

Regarding the conflicts which it is to raise, who can prophesy ? This, however, no one who knows the facts can doubt. Asia will not submit to exclusion from the North American Continent and the islands of the Pacific Seas, and therefore exclusion is as short-sighted as it is unjust. It is accumulating a weight of resentment which will one day be let loose and perhaps be the signal for the greatest conflict which the world has ever known.

So far as our Empire is concerned, the recognition of India as a partner in Imperial Conferences¹ and the grant of a measure of real self-government are the first steps toward a solution of this problem. It will never be solved by "the good offices" of Downing Street, but by the independent authority of an India which enjoys in the Empire the same dignity and respect as one of the British-populated Dominions. That it must enjoy such a position is inevitable from one fact alone. So long as the Imperial governing authority was the ancient Home Country and the historical British Parliament, India might have been consoled in its subjection because it held in high honour the sovereign power. But so soon as there was an Imperial partnership of Home Country and Dominions, India felt the change in its heart. It has grievances against the Dominions ;² it will not pay homage to them. Subjection to Great Britain in the Empire was tolerable ; subjection to the Empire is intolerable. So India must be a partner, must sit on the Board of Directors, must have a voice and a vote in Imperial Councils.

Thus the British Empire expands in its significance. The alliance with Japan since 1902 began the new order of inter-racial agreement on terms of equality, and now the Empire

¹ India was represented in a consultative capacity at the Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911, and more fully at the various Imperial War Conferences held since 1914, and also at the Paris Peace Conference.

² For instance, much evidence was given by Indian leaders before the Commission on the Indian Public Services appointed in 1913, that Colonial-born British subjects should, owing to the treatment of Indians in the Dominions, be disqualified for service in India.

itself, begun and long existing as a combination of people of one nationality, is to become a federation of diverse races enjoying within the bounds of a common allegiance liberty for self-expression and self-development. It is a new conception for which at present but few minds are prepared, but the impelling force of events drives us into new conditions, and the change will be made before we know its meaning. The Dominions have not said their last word to India, nor India its to the Dominions. The policy of mere exclusion will, however, have to be abandoned, and some agreement reached which, whilst giving the Dominions the legitimate protection they desire, will not be insulting to India.

One conspicuous badge of emancipation I should give to India. I should try it with the responsibility of being tutor to some of the East African peoples under the care of the League of Nations. It would be a great experiment. If it failed, the failure would soon be detected, and would produce no great harm ; if it succeeded, as I believe it would, it would stamp India with an authority which would command for it a position of unquestioned equality amongst the federated nations of the Empire.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PRESS

THE press in India has always been a thorn in the side of the Government. The memorandum on education written by Sir C. Grant, to which I have referred,¹ shows that a critical press was foreseen to be an inevitable consequence of the opening of schools, and the newspaper has played such a part in British politics that it was bound to appear with political activity in India.

The first paper printed in the vernacular was issued by the missionaries of Serampore in 1818, and was called by the attractive title of the *Mirror of Intelligence*; and when the censorship rules were relaxed next year, against the wish of the directors, but in accord with Lord Hastings's liberal policy, and newspaper articles had no longer to be submitted to a Government official before being published, steps were at once taken to found a press "conducted by natives, printed and circulated in Bengalee and English." The limits of political criticism and religious controversy were still rigidly prescribed, but these were the chief topics dealt with. On December 4th, 1821, the first native paper appeared—the *Sambad Kaumudi*—*The Moon of Intelligence*, edited by Raja Rammohan Roy. It was strongly critical of Christianity, discussed social reform, and appealed to the common folk. Rammohan Roy and his friends then projected a journal addressed to the more educated classes, and, on its appearance in 1822, it discussed politics both Indian and Imperial (an early issue contained an interesting article on Ireland, and another set forth the merits of the Great War of Indepen-

dence) and religion. The Government had no pleasure in an independent critical press, and curiously enough, when Lord Hastings's liberal administration ended, the first editor to be struck at was an Englishman, Mr. Buckingham, who was in charge of *The Calcutta Journal*, and who was deported for writing that Mr. Bryce, head of the Presbyterian Church, had lowered the dignity of a minister of the gospel by accepting the office of Clerk of the Stationery to the India Company. This was followed by the deportation of his successor, Mr. Arnott, who was sent home on a troopship. Since then there has been an incessant struggle between the press and the Government, sometimes very fierce and active and carried on by repression, as in Lord Canning's time after the Mutiny, and more recently in Lord Lytton's time; sometimes more passive and of a waiting and watching character, occasionally brought to a standstill when liberal administrators like Sir Charles Metcalfe, who removed the censorship in 1835, were in responsible positions.¹ Of the position to-day I shall speak presently. During the whole time the vernacular press was virulent in its fault-finding and spared neither the Government nor the missionaries. In the end, the Anglo-Indian press, which was at first an irritating critic of the Government, following Anglo-Indian opinion, ranged itself completely on the side of the administration and in opposition to native Indian opinion, the last of these papers to capitulate being *The Statesman* of Calcutta, a few years ago. A change also crept over the native press, which, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was largely given over to religious controversy, but which has now become mainly political and in most cases much subdued in tone. The great daily papers are owned and staffed by Englishmen, though *The Bengalee*, *The Punjabee*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Indian Patriot*, are owned and edited by Indians, and *The Bombay Chronicle*

¹ Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote thus. "If India could only be reserved as a part of the British Empire by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country and ought to cease."

is controlled by Indians though edited by an Englishman.¹ The great bulk of the native press is weekly. They are very cheap productions and their circulation is not large, though their influence is considerable.

