctly attributable to our conduct as rulers. We shape our system to suit our own ideas. The constitution of our Government requires in all its branches an efficient check and regularity; but in our attention to forms and routine we too often forget the most essential maxims of State policy, and every deviation is arraigned that disturbs the uniform usage of our affairs in courts of justice. No motives suited to their prejudices and habits are supplied to awaken the inert to action, to kindle the embers of virtue, or to excite an honourable ambition among our native subjects. Yet pursuing this system, our record teems with eulogies on the excellences of our establishments, and the degeneracy of all, and particularly the higher classes of India, whom, in the case before me, it is desired (from no cause that I can understand but rigid adherence to system) to exclude from a few unimportant privileges, which, though little more than a shadow of distinction, are sought for with an eagerness that shows singularly the character of the community, and confirms me in the belief I have long entertained, that by our neglect in conciliating and honouring the higher and more respectable class of our native subjects, we cast away the most powerful means we possess

of promoting the prosperity and permanence of the Empire.'

MORAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND SPIRITUAL POSITION.

In this region there cannot be any proper comparison, only a summing-up as to how India, with all her demerits, ranks among the world's peoples during this eventful century. May an Englishman, without shame, ask the question? The natural abilities of the Indian people being what they are, their inheritance of military courage, of administrative ability, of spiritual insight and saintly living, being of so varied and remarkable a character as they are, what has India to show in the array of the world's great men of the nineteenth century? This is her record:—

That is all. 'But,' asserts the reader, 'that is nothing.'

True; it is nothing. India has furnished no commanding intellect in the department of human service which may be denominated moral, intellectual, and spiritual, which may rank with those in Europe and America whose names are known the world over. The sole reason for this is that there is no scope for such development in their own country. The 'pousta' has worked too effectually. In the words of Mr. Thackeray, quoted in the preceding chapter, everything which would produce sages, statesmen, heroes, has been 'suppressed.' To-day we are shocked at such remarks as Mr. Thackeray's—and go on doing exactly what the remarks recommend. Yet India's people, as Lord George Hamilton never tires of

'Page 360, Appendix to Report from Select Committee, East India Company, 1858. Minute of Sir John Malcolm, November 30, 1830.

telling us, number one-fifth of the population of the globe. On an appropriate stage the late Mr. Justice Ranade would, for his goodness and his great character, have moved the admiration of all mankind. Only in spiritual things has India made any show at all. Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Rama Krishna, Bengalis to a man, to mention spiritual workers only who have passed away, who are known everywhere and who are honoured as amongst humanity's noblest spiritual teachers. What are these amongst so many? What, especially, are they in a land which contains more real spirituality than, maybe, all the rest of the world put together? Opportunity has been denied to India to show her vast superiority in this or in any other respect. When Europe produced a Martin Luther she gave the world a religious reformer. At the same period India produced her religious hero: he was an Avatar of the Eternal, and is to-day worshipped by vast numbers of devout men and women as The Lord Gauranga. During the last century the finest fruit of British intellectual eminence was, probably, to be found in Robert Browning and John Ruskin. Yet they are mere gropers in the dark compared with the uncultured and illiterate Rama Krishna, of Bengal, who, knowing naught of what we term 'learning,' spake as no other man of his age spoke, and revealed God to weary mortals.

Why is India, spiritually, so little recognised, and the world, as a consequence, deprived of the advantage which the recognition would bring? Chiefly, I think, because of the existence of the Societies for the Conversion of the Heathen to Christianity. While Christian missions are sent by all the Churches to India it will be impossible for more than a select few to realise that Indian spirituality may as assuredly be an expression of the Divine Essence as are the faith and good works of pious men in the West who believe that the Holy Spirit of God is an abiding and helpful influence to them in all their thought and action. As a hindrance to their proper recognition as men of

character and often of noble life, the Christian Missionary Societies of England interested in India have done the Indian people almost irremediable mischief.

In one respect there is much that is common to the two time periods, 1801 and 1901, offering themselves for comment. It was not merely for effect that I put at the head of this chapter in juxtaposition the names of Lord Wellesley and Lord Curzon, though a comparison of these rulers of India would not be unworthy to either. Making allowances for the different circumstances of the different periods, both noblemen go about their work in much the same spirit: each was confronted by a harder task than even whole-hearted devotion to his sense of duty and desire to serve India and England could, apparently, perform, and greater than any predecessor had to contend with. The one aimed to bring all India under British rule; the other is endeavouring to grapple with an accumulation of adverse circumstances which has grown Himalaya-high without the officials, in the past, including Lord Curzon himself as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of India, recognising what was going on, and quite contrary to what they all believed would happen. Each of the statesmen grapples with the situation before him in a broad-minded spirit. If anything, the ancient ruler was the more courageous. For, so far, Lord Curzon, brave as he is, has done nothing so great as was Lord Wellesley's beginning of the education of the Indian people. The English had been in touch with India for one hundred and sixty years, and in supreme power for thirty years in Bengal, for many more years in Madras. It was high time something was done for education. Lord Wellesley, to his lasting credit, made a beginning. Yet fifty-three more years passed, and there was then only one English school in the oldest Presidency—that of Madras. As to-day an organ of Anglo-Indian opinion, generally most loyal to the Raj, blind sometimes in its

devotion, does not hesitate to say of Lord Curzon that he is 'inclined to take too much upon himself,' that he 'is breaking with English traditions,' while he is derisively and sneeringly informed that 'the British have not conquered India in order that, in the fulness of time, Lord Curzon might be a Viceroy,' and further, that having two enemies in himself, he is on the way to making more enemies—so Lord Wellesley was subjected, in the Court of Directors and elsewhere, to like criticism, and was saved from penal discipline by the Board of Control as Lord Curzon may be saved by the devotion of the people whose best interests he seems desirous to appreciate and to serve.

As the round circle of the century's years comes once more to a beginning, that which hath been is now again passing before our eyes, and he who would measure its effect and forecast its consequences may learn much by looking backward over the long course of years since 1801.

APPENDIX.

In opposing the employment of Indian-built ships in the trade between England and India, the Court of Directors employed an argument which, in some of its terms, sounds very curious at the present time when so many Lascars are employed by all the great lines of steamers running to the East. After reciting other reasons against shipbuilding and ship-manning in India, the Court, writing from East India House on the 27th of January, 1801, said :—

'XVII. Besides these objections which apply to the measure generally, there is one that lies particularly against ships whose voyages commence from India, that they will usually be manned in great part with Lascars or Indian sailors. Men of that race are not by their physical frame and constitution fitted for the navigation of cold and boisterous latitudes ; their nature and habits are formed to a warm climate, and short and easy voyages performed within the

sphere of the periodical winds ; they have not strength enough of mind or body to encounter the hardships or perils to which ships are liable in the long and various navigation between India and Europe, especially in the winter storms of our Northern Seas ; nor have they the courage which can be relied on for steady defence against an enemy. To have any considerable portion of the Property and Trade of this country, therefore, dependent on the energy of men of this stamp unless on the coasts of India, where they are less exposed to dangers, cannot be advisable : Yet on the employment of Indian sailors the chief freight of Indian ships seem naturally to turn : for if these ships, rigged and fitted out as they are with stores chiefly brought from Europe, were manned with Europeans, receiving wages far higher, and provisioned at a much greater cost than Lascars, it does not appear how they could be afforded at a lower rate of freight than British bottoms. But this is not all. The native sailors of India, who are chiefly Mahomedans, are, to the disgrace of our national morals, on their arrival here, led into scenes which soon divest them of the respect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character : they are robbed of their little property, and left to wander, ragged and destitute, in the streets ; a sight that, whilst it wounds peculiarly the feelings of men connected with India and the Company, raises both the compassion and indignation of the Public ; the one in favour of those miserable objects, the other against the Company, as if they had drawn the poor creatures into such a state of suffering, or neglected them in it ; when in fact, though individuals bring them home, the Company are at great pains and expense to collect, maintain, and return them ; but such are the bad habits they acquire, that they often escape from the houses where the Company have them lodged and provided for, and take to a mendicant state for the chance of obtaining from the pity of passengers new means of vicious indulgence. From causes of this nature, and from the severity of our winters, not a few have lost their lives or become incapable of further service. On the Continent of Europe, and even in America, where some of these Lascars are also now carried, they have no protector as here, and their case must be still more deplorable ; so that, instead of a larger introduction into the Western world of this feeble race, it is very seriously to be wished, that before their numbers are thinned by fatigue, climate, or disease, some means were devised for preventing them from leaving their own seas.

‘ The contemptuous reports which they disseminate on their return, cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of our Asiatic subjects, whose reverence for our character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our supremacy in the East (a reverence in part inspired by what they have at a distance seen among a comparatively small society, mostly of the better ranks, in India) will be gradually changed for most degrading conceptions ; and

if an indignant apprehension of having hitherto rated us too highly or respected us too much, should once possess them, the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental.

‘ From the waste of life and other losses attending the employment of this class of sailors, perhaps it may appear at length necessary to resort to European Mariners ; these, in such case, will flock in great numbers to India ; and hence it may be expected that colonisation will be accelerated there. Indeed the return of peace might call for this substitution of British seamen, many of whom must have to seek employment in the Merchants’ Service ; and no British heart would wish that any of the brave men who had merited so much of their country, should be without bread whilst natives of the East brought ships belonging to our own subjects into our ports. Considered, therefore, in a physical, moral, commercial, and political, view, the apparent consequences of admitting these Indian sailors largely into our navigation, form a strong additional objection to the concession of the proposed privilege to any ships manned by them.’¹

¹ Appendix, No. 47.—Supplement to Fourth Report, East India Company, pp. 23–24.

CHAPTER III

WHOSE IS THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL WEALTH OF INDIA ?

A Detailed Inquiry concerning—

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| 1. The Fields. | 8. Railways. |
| 2. The Cattle. | 9. Irrigation Works. |
| 3. The Forests. | 10. Shipping. |
| 4. Minerals. | 11. Civil Service. |
| 5. Fisheries. | 12. Military. |
| 6. Manufactures. | 13. Learned Professions. |
| 7. Joint Stock Enterprises. | |

British Lower Middle Class Savings Contrasted with Indian
Total Income.

When Lord Clive entered Murshidabad, the old capital of Bengal, in 1757, he wrote of it: 'This city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the City of London, with this difference—that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last City.'

IF, it has been remarked to the present writer, 'you say the Indian people are growing poorer, whose is the huge trade, whose the wealth, we see on every hand, at every port we touch at in India, in every big town through which we go?'

A very proper question, and one which, as a British patriot, jealous for the good name of Britain and for the beneficial results of British rule, I am compelled to answer, not with pride and rejoicing but with pain and sorrow.

India's wealth to-day consists of her fields, her cattle, her forests, her minerals, her fisheries, her shipping, her