last October by patrols of British Cavalry and Horse Artillery.

In itself this Arrah disturbance has clearly no "political" significance whatever. It was an eruption of a hostility which is always ready to break out, opportunity offering; but a combination among villagers on such scale —some of the mobs are said to have numbered thousands—points to the existence of a general belief that the hold of British authority is relaxing.* Probably this belief has been

* This view of the case is confirmed by the reports of the trials still arriving from India. Thus in one case, known as the Bazidpur riot, which came before the Gaya Tribunal, Counsel for the Crown in his opening said: "This riot was led by the Babu of Narga, otherwise known as Sheonandan Singh. This young man, as the evidence would show, was a man of considerable *zemindari* and very highly connected. He was on horseback leading the mob. He was made to believe by some Hindu pandits that he was destined to be the Raja of the Province of Behar, and with this he started on the work of leading the rioters. This idea originated under a misconception that the Government was weakening, and that this was a most opportune time to terrorise the Mahomedans." To illustrate the seriousness of the riots a quotation may be added from the judgment of the Court in the Mauna case, one of those which came before the Arrah Tribunal.

The Commissioners, in their judgment, say: "The

implanted in the rural mind by the tall talk of agitators; partly, too, it may have arisen from vague impressions of the success of the political agitation itself as measured by the rumours of concessions, which the countryside would attribute to anything rather than such an incomprehensible cause as the democratic sentiment. But whenever the peasantry get to think that they have a free hand, they will set about working off their own grievances in their own way—debtor

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attack on Mauna is a grim and moving story. The isolated position of this Mahomedan village, the distribution of *patias* inciting to its loot, the determination of the Mahomedans to resist, the erection of barricades, the five hours' battle, in the course of which the thousands of Hindus were more than once repulsed by the defenders, the subsequent murders, rape, arson, sacrilege, and loot—it was difficult to imagine that scenes like this had recently taken place in the peaceful district of Shahabad without the slightest justification or provocation. Mauna is a village inhabited almost entirely by Mahomedans, some of whom are the maliks of the village and are men of position. Many of the witnesses were of a different class from those in the previous cases which had come before us. They were obviously, both from their physique and bearing, Mahomedans of a superior class. It was, no doubt, due to this circumstance—namely, that they had among them real leaders—that such a well-designed and desperate defence was made."

against moneylender, tenant against landholder, Mahomedan against Hindu, or *vice versa*. So they did in the Mutiny, and so they will act again if they get the chance; and the lesson of the Behar riots is that after a few years of a Delhi Parliament, supported by indigenous official agency, the country people might be found to have become a very different set of beings from the *rayats* of the present day, whose docility we are apt to take for granted. In fact, it may be said in all seriousness that if the British could withdraw absolutely from India, having secured from the League of Nations an understanding that no other Power should attempt to take its place, the earliest result would be that the new Government would find itself faced with a turbulent population quite beyond its capacities of management. This consideration is not one to occur to the democratic reformer, but it is one that should be duly pondered by John Bull before he signs the deed of transfer.

For the moment, however, the Behar commotion, followed by a disturbance which occurred soon after at Allahabad on the occasion of the Mohurram procession, which

was only kept under by elaborate and timely precautions, has had a direct bearing on the political situation. The Mahomedan community, outraged in its sentiments and alarmed, has very generally repudiated the All-India Moslem League—which, in spite of its big name, has a small basis—and its compact with the Congress, and Mahomedan gatherings are being reported at the time of writing from all over India to insist on the separate standing of their community, and the necessity of supranumerical provisions and guarantees in order that it may be assured of justice. Add to this the memorials with which Mr. Montagu is being plied by sectional interests, from the Talukdars (Barons) of Oudh downwards, demanding that their several parties must receive very special consideration in any fair scheme of representation, and it will be seen that his *Veni, vidi, vici*, is not such a simple affair.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROPOSED REMEDY

THE situation as it now presents itself may well be judged as an extraordinary one. A scheme of reforms evidently of the most far-reaching and incalculable effect is being thrust upon the public with every suggestion of some extreme urgency. In any ordinary circumstances the existence of the war would have been sufficient reason for postponing the introduction of measures of this character till a season more suitable for deliberation; but these, it appears, must come before the smoke of the cannon has blown away. The reason can only be that those in authority suppose that the discontent in India is too serious to allow of an instant's delay in the application of the remedy; and when the remedy is looked at it is only another brew of the very drugs that have produced the present unlikeable symptoms—the same prescription, but a stronger dose. What an admission of inefficacy in the past, what a dismal omen for

future persistence in the same line of endeavour! This need for tranquillising concessions with which Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu are so urgently impressed, does it arise out of popular indignation at the shortcomings of the Government or a popular yearning after another kind of government? There is no sort of doubt that no need lies here. The Government of India has its defects, of course, but it has been hitherto a very excellent Government, full of the spirit of improvement, high-motived, just and efficient, at any rate to a degree which is far beyond the critical faculties of its subjects. The Legislative Councillor of the Viceroy's Council finds practically no fault with what it does; the unending stream of disapproval and vituperation in the Press contains a minimum of suggestions for improvement. In candid moments it is admitted that the only fault of the Government is that it is not a Government of the people; but as a Government of the people of India does not stand analysis, the favourite reproach against the existing system is that of being a bureaucracy. This villainous compound has been adopted by the Indian publicist as an advanced term of reproach, and when he calls the Government

by that name and upbraids its members as bureaucrats, it is with the air of one who has left the accused without answer or extenuation. But at the same time, if we follow the speaker and his school into particulars, we shall find that his most prominent demands are for larger Executive Councils with more Indian members; he calls for more Indian secretaries, more Indian magistrates, more Indian Civilians in all capacities, and more Indians in every department of the Administration, until in the golden age, more or less approximate according to the colour of his politics, the whole corps of public servants will consist of Indians entirely. It is a very natural ambition, but it does not betray any objection to bureaucracy. In point of fact, no objection to the system which he denounces has ever occurred to him. If he were mentally the heir of the English school whose language he borrows he would necessarily recognise the inconsistency of his position. Logically, it must be one thing or the other: either a reformer wants the extension of representative government, which supersedes bureaucracy, or he wants good bureaucracy, which supersedes representative government.

No one knowing the country can have the faintest doubt on which side the prepossessions of the critics lie. It is perfectly impossible that men with the heredity of the Indians should suddenly become convinced adherents of principles of government which are foreign to all their traditions and experience. It is possible that a community of Africans, say like the people of Liberia, subjected to Western influence, might develop a sudden enthusiasm for the ideas of political equality and democracy, as on occasions they become wholesale converts to Mahomedanism or Christianity, but it is not possible that Hindus should undergo these violent transformations. The Brahman cannot look forward with satisfaction to the prospect of a governing proletariat. As long as they lived to themselves, the Hindus lived under a system in which moral, political, and social affairs were regulated by a code which professed to stand on Divine authority. Political and social doings being closely bound up with religious observances, the whole structure became immutable. Their institutions included monarchy as the inevitable form of government, and to this day, when a writer is moved to rhapsodise over the King-Emperor,

he often falls back on the Hindu idea that the royal authority is an emanation of the Divine power. Not only did the Hindus never think of any other form of government but the kingship, but the Mahomedans, when they came into possession, were equally monarchical in practice. The influence that Hindu sentiment gradually worked upon their minds is clearly shown in the immense outward reverence paid to the last to the authority of the Moghul Emperor long after he had ceased to have any; so that a Subahdar (Satrap) or Nawab, even when in rebellion, would attach the highest importance to getting a decree out of Delhi to sanction the very acquisitions to which he was helping himself at the expense of the central power.

In all the countless changes of dynasty, risings and fallings of races and powers, of which Indian history contains the record, there seems to be no instance of the Indian mind having hit upon any other type of government but the sovereignty of a single ruler. Is it to be supposed, then, that a people with such a past can in the course of two or three decades have become genuinely converted to a political faith which runs counter to all the ideas they have so stead-

fastly manifested? One may perhaps be told that in the great State of Mysore the Maharaja's Government has of its own accord set up an assembly of the people, which meets once a year and ratifies an account of State affairs presented to it by the Minister; and an interesting experiment this Assembly is, and perhaps might have been more heeded by our own Government. But in Mysore, by all accounts, the real power is entirely in the hands of an oligarchy of very able Brahman officials, and it is just because they are united and their ascendancy is unquestioned that the Government is successful, and they can afford to make picturesque concessions to the popular element. The extenson of representative institutions in India would bear no resemblance to the Councils and Assemblies of Mysore, Bikanir, and one or two other progressive States where no one dreams of disputing the ultimate authority of the Chief.

Representative institutions, says Lord Acton in one of his essays, presuppose the unity of a people. The history of British politics since Ireland was taken over to Westminster is enough to suggest how much truth there is in the dictum. But the House

of Commons, with the Irish element included, is a model of homogeneity and simplicity to the conditions that representation will have to adapt itself to in India. The working of the system in almost any case means the setting aside of the rights and interests of important minorities; but here the sections left out in the cold would be majorities, huge majorities, but lacking the intelligence, education, social standing, and so forth, to give them any part in the scheme. We shall also come to see that it not only puts on one side the peasantry, the Indian Christian, the depressed classes, the aboriginal millions, but that it also leaves out of account that minority to which the present position of the country before the world is wholly due—namely, the European element, in the services and non-official.

Finally, the idea of regenerating India by virtue of representative institutions overlooks the existence of a very large class which plays a part of immense importance in the social life of the country, but which, because it holds aloof from the Press and platform, is ignored entirely by political reformers.

I will suppose that we are approaching across country a small market town anywhere

in Upper India. At the outskirts, just as we are expecting to enter it and to gain our tents in the camping grove beyond, we have to make a detour of a quarter of a mile, for the reason that where the road crosses a small ravine by a bridge a tree has fallen, obstructing the route. To clear away the obstacle would have taken eight or ten men a couple of hours' work; and so the carts have discovered a way round to a point where the gully is just passable for wheeled traffic. We follow the now well-worn track and arrive in the main street. The place is very much as a village grown large except that one sees a few brick houses of some pretensions among the huts of the bazaar, a post office, and a police station. The grain and vegetable shops, too, of the village are reinforced by a good sprinkling of confectioners, their sweets shadowed by clouds of wasps and hornets, which, however, never seem to be aggressive, and alongside the sweetmeat stalls are others which display British scissors and knives, looking-glasses, and possibly the ubiquitous sewing-machine. At the back of the establishment will probably be hanging a highly coloured portrait of His Majesty the King, and perhaps on the whitewashed wall

outside a chalk representation of a British Tommy, also in full uniform, in difficulties with a tiger. One must not grudge the Hindu his joke, which he takes so rarely. Farther on we may come upon specimens of the local industry—if there is one—pottery, metal work or embroidery, as the case may be. Then, if the place is at all flourishing, the best sites will be taken up by two or three houses of a superior size and style, in which neatness and propriety are conspicuous. There is the grain merchant, whose ground floor is lined with rows of sacks, suggesting business on the commercial scale; there is the *sonar* (goldsmith), who is jeweller, banker, and money-changer in one; there is also the cloth-merchant surrounded by a goodly stock of bales. Here the owners, in contrast with the noisy retailers of the lower bazaar, are silent, unemotional persons, of composed manners, always ready for business, but never forcing it on the passer-by. In each shop will be noticed in the different corners two or three small boys, the sons of the house, taking stock with præternatural gravity of all that is going on. When old enough these born merchants will go to the local school to imbibe as much as will be useful to them for

their purposes in life. In the afternoon they return to their places of observation in the shop, watching with their large round eyes the transactions that pass, and in the intervals studying the special script that is a secret of the profession. After fifteen or eighteen years of a life of such concentration the boy, who has never known boyhood, is a trader equipped at all points. Let us suppose him to have been launched into the world on a larger scale in the charge of some relative in a bigger way of business. We may meet him next in one of the centres of country trade, where the merchants are working on the large scale in cotton, wheat, oil seeds, or whatever is the local speciality of the market. We find him in the company of men like himself, his reserve by this time somewhat thawed by contact with the world, alert, intelligent men of simple habits, whose affluence is only allowed to appear in a pearl ear-ring, who are doing large deals in produce or imports, coupled often with simple speculations in silver or Government paper. They are a friendly circle, and one of them readily undertakes to show you round to the head banker of the Province, who will provide you with *hundis*, the equivalent of a circular letter

of credit, on his different correspondents in the towns you are likely to be visiting during a forthcoming tour in the interior. We call at the great man's house in the heart of the town, approached down a narrow lane, much crowded with cows and beggars, expecting alike the daily dole. A small low door, flanked by a still smaller barred window, gives access to a narrow passage which opens on to a bare apartment furnished with a chair or two and the custodian's quilt done into a roll in one corner. A heavy curtain shuts off the interior of the house. The banker probably has a garden house or two in pleasant spots outside the town where he spends the afternoon occasionally, to enjoy the breeze; but it is to this cave that he returns on the hottest nights so as to sleep among his books, and to be at work early. Presently the millionaire enters, a good-looking man, dressed in plain white with a fine Kashmir shawl over his shoulders. The business is soon done, and as you take your leave he lets you know that a motor-car or a carriage is at your disposal during your stay in the place. The English residents soon get to know him better, for he is probably the owner of two-thirds of the residential bungalows in the Station, and

looks after his house property vigilantly. If Major Jones has to complain that his thatch is letting in the rain, it is the Lala Sahib himself who will come round to verify the mischief, to see that his agent does not charge him a rupee too much for the repairs. A hard man of business and a remorseless creditor, in spite of his care for the pence he can be liberal on occasion, entertaining European society in honour of nuptials between boys and girls whom they do not know at banquets which he does not share; and often giving largely to public objects, besides building the inevitable river-side temple and bathing-place to preserve his name amongst his fellow-townsmen. He is in many respects the most powerful man in the district, perhaps in a whole group of districts, but he shows no inclination to move beyond his own line, least of all to carry his influence into politics. Of what good are discontent and agitation to people whose interests are bound up with social security? Sett, Mahajan, Marwari, Chetty, Bora, Buniya, Shroff, as they are known in different parts, or according to diversities of business, there is no class in India that is so homogeneous in tastes, habits, and aptitudes, as these men of finance, and

the only side of our public life that at all appeals to them is municipal politics. Here real, tangible interests are affected in the provisions of the ways and means for meeting local expenditure, octroi versus house tax, the incidence of a water rate, building regulations, and so on, to say nothing of the important province of municipal contracts. Thus the business class in self-defence have to see to it that local affairs are not left wholly in the hands of the lawyers; but in politics in the ordinary sense they, until recent times the only middle class in the country, refuse to be interested. Even a collected community like the Marwaris, the Indian "City" of Calcutta, show no leanings towards politics in the Bengali sense, and the men of the business castes up-country are too few and too scattered to be able to make themselves felt if the will were there. So they stand aside and put their faith in the equal justice of a benevolent Government, which seems likely as it comes over to modern ways to treat them with the disregard that is the general reward of all who cannot or will not make themselves unpleasant.*

It may be objected that this sketch is a misrepresentation of business society as it exists, for instance,

It would seem, therefore, that the most cursory glance over the conditions is sufficient to suggest that the new policy can only come out at a parody of self-government, accompanied by dire injustice and ill-consequences to the interests ignored. But it may be said at this point that there are already representative institutions in existence in the shape of the Legislative Councils, imperial and provincial, which have surely worked well enough hitherto, and, to judge by the compliments which are continually being paid to them, must be filling a useful place in the public economy. To extend the powers of bodies which have already found their place in the world cannot surely be anything more than an innocuous advance on lines already tried. The answer is that the Legislative Councils, expanded as they have been, are in no sense Parliaments. The tracing of their development in detail by its successive steps would be a long matter, but they are all

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in the great centre of Bombay. The answer is that the business world of Bombay, with its mixture of elements, is like nothing else in India, just as the Bombay Municipal Corporation, with its own lively politics and its seats the object of social ambition, is a thing *sui generis*.

of precisely the same type, after the manner of Indo-British institutions which have been developed with little regard to provincial variety. If a province was socially backward it went without a Legislative Council, but when it was judged to have advanced sufficiently it was served out with one of the standard pattern. This, again, was derived from the constitution of the original of the class, the Legislative Council of India.

Until 1833 the making of the laws had rested, along with the other functions of government, in the hands of the Governor-General's Executive Council. In that year a special member was added to this Cabinet to take charge of legislative work, who was to be an English lawyer, and the first choice fell upon the future Lord Macaulay. The business of law-making naturally grew more complicated, and in 1853 the Legislative Council was formally recognised. The members of the Executive Council were now reinforced by a few high officials from different provinces concerned in pending legislation, generally by the Chief Justice of Bengal, by a member from the Calcutta business community, and three or four Indians of distinction. But the Council was practically a

Committee of Government for the purposes of legislation, and its offshoots have preserved the character of the institution from which they have grown. The executive element remains the nucleus.

In each Provincial Council the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor presides, the members of the Executive Council or the Secretaries to Government, as the case may be, are the Front Bench, but there is no Opposition. The remainder of the Chamber, whether officials or non-officials, are merely additional members, and as there is no question of upsetting the Government, it might have been said until recently that the common object was to give the country the best laws. When there was no legislative business on hand a Council did not meet. From 1861 to 1892 this was the position. A year or two before the latter date the Government of India had come to the conclusion that an extension of the system was required, both as a concession to Indian political sentiment and for furnishing the Government with a means of expounding its views and measures to the community. In the reform that resulted the Councils were enlarged in size; the right of returning a member or members was conferred on certain

outside bodies of recognised status, such as the Universities, clusters of Municipal Corporations and of District Boards, and the Chambers of Commerce; and internally the boundaries of business were enlarged by the discussion of the several Budgets irrespectively of their involving legislation and the extension of the right of questioning.

As an opiate for the political classes, the administration of which was not then the all-powerful consideration it has since become, the change was no success, and in the following decade came the further developments of Lord Morley, of which the same must be said. Under Lord Morley's scheme the numbers of the elected members increased, but those of the nominated members were increased *pari passu*, so as to hold them in check. This, and such changes as that resolutions could be introduced on subjects unconnected with legislative proposals, and that the Budgets should be considered in advance by a Committee including certain non-official members, could not appeal to the opposition outside. In the case of the Viceroy's Council there was a short period during which it seemed that under the personal influence of Mr. Gokhale a critical opposition

might be built up within the Council itself, which, expressing the wants and wishes of the educated party throughout the country in the best way, might take the wind out of the sails of the agitators pure and simple; but the development he seemed to be working for rested on his own ascendancy, and disappeared with him.

It is impossible for the rest that the Legislative Councils on their present basis should satisfy the outside political agitation. Though they are to an extent representative, the representation is of certain interests arbitrarily selected and fixed by Government; their numbers are small, varying from sixty-eight in the case of the Viceroy's Council to eighteen in the case of the Legislative Council of Burma; their proceedings are restricted to defined subjects; and the word of the Government is the ultimate law even down to the results of a division. It would, of course, be possible to introduce a direct franchise, to treble or quadruple the number of seats, as the agitators demand, with the result of swamping the official and nominated members and sweeping away Government control, but they would then have become something totally different from what they are or were ever intended to

be. From being a branch of the Government they would be installed in the mastery, and there would be no object in retaining for them a delusive title.

But although the preceding attempts to reform these Councils while preserving their character has had no effect in mitigating the tone of the outside opposition, it would be a mistake to suppose that their enlargement has not been popular with the classes who come personally into the circle of their influence. The Indians are born Parliament men, who love to have their talk out in public on all joint affairs, from the conference in which each caste arranges its own concerns onwards. A large proportion of them are ready speakers and almost all are good listeners. No one can read the proceedings of any Indian Council without being struck by the number of subjects that are brought forward by means of resolutions merely for the sake of ventilation; also, he will soon notice that many of these are old public favourites which have had many an airing before, but that this does not at all deter each Indian member, as his turn comes, from furnishing his contribution to the subject, identical though it may be with the

opinions expressed by half a dozen honourable colleagues before him. The British-made rules of procedure must be a constant trial to these members, but they are accepted with exemplary patience and decorum; and, on the other hand, though the verbosity of many Indian members and their quenchless thirst for information, as manifested in the question paper, is a trial to such busy men as Members of Council and Secretaries, there is no doubt that the association of the Legislative Council does a great deal in the way of promoting personal understanding.

It is not probable that in regard to the opinion of this or that section of the public the Indian element tells the Government anything that it would not otherwise know. It is not the way of the class to lay bare their minds. They speak the sentiments they feel to be expected of their station and circumstances, and if an Indian Councillor had any serious message for the head of the province he would ask for an interview and would give it privately. But the social intercourse that is brought about in the course of business is all to the good, and only on this account few responsible officials would go back on the present system if they could,

They know that they like the Indian Councillor the better for seeing more of him, and he in turn is usually responsive to the friendliness he is met with. The misfortune is that the Indian Councillor, however broadened by the experience of his office, counts for so little outside. He is usually a person who has already "arrived": a landowner, put forward by his class for his knowledge of English, or a successful lawyer, or someone who has made a name by municipal work. Such men as these do not want to remould the scheme of things, but the opposition outside does. This uneasy multitude, whose menacing proportions stimulate the progress of our British reformers, is not interested in measures of which they could approve. The result is that the Legislative Councillors are of no avail at all as a breakwater to the Government which has created them. They can swell an agitation with much effect, if they are so minded, but they are powerless to lay one. So that the Government in England, if it concludes to endorse Mr. Montagu's undertaking to regenerate India by means of representative institutions, will be left to choose whether it will take refuge in concessions so safeguarded that discontent and sedition will be as active as before, or it

will throw open the way to advances which must surely and speedily render the British position in the country untenable. For to confer independent powers on an Indian Parliament and to think to check the results afterwards, when any interference with "the popular will" would be trebly resented, is clearly chimerical. But whatever other tendencies an Indian Parliament might manifest, its action would assuredly not take the line of lessening the numbers or the influence of the bureaucracy.

CHAPTER V

THE REAL OPPOSITION

THE people who have been brought into direct contact with the Administration, like the Legislative Councillors of the last chapter and the numerous body of officials in the public services, if they are not opposed to the agitators in sympathy, are in the main a well-disposed, tractable class, conscious of the power of Government and keenly alive to the value of the decorations and titles in its gift.* Unfortunately, it may be repeated, these classes have no active influence; and we come next to those outside the gate, the general body of the educated, and more particularly the English educated, whose attitude is beyond question. This English educated phalanx may be said to number about a million and a half of persons, which, on strict democratic principles, would not entitle it to

* The Birthday and New Year *Gazettes* are awaited in India by those concerned with an expectancy surpassing even that of democratic England.

a commanding voice in the destinies of a population of three hundred millions, but it is the only voice which the British public hears. It includes all the lawyers, all the influential journalists, and all the students of the high schools and colleges. And the serious feature of the situation is that it is just the present generation of students, the men of to-morrow, who are most embittered. It would be absurd to pronounce a sweeping opinion on a subject of such extent, as the tone in different provinces varies, and, of course, one college may differ from another in iniquity; but as far as may be gathered from those, such as educational officers, who have had exceptional opportunities of forming a judgment, the sentiments of this young India are practically solid against us. In a sense it is only natural that young men should develop violent opinions. Our own undergraduates often enough flutter off into Socialism, and even Tom Brown became a Republican, for a few months, during his stay at Oxford. But the Indian has not the same chance of shedding his extravagances later on by rubbing shoulders with men of different upbringing and experience. A universal State system of education turns out men of a similar

pattern, and all the result of the British State system of education in India is that it is producing a type increasingly antagonistic to the authority which introduced it and presides over its working.

After all, the dismal result is not really so paradoxical as it would seem. The Englishman of the school which has generally had the last word in affairs during the past century is a person who is totally indifferent to the element of national psychology. He would deal out his own law and his own political theory to distant Asiatics regardless even of the modifications he might borrow from the practice of Continental neighbours in dealing with their own subjects, with an unquestioning confidence that the results will be in accordance with his own intentions. Yet there is nothing more certain than that the same institutions become different things when applied by men whose ideas and antecedents are different. On the subject of the differences between the European peoples and the Indian peoples a volume might be written by a competent pen. They are always making themselves felt in practice to the legislator and administrator, and the

manner of it is this: Some new experiment is introduced, and for a time gives great promises of fulfilment in the European sense; then it goes astray on a different line of its own, an Oriental line. The reason is that as long as the experiment was under the direction and control of a few select minds its tone and character conformed to their intentions. But as the new departure succeeds it loses its identity and takes its colour and form from those upon whom it has been introduced. One instance is the Indian Press, which, instead of spreading information and entertainment, has become a mere gramophone of grievances. It is interesting to speculate on what form Indian Christianity would have by now taken, had the country undergone the wholesale conversion which the missionaries of an earlier day expected as soon as education and printing should have spread abroad. Indian Christianity would by this time have certainly become something very different from British evangelical Christianity; but in the result the Hindu held fast to his own religion, while he accepted with avidity the education offered him, and is gradually transforming it according to his own ideas and circumstances.

A system of which the plan was devised by the most robust of Westerners, Lord Macaulay, and which was introduced in the first instance with the practical aim of providing a class of officials to meet the wants of an expanding Administration, has found a soil in which it has thrown out roots of its own from which a prodigious growth is springing. The officials of the Department of Public Instruction who nominally retain control are constantly engaged in endeavouring to trim its luxuriance, but it has got beyond them. Indian education is a social phenomenon which is being shaped by forces within. In the schools the Department, with its grants and inspections, can still keep nominally the direction of affairs and insist on conformity to the code, but the colleges and Universities are emancipating themselves and taking their own line of development. Consciously or subconsciously, Government interference is resented. Nothing in Lord Curzon's full programme of measures cost him such genuine loss of popularity as his stirring the question of University reform. It was difficult at the time to account for the bitterness of the opposition to an essentially reasonable measure, but since then the contest has been renewed on each occa-

sion of the foundation of a new University. The Government strives to retain a measure of control by reserving the right of nomination to the chief offices and the governing body and in the distribution of powers. By the opposition every reservation is resisted to the utmost, until the matter closes with the inevitable compromise. There is nothing on which the Indian mind is so much set as a great extension of Universities. I forget how many Mr. Gokhale once gave as the number which he eventually looked forward to, but it was something astonishing, and long before his dream could have been half realised the system would have utterly outgrown any outside control. In the existing Universities the State Department finds it difficult enough to maintain the standard of examinations and degrees against the constant pressure of public opinion in the opposite direction. The general want is easy access to the great literate caste, to mount to which means the acquisition of a new social status, which carries withal the right of entry to all the sedentary employments. One would suppose that from a sense of vested interests those who have won their entry to the enclosure would be for keeping the gate to some extent against the

growing throng outside; but it is not so, and on any and every occasion which involves the question public opinion is solid on the side of making the pass easier.

The craving for a degree, and, failing that, for the letters attached to the passing of one of the preliminary examinations which give the University stamp, must be largely founded on social ideas. In the East the man who sits on a chair has risen immeasurably above the manual worker. Education is respectability, from having been in the past the monopoly of Brahmans and bankers; conversely, for a low-caste fellow to aspire to it was formerly condemned as an invasion of the privileges of his betters. A friend of the writer sitting as a magistrate once had before him an elderly pundit who was charged with having committed a violent and apparently unprovoked assault on a coolie woman. His explanation was that he came upon her seated by the roadside reading the scriptures, and, scandalised by conduct so subversive of the gradations of society, had thought to correct the mischief with his cudgel. One can easily understand, then, the immense attractions that education holds out to boys of the

humbler classes: the prospect of mixing on equal terms with youths of higher degree, of qualifying like them for employment in Government service, in the professions, in the exalted order of clerkdom. No wonder every father with a boy who has shown some promise in the primary school should be ready to make any sacrifice to start him on this ladder, on which every rung is an examination which brings the destruction of thousands of hopes.

But suppose the clever son of this humble parent has climbed his way to the upper flights and passed into a University, he will find that, unfortunately, degrees are not a livelihood, while thousands of those around him are making the same discovery. A long course of State Education has formed them to the same mould, so that their desires and difficulties are the same. The few professions they can look to are already overcrowded, and the law and medicine involve waiting; teaching, which does not, is merely a synonym for starvation, except for a very few bright lights. Clerical employment, depressed by the number of applicants, is miserably paid also. No wonder that the thoughts of nine out of ten of each year's educational outcrop turn to Government service. Apart from any

other considerations, a Government billet has in their eyes a superior status to all other forms of employment; and though the lower and junior grades of the public services are not highly paid, the pay, combined with the security and the prospect of pension, is sufficient to make the opening intensely desirable in the eyes of the average graduate. The number of students attending the different Colleges now comes to above 45,000, of whom about 12,000 pass out into the world each year to seek their livelihood. Large though the number of appointments may be in the aggregate, only a small proportion of the total—say one in twenty—falls vacant annually, and this is nothing like sufficient to meet the wants of a throng that is always increasing.

Perhaps the extent to which this question of Government employment has come to possess and monopolise the minds of the middle class may be best illustrated by a personal experience. The writer's last holiday in India was a visit to a locality celebrated for its lakes and temples in the heart of the unadvanced Province of Bundelkund. On leaving the traveller's bungalow in the morning,

I found a cattle-fair in progress outside, and, stopping to look on, was soon joined by an elderly Mahomedan, a retired Inspector of Police, who was soon putting me through my paces. He knew, of course, that I was not one of the District Staff, but was I the Canal Officer? No, but probably I was on Land Settlement business? Still no; an Inspector of Education, then? Finally, I had to stand convicted of belonging to no office at all, which, he remarked regretfully, was a great pity, as he had a son to place, evidently believing that personal influence goes a long way in these matters, as it once did. In the afternoon the Tehsildar (sub-prefect) called to offer to drive me to a lake two or three miles away. He was a University man of the best class, a high-caste Hindu, a scholar and a gentleman, with a good knowledge of the local antiquities and a real feeling for the beauty of the scenery. He made a delightful guide, but it was evident that an oppression rested on his mind. It soon came out. The Government had taken to a new policy of making a certain number of Deputy-Collectorships (the grade above his own) by direct selection from University graduates who had passed well. This would, of course,

block the promotion of those who had entered the service at the bottom, and he feared the practice might extend. Could I throw any light on this situation? I gave him what comfort I could, and we came back to the sights; but he could not long shake off the Deputy-Collectors, and was continually returning to them. I trust that by now he has gained his promotion, for the service will not lose thereby.

Next day was spent in a visit to the beautiful headquarters of a Native State: water-side palaces set in a natural park country enclosed by low hills, a scene that might have come straight from Todd's *Rajasthan*, a specimen of the happy blending of landscape and architectural beauties that gives these gems of India their peculiar charm. Only when the visitor finds himself in for a round of inspection of the State educational institutions will he realise that the times are moving even here. The special pride of the Minister appeared to be the Industrial School, represented by a carpenter's bench and a loom with the beginnings of a very commonplace carpet. Sad to say, it was a holiday, and one could not see the industries humming, but the existence of the place would show that the State

was in the movement. The Minister himself had not much education, in the modern sense, though evidently of abundant attainments otherwise. But he had a son who was now at college at Allahabad, getting near his degree-time. Was he coming to the State which had done so well under his father's guidance? No, he was for the British service; if he did well in his examinations they might hope for a Deputy-Collectorship.

My last experience of the courtesy of the neighbourhood was when the station-master lent me a chair in his room, the train being late. Where was I going to? Allahabad? He had a son in one of the high schools there, but the boy would soon be going on to college. And after college? Why, it would depend on how he did. A sub-Tehsildarship would be fine, but it was looking high. Anyhow, a Government post of some sort. Four conversations with totally different persons in two days, and all had come round to the one engrossing subject—the chances of a climb into the abominated bureaucracy!

Naturally, the pressure on the portals where so many desires meet is severe. Indian feeling on the subject has become vociferous

during the last few years under the stimulus imparted to it by the Public Services Commission, which, appointed in 1912, toured over India during the two succeeding cold weathers, took further evidence in England, and published its report last year, the full record of the proceedings occupying twenty volumes. The management of the inquiry took on a popular character from the first, and high hopes were raised in the Indian ranks by what was known of the opinions of most of its members. Actually it would not be expected that such a large body, however much it saturated itself with evidence, could arrive at anything but compromises, and Lord Islington achieved a remarkable feat in bringing his assortment of colleagues to agree in a practically unanimous report. But this has only been achieved by shunning the statement of general guiding principles and avoiding some stiff fences altogether. The Commission, in short, has treated the subject empirically, taking each branch of the Civil Services, small or great, separately, and suggesting what changes might be made in such matters as its recruitment, numbers, pay, leave rules, pensions, and the like. Nevertheless, it has kept in view throughout the general object

of increasing the Indian element in every branch, while the whole tone of the report is manifestly favourable to Indian pretensions. Where it has found any reason for the opinion that a service should be transferred in due course entirely to Indian agency, it has not shrunk from recommending this; and few will judge that it has not carried its liberality in this matter to the furthest border of prudence. But however that may be, the point is that the proposals have utterly failed to satisfy those whom it was hoped to please.

The commotion that was set up by the Commission's sittings in India and the daily evidence in the newspapers produced expectations that were growing all the while that the report was held in abeyance, until by the time it was allowed to appear its concessions were scouted with one accord as utterly disappointing and insufficient. European dissent has, in fact, no reason for troubling to argue its case, the Indian condemnation is so emphatic. This was expressed in an unmistakable way in a long debate that took place over the matter in the Viceroy's Legislative Council in the latter part of September last, when not a single Indian member apparently had a word to say in favour of the

Commission. This unlucky body had committed itself to the opinion that two branches of the Indian service, the Civil Service and the Police, must continue for general reasons to retain a preponderatingly European character. This audacious proposition has been treated on all hands as an affront to Indian feeling. As regards the Civil Service, the Commission recommended that for the future one quarter of the vacancies should be filled by appointments in India, while the Indian who chose would be as free as before to come to England and compete for the places offering by way of Burlington House. This adjustment was dismissed by the Simla debaters as totally inadequate. What will meet their demand (for the moment) is either that half the appointments should be given to India in the first instance, or that all should be thrown open to a competitive examination to be held simultaneously in India and England. Two or three speakers in the course of the discussion gave a clear indication that this would only be regarded as an instalment on account, and that an examination in India only, at which candidates from England might at first be allowed to compete, was the aim in view. If this would

Indianise the character of the Administration, they said it was no objection. It is time that it was Indianised.

If these are the sentiments of the selected few who reach the Viceregal Council, expressing themselves in that sedate atmosphere, it may be easily guessed how sentiments and language run in less enlightened quarters. As far as the question of a livelihood for the student population is concerned, the services are answering the purpose about as well as they can already. Practically all the posts it holds under the salary line of Rs. 200 a month—and few young men on starting can expect more—are held by Indians. The total number of posts to which salaries above this figure attach is in round numbers 11,000, of which 42 per cent. are held by Indians. As the scale rises, the proportion of this holding decreases, until in the class of incomes of Rs. 800 per month and over it falls to 10 per cent. If this seems small, it must be looked at beside the fact that in 1887, when the question was last overhauled, the percentage was only 4. But these higher appointments do not touch the college population, whose case would not be appreciably alleviated if

all of them were from this time forth reserved to their countrymen. No consideration of the question, moreover, can admit the immense change that has come about since 1887 in the practice of appointing Indians to the very highest posts—to the Secretary of State's Council, the Governor-General's Council, the Executive Councils in the major Provinces, the High Court benches, innovations which in many cases have notoriously been attended by the difficulty of finding any suitable person to nominate for the important positions thus thrown open, and which, nevertheless, have not produced the smallest effect of satisfaction to moderate the general tone of discontent. For behind any small class which concessions can affect comes that body of ill-will, solidified by a common system of education, which, Anglicised in its expression, Asiatic at heart, envies and detests us, and is bent on using any means which we put in its way of clearing us out of the country.

CHAPTER VI

THE FORGOTTEN EUROPEAN

ONE comes now to a branch of the subject which has to be introduced to the reader's attention with a sense of delicacy and diffidence, it being contrary to the way of Secretaries of State and Viceroys and other luminaries to whom we look for guidance to recognise that it calls for any consideration whatsoever—the European element, official and non-official. The interests of this community have been so overlaid of recent times by the "ideals" and "aspirations" of others, that there would seem to be something reactionary, invidious, immoral almost, in dwelling upon the fact that they even exist. Nevertheless, as the British element is still there, and as it is beyond any question that they alone have made the country what it is to-day, it is inevitable that any political settlement in which they are ignored will pay the penalty of the oversight as the scheme comes into working.

Instinctively, we are most of us inclined to believe that there must be a moral force at work behind every great achievement in history, the vital principle which was destined to carry the movement on and through. Yet it must be owned that this is difficult to discover in the beginnings of the British Indian Empire. The humble traders who found themselves engaged at so much disadvantage on an Indian career in their scattered warehouse settlements along the coast, separated from each other hardly less than from Europe—what accounts for the desperate tenacity with which they clung to their precarious holdings? They did not dream of territory; they could hardly be said to be working for their own advantage, for they were miserably paid and provided, and what profits they could make by pushing trade went to their employers at home. What voice was in their minds telling them to hang on to their calicoes, muslins, and sandalwoods in spite of Nawabs, Rajas, and pirates? From the first they have to sue the country Powers for leave to trade and exist; gradually they are led to take a hand in country politics for their own better security. Then the soldier appears on the scene, in the shape of a

company or two of sepoys, with a score of Europeans to do the drill and man the Fort's guns. In due course these garrisons grow to field forces. A great Frenchman next arrives on the scene, who develops this military system immensely and begins to have a clear vision of a Southern Indian Empire; but the merchants of Fort St. George and Fort St. David, who were very near to being extinguished by him, did not enter into his ambitions, and blessed the day when he fell into disgrace with his own Government. As for the soldiery of these little armies that marched up and down the Carnatic, men drawn to the martial profession mostly by the agency of the press-gang, what can have mattered less to them than the merits of a difference between Chunda Sahib and Mahomet Ali? Nevertheless, these makers of Empire, badly paid, provisioned chiefly on rice and arrack, campaigning in an abominable climate, fought when they encountered the French like tigers, as the casualty rolls remain to prove.

Then comes the day when one of the rush-lights of Empire is blown out. The news arrives at Madras that Fort William has been captured by the Nawab of Bengal, and that after a shocking atrocity the remnant of

Calcutta residents are refugees on a festering mud-flat at the mouth of the Hooghly. The story of the consequent events—the expedition of Clive and Watson, the recovery of Calcutta, the Battle of Plassey, the flight and death of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, and the transfer of Bengal—is so dramatic, so improving, that it must have been seized upon in school histories as an illustration of the working of Providence and of the inevitable retribution that awaits such acts as the Black Hole massacre. But as we are looking at the fortuitous side of the phenomenon of British development, it may be pointed out that this version is open to serious exceptions. The sailing of Clive and Watson for Bengal was an accident due to the belated news of the declaration of the Seven Years' War. Had a state of hostilities with Pondicherry set in, Madras could not have afforded to send troops to Bengal. The Battle of Plassey was in no way fought to avenge the Black Hole. Clive's aims were met by the retaking of Fort William, and as soon as that was achieved peace was concluded with the Nawab. What brought about the campaign of Plassey was the subsequent intrigues of Suraj-ud-Dowlah with the French, and the heavy fight of the campaign

was with the French at their settlement of Chandernagore. Plassey was in no sense a decisive victory, as another and much more severely contested action had to be fought almost on the same field a year later; nor did Plassey "secure Bengal for England," as I find stated in an excellent little reference history of England before me. Bengal was not secured until eight years later, a period crowded with more fighting, new combinations, vicissitudes of every kind, during which at almost any moment things might have gone differently, taking a turn which would have changed the whole course of subsequent events. The philosopher, wise after the event, may be able to run a thread of theory through all this strange, eventful history; but the psychologist appears to be on firmer ground when he sees nothing but the innate qualities of the higher race continually asserting themselves at every crisis over every obstacle.

It was the grant of Bengal and Behar that settled the permanency of the connection between Britain and India, but let it be recalled that this acquisition was no act of violence. There was, in fact, a strong feeling

among the Company's people in India as well as England against launching out into the responsibilities of territorial government, and the Emperor's offer was declined in the first instance, and only accepted after the experiment of governing by Indian agency had proved quite impracticable. The period between the death of Suraj-ud-Dowlah and the acceptance of the Dewani saw in effect a trial of the policy of "association," and the result was an absolute failure. What the Emperor parted with was the revenue and administration of two provinces which had been virtually independent, receiving in return a tribute which he might now expect would henceforth take the form of cash instead of flowery acknowledgments of respect and devotion. But a few years later the Emperor himself was carried off prisoner by the Mahrattas, and the Company's sovereignty became absolute. Anchored to the country by the possession of Bengal, the Company's position was no longer liable to extinction by a gust of adversity, and when in 1769 it seemed probable that Madras might suffer the same fate at the hands of Hyder as Calcutta in 1757, the hazard was not so extreme as it would have been if the

Mysorean had come to the top a decade or two earlier.

Meanwhile, the Writers and Factors of Bengal had been suddenly transformed into Governors, while their morale had been sapped by the confusion of the interregnum and the lucrative opportunities of Nawab-making. The smoke of Macaulay's heavy guns still hangs over this period, and no doubt it was a disreputable and greedy one. But, nevertheless, the British spirit was at work all the time. The men who fleeced the Nawabs and Viziers were no sooner Governors than they began to think of the condition of the people. The first general memorandum on Bengal Land Revenue Administration is a wonderful State paper to have been the production of men new to the subject. There are, moreover, ideas in it of which no Native Government hitherto has ever dreamed. It is a worthy foundation for a branch of Government to which many of the best minds of each succeeding generation of Anglo-Indians will devote the best part of their lives, a work bringing incalculable benefits to the country and to the people—directly affecting the internal relations of an enormous landed society, indirectly affecting the entire community. Land revenue business

in its details is hard and intricate, demanding work in the field in actual contact with the people as much as in the office. Perhaps there is no better embodiment possible of the life and labours of the Revenue service than the figure of its first expert, Sir Thomas Munro, as, taking off his uniform, he goes down to Canara, to sit from morning to night in his tent surrounded by crowds of the natives examining their titles and registers and drawing out of them the realities of the land system of a then unknown country, only interrupting his work to correspond with Colonel Arthur Wellesley, who is campaigning on the other side of the hills. The name of this truly great man is still remembered, as it deserves, throughout Southern India; but in general those who follow him have little to expect in the way of fame, the work being too technical for general appreciation. Thus, though no men have done more for the country than those who have achieved a good settlement of a district, the merits of the accomplishment are only understood by a few officers of their own service.

The very success of the work done for India in the management of the land question

has helped to put it out of recognition, the subject never being heard of except when some piece of agrarian legislation rouses a controversy. To appreciate the significance of this preponderating interest, the best way is, perhaps, to take a glimpse of what happens when things go amiss with this branch of administration or the subject is neglected. Not to go back to the records of pre-British days, let us take the case of the Bombay Presidency, which had no Munro to lay the beginnings of a land revenue school. Sir Bartle Frere, during his Governorship, had occasion in 1864 to introduce a Land Survey and Settlement Bill, and in doing so he gave his Council a remarkable experience.

> Nearly thirty years had passed, he said, since he was personally connected with the operations which led to the commencement of the Survey in that Presidency, and was himself employed in the districts in which the Survey was first introduced. It was impossible to give anyone who had not seen the country at the time he was speaking of an idea of how this India, which is always said to be immutable, had changed for the better, and how much of that change was due to one good measure of administration, steadily and consistently carried out. The situation was shortly this: Rarely more than

two-thirds of the culturable land in any district was under cultivation; frequently as much as two-thirds of the land was waste. Villages almost deserted were frequently to be met with. Some were *bè chiragh*, without a light in them, utterly uninhabited. The people were sunk in the lowest depths of poverty; they had few recognised rights in the land. The rates were so much higher than could possibly be paid at the existing prices of produce that it was necessary to grant remissions, of the necessity and extent of which the local (Native) officers were the sole judges; and it was thus left practically to a very ill-paid class of inferior Native officials to decide what was to be taken from the people. . . .

Bare figures could not describe the progress that had been made in any district where the Survey rates of assessment had been long in operation. Cultivation had been increased to a truly remarkable extent, so much so that he believed it would be a difficult matter now to find anywhere, in the Deccan area, a thousand acres of unoccupied cultivable land available for anyone wishing to take up land for cultivation. Land was not only occupied, but valued.*

The Land Revenue officer who has seen such changes may see and be satisfied with the travail of his soul. It needs no reflection

* Proceedings of Bombay Council, October 18, 1864.

to realise what chances a population in the state recalled by Sir Bartle Frere would have stood against the arrival of famine. It would not be true to say that the Native Governments cared nothing for famine; they cared a great deal for it—as affecting their own revenues. In justice it must be said that none of the country Governments after the Moghul Empire had commenced to decline had the means for attempting to grapple with such a visitation as a famine, but the revenue regulations in Bengal, designed for squeezing the last rupee out of a ruined society, betray an incredible callousness to any consideration but the ruler's income.

The Company's servants, long after they had entered on the work of government, had to look on helplessly, and shocking even at this distance are the accounts of what the spectacle of a famine in the old time meant, the skeleton host in its migrations being followed by packs of wolves and jackals, which bred on the calamity, as the mice breed to-day on our Government's wheat stores in Australia. But about the time which Sir Bartle Frere was describing above, the beginnings of a policy of famine protection were being laid in the United Provinces by Colonel

Baird Smith, afterwards to be known to the world as Chief Engineer at the Siege of Delhi. Still, whatever might be done locally in the way of canals and grain stores, the country could not be assured against famine mortality until the day when it should be completely covered by a system of railways. Even then it would be terribly difficult to bring adequate help to a people such as those of Sir Bartle Frere's description, half starved at the outset. The great defence against famine is a rise in the standard of living among the people. This country, even in the days when it drew no supplies from abroad, seems never to have suffered from actual famine. The reason is expressed in the saying that the English lived upon wheat, while the Irish lived upon potatoes: in other words, the people that subsists upon the higher level in ordinary times has the larger margin to fall back upon in the day of adversity.

That the Indian population generally has begun to rise above the danger line is clearly enough shown by the experience of the last famine period. Between 1896 and 1910 India was subjected to no less than four of these disastrous visitations of the first or second magnitude. In former times such an accu-

mulation of calamities must have had results that would have left their mark on the face of the country and on its economy for a quarter of a century. Actually we are confronted with this extraordinary result, that the last of the series was the least felt of all the four. Rapidly rising prosperity, judicious land laws, a cheap Government and light taxation, an Administration in the hands of able men thoroughly in sympathy with the people, knowing precisely what measures are required in the way of suspensions of revenue, money advances, help with seed or cattle, and so on, and prepared to act at once—there is the secret. The land is the master interest in India, and to have freed it from the grip of famine while ensuring that the 230 millions or so whose existence is directly bound up with it shall live their lives interfered with and taxed as little as possible, and with as little friction as possible between landholder and tenant—this is an achievement that need not make Britain blush for the representatives who have been doing her work, and deserves to be described in some history more appetising than the Blue books.

In truth, there is something radically absurd in the spectacle of the British Govern-

ment being placed on its trial at the instance of a public which has done nothing for itself, and has even derived all the ideas and doctrine which furnish the act of accusation from the very Administration that it arraigns. There is a class of philosophic mind that sees in every present discontent the consequence of some far-off wrong, as the present mood of Ireland is attributed to Elizabeth and Cromwell, or agrarian troubles to the rankling effects of the Statute of Labourers or the enclosure of commons in minds that know nothing of either. The wildest of this school has never pretended that Indian unrest springs from the short-lived misdoings of the predatory Bengal Nabobs. The Company's Government was, in fact, from the moment it was fairly established, an infinitely better Government than the country had ever known, and it contained within itself the principle of improvement, when every good Native Government that had preceded it contained only the seeds of decline. On this point let the reader take the testimony of James Mill, that harsh judge, who in his history of British India has contrived to be equally unfair to British and Indians, but who, nevertheless, in summary could write of the Company's rule thus:

> In matters of detail I have more frequently had occasion to blame the Company's Government than to praise it; and till the business of government is much better understood, whoever writes history, with a view solely to the good of mankind, will have the same thankless task to perform; yet I believe it will be found that the Company during the period of their sovereignty have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more goodwill towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other Sovereign existing in the same period, but than all Sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe.

The worst thing that can be said about the Company's Government in its latter days is that it was backward in its attitude towards the furthering of material improvements, and no doubt the original antagonism between the service and outsiders left its trace in a reluctance to measures involving an appeal to British enterprise and capital. But the position of the old Government was not so strong politically as it became after the Crown took over charge, and there may have been

reasons to apprehend that a free inflow of capital—as, for instance, for canal construction—might bring some danger to public interests. In the country itself there certainly was no capital to be enlisted in the pre-Mutiny period, the beginnings of Indian wealth in the modern sense having dated from the American Civil War, just as clearly as the second access of prosperity in these latter days dates from the development of the South African mines and the consequent fall in the value of gold, which raised the prices of all Indian produce and has kept them rising. "That Minister is clever," says an old Eastern saw, "who, without putting his hand on anyone's head, can increase the Treasury;" but this is what the Indian Finance Ministers of the current century have been able to do. Money has been found in abundance for education, sanitation, and for the questionable luxury of new capitals, while the only tax paid by the poor, the salt duty, has been largely reduced. And not merely this, but the State has suffered the loss of the opium revenue, which would have wrecked the finances of the sixties and seventies outright, and has been able to accommodate itself to the disappearance without being put to

deficit or dislocation. There could be no stronger evidence than this remarkable fact of the general prosperity of the country, as well as the excellence of that branch of the Administration on whose management all the others depend.

But, indeed, if we take James Mills's criterion of looking at the subject solely with an eye to the good of mankind, the Government of India is entitled to a very high place among the Governments of the world. In many respects the Administration is far in advance of European standards. If a person were to go through the State papers published in the Government *Gazette*, which in India go under the title of Resolutions, beginning from thirty or forty years ago, he would have no difficulty in compiling a manual of administration which any other Government might learn much from. The machinery of Government wanted no improving—at least, in any respect within the comprehension of the people—and has not been in the smallest degree improved by the Council-Parliaments of 1909, which are a clumsy, inefficient device as far as the working goes, whatever their counteracting merits may be.

But until the Montagu millennium comes

in, the important thing in Indian administration will be to prevent the gulf which necessarily exists between the Government and the people from widening. This is the work of the British officer, for the Indian subordinate officials of the Revenue or Police by whom everyday contact is maintained naturally do not count. And who can say that the men who have had this work to do have failed in their task? There is a passage of quite surprising foolishness in the Public Service Commission's Report on the educational qualifications of the Civilian of the future, suggesting that a combination of the attainments of Mountstuart Elphinstone, Mackintosh, and Colonel Henry Yule, might about do to start with. And the wonderful beings who come up to the mark are to load themselves with learning that they may come out, formed men, to begin on the trial of petty criminality, with the consciousness that their future career is well overcast with the possibility of political changes. It is a matter of notoriety that already among the younger men in the services the common expression in discussing these subjects, "The thing will last out our time," has changed to "Will it last out our time?" The likelihood of that is seen differ-

ently by different persons, but it is idle to think of catching brilliant men, or that, if caught, their powers will come to fruition, if they are to become the servants of the public in the sense joyously anticipated by the Indian agitator. The best men of the Haileybury and Addiscombe age, and those of the day of pure nomination which preceded, became what they were, not by virtue of the book learning they started with, but because early responsibilities and important employments drew out their natural powers, whether for governing, diplomacy, engineering, public economy, science, or research. The way in which many of them oftentimes made names in the active life and the studious equally speaks to the virtue of opportunity.

The times, of course, have changed, and it is no longer possible that the many-sided career should fall to any individual. But the British officer remains what he was, and is still the power that is taking the country along. To realise what he is it is necessary to have seen the District Magistrate in his camp in the mango-grove, where, with the aid of two or three clerks somewhere in the background, and a few mounted constables or camel sowars to maintain communications

with his capital, he manages the concerns of a population of perhaps a million people, whose local representatives will throng his door from morning to night. Somewhere else in his domain may be the similar camps of the Assistant Magistrate and of the Police Superintendent. These three, with perhaps a judge and doctor at the headquarters, are responsible for maintaining the British character of the administration over an area of perhaps 4,000 square miles, and it may be judged whether they are not at the service of the public in the fullest sense of the term. Other pictures of the work that is being done by the guidance of the few and the hands of the multitude may be seen at the building of a big bridge, where the whole of the science that is fighting the obstacles of Nature is represented by the temporary quarters of the two engineers in charge, or at a large famine work.

Perhaps the most impressive scene of all in this sort within the writer's experience was on the lofty crest of the Khoja Amran range looking out over the camel-coloured desert of the Kandahar plain, up to which the railway had been pushed all the way from the Indus valley in the face of frightful difficulties of ground and climate, till now the end had been

reached, and it only remained to pierce the range with a tunnel which would carry the rails down to the terminus below, the starting-point in case of an extension into Afghanistan. A large camp settlement had sprung up at the tunnel-head. In this desert all the thousands of Pathan labourers had to be maintained, hutted, and, not least, kept in order. And this great enterprise, so singularly impressive in the solitudes of a rugged wilderness, was entirely in the hands of half a dozen young engineers, mostly civilians, their chief a Brunel of barely middle age. He would have been a strange man who spent a day at that mess without feeling prouder of his countrymen; and when the charge is made against the Anglo-Indian official that he is wanting in understanding and sympathy it may be asked how the existence of those qualities could be better shown than by scenes such as those above glanced at, and many another instance might be added—the relations of the officers of the Native Army to their men, the relations of Chiefs and Politicals. But undoubtedly the English official is not a democratic phenomenon; for democracy is a force in which, in theory at least, the majesty of the mass involves the insignificance of the indi-

vidual. Whether or not the democratic theory can ever work out true, or will merely lead to the concentration of power in a few under a veil of forms and references, it is certain that the Anglo-Indian officer cannot be reduced to insignificance. He must either direct or go; and although there are many Indians now in the service who are doing the same work as their confrères, they succeed because of their place in an established system. If we imagine the English withdrawn and their system to remain, it could not long retain its efficiency on the force of memory and imitation; while an Indian bureaucracy under control of an Assembly or Assemblies would infallibly mean an immediate descent into misgovernment, until bottom had been touched at the level of Persia.

CHAPTER VII

ANOTHER IMPEDIMENT—THE NON-OFFICIAL

It appears that in the year preceding the war the number of British Europeans in India amounted to 178,000. Deducting from this some 75,000 British soldiers, with 15,000 more to represent their wives and families, the officials, and the probably still larger number of persons of mixed descent now absurdly christened "Anglo-Indians" for the sake of importing confusion into plain meanings, who may have preferred to enter themselves as belonging to Europe, the total is not a large one for the representatives of the ruling race in a country reaching from the Hindu Kush to the borders of Siam and China. The smallness of numbers in itself points to the fact that there is no settlement on the land among the English, the private person no less than the official having in mind from the day of arrival the thought of the ship which will eventually carry him

away. Small and scattered over such a surface of country, this community is not in a good way of making its influence felt; but the part it has played in having brought the country to its present state of development is out of all proportion to its numbers, and what it has done has certainly been achieved with a minimum of encouragement or assistance. For a brief period, the ten or fifteen years following the Mutiny, the fostering of a permanent European element of settlers was in some favour, and land grants in the sub-Himalayan regions, improved schooling, and openings for the children of the long-service British soldier, were ideas in vogue. But they soon passed, and it was as well that they did, for experience amply shows that the Anglo-Indian (proper) has no abiding-place in India, and that it is wrong kindness to give him inducements to stay.

Putting apart, then, the small body of settlers, the British community outside the service consists practically entirely of persons engaged in commerce, the industries, planting, and the railway. Except for the cotton-mill system of Western India, the keys of all the important businesses of the country are in their hands, and the business is mostly of

their creation. The tea trade, the jute trade, indigo so long as it lasted, coal-mining, gold-mining, shipping, and in these latter days the promotion of feeder lines of railways, electric light supply schemes, and finally the banking system that operates the whole, are practically the creation of the migratory Anglo-Indian. In doing this great work for the country it certainly cannot be said that he has met with any undue encouragement from his own Government. The East India Company was always apprehensive of the appearance of any large interests backed by British capital between itself and its subjects, and the tradition passed on to the succeeding Administration, which early in its day declared war with the one great European industry that had yet grown up, the indigo planting of Bengal. This is not the place for the venturing of any opinion on that great controversy, for the final blow to indigo was to come from another quarter, the aniline dyes of Germany; but it may be said that the Government must have often had reason lately to regret the disappearance of that fine body of British volunteer cavalry formerly furnished by the planting community who, knowing the country and people perfectly, could be trusted

to maintain order in the ungarrisoned districts of Behar and Bhaugulpore.

Another industry which, though on a very much smaller scale, must often be regretted in these last times is the breweries. Encouraged in its early days by the Government for the sake of having at hand an independent source of supply for the troops, the policy in Lord Kitchener's time was harshly reversed, with the result that, the army demands being the mainstay of the trade, one brewery after another had to close down. The remnant still left in existence when the war broke out must be put to it to meet the situation now, and one suspects that a good deal of hardship has been inflicted on troops and public worse than needlessly. Had the industry been in different hands there would have been an uproar. But the Government knew that the Anglo-Indian owner and shareholder would do nothing more than grumble inaudibly, so it followed out its own inclination. Another Anglo-Indian industry that has gone downhill of late years is the coffee-planting of Southern India, which twenty-five years ago, after disease had ruined the flourishing plantations of Ceylon, seemed for a time to have a brilliant future before it.

The disappointment of this hope was due to the increased competition of South America, which nothing would have helped short of a differential treatment in the British market; but when the Government can give the industry in its declined state a little cut of unkindness, it generally seems to be glad to do so. Still, the European community holds its own, and manages to maintain its position and usefulness to the country in spite of such reverses.

The enormous growth of the tea trade and the establishment of the coal trade have obliterated any set-backs at other points, and the general growth in the production and wealth of the country has brought increase of business to all who are concerned in the moving of exports and imports in its various ramifications. Also, they have brought a great increase to the retail trade, which stands on a peculiar footing in India, where there is not that sharp line between the shop and the warehouse or manufactory that exists in England. The wholesale importer of Calcutta will often advertise his willingness to sell you a dozen of claret or whisky; on the other hand, it is impossible to consider the head of a great retail establishment which may be