The position to-day is as follows. The English-owned papers in varying degrees of aggressiveness are pro-English in the sense that they maintain the British ascendancy with all its privileges and are vigilantly anti-Nationalist. They attack the administration with candour when it seems to be yielding to Nationalist claims, and carry on an anti-Indian propaganda which causes much offence and which frequently, in the case of some papers, oversteps the bounds of public policy. In a land subject to a severe press law these papers ought to have been dealt with, for their tone and temper have undoubtedly added to that feeling of resentment which has been played upon by the agents of disorder and political crime. Their criticism, too often takes the form of insults, and Indian papers pursuing the same recklessly mischievous course would undoubtedly have had the law applied to them. On the other hand, the native press may be said to be under the influence of the Indian National Congress, though some of its more obscure issues voice more extreme views and indulge in more violent criticism. Government Departments keep a watchful eye upon the papers, and translations from them are circulated through the Secretariats.

Most of the India papers belong to Hindus, but the Mohammedans have an active press too, especially in the Punjab and the United Provinces. The *rapprochement* between the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress has had considerable effect upon the Mohammedan press, and *The Comrade*, published in Delhi to voice the opinions of the younger Mohammedan party, was written with unusual ability and expressed Nationalist views, but was suppressed for articles on Turkey and Mohammedanism shortly after the war broke out.

¹ Since this was written, he has been deported

The style in which the papers are written varies as the poles. The English papers are ably edited and are equal to the best published here, and the same is true of papers like *The Bengalee*, though all the native productions suffer from that literary wordiness which comes from acquiring English from the works of its wealthy literary wizards like Burke and Macaulay. The second grade of native paper published in English is up to the level of our own average second-rate provincial press, and the moral standards of their discussions and news are as high—though they are much complained of—as those of our own popular press. On their critical side they are extreme in the main, but the British view is more fairly represented in the Indian papers than the Indian view in the English ones—with perhaps one exception. Hardly a day passes but the two are attacking one another openly or by implication. From the second-grade papers downwards, the lack of ability of the editors, or the consciousness that they are appealing to a credulous and unreflecting public, is shown in a reckless and frequently scurrilous criticism based too often upon falseness of statement or an obvious contortion and misrepresentation of truth. They show the vibrating suspicions and dislike which, like lakes of molten lava, lie beneath the surface of Indian life, and which every now and again burst out in eruption through the crust. The circulation of those inferior papers is generally very small, and their letterpress is atrocious and is full of errors. The proprietor is very often his own editor, manager, advertising canvasser, and “reader.” The great majority of them do not pay, or yield but a bare living—which means an infinitesimal profit to their owners and editors.¹

Press laws are directed against two classes of papers: first of all against those which, belonging to the last class, play

¹ “My own experience confirms this; I could mention many newspapers which are run at a loss, and I have had no personal experience of any which were a source of profit” (Sir Theodore Morison, *Imperial Rule in India*, p. 101).

upon Indian suspicion and susceptibility either for the purpose of making a circulation from it or of doing mischief; and in the next place, against those whose opinions are so inconvenient to the Government that the Government tries to prevent their public expression. The law now in force was passed in 1910 when the Government was faced with the most serious conspiracy since the Mutiny, and when certain papers were undoubtedly inciting to murder and revolt. It puts the whole Indian press at the mercy of the Executive. It provides that persons keeping printing presses shall deposit with the Government sums of from R.500 to R.2,000 as a guarantee which is to be forfeited if they publish anything which in the opinion of magistrates incites to murder, or personal injury, or disaffection of any kind, and publishers of newspapers are put under the same regulations. Forfeiture may also be decreed, but in that case an appeal may be taken to the High Court.¹ Copies of all papers issued must be sent to the Governments. The Government may put this Act into operation without giving any but very general reasons, like "during the last six months" you published "articles and words" in "various issues."² The Indian members of the Council, whilst warning the Government, as one of them did, that "Austrian authorities and the policy of the Chancellor of Germany are the least calculated to secure popular support to the measure. Indians are the citizens of the British Empire,"³ accepted the word of the Government that such a law was necessary and did not vote against it. It was the first important Bill brought before the enlarged Council after

¹ The High Court decided, however, in the case of *The Comrade*, that the Act was so drafted that the court had no power to question or upset the decision of the Government. Two of the High Courts have declared that orders issued under the Act were illegal, but that they had no power under the Act to set them aside.

² These words are from the indictment against *The Star of Utkal*, published in Cuttack.

³ The Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy, *The Indian Press Act 1910, and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India relating thereto*, p. 19.

the Morley Reforms, and that of itself explains the complying attitude of the Indian members. Moreover, the Law Department was then under Mr. Sinha (now Lord Sinha), who, though not in charge of the Bill, spoke in favour of it.

The objection to a Press Act and to such repressive legislation generally is not, however, its intention, but its administration and its effect upon Governments. At times of crisis, no Government yet known has refrained from adopting repression. Then equitable administration is abandoned, and, in the interests of the established authority, the innocent have to suffer injustice so that the disturbers of the peace may be caught with them. The net is thrown wide in order that the evil ones may be caught, and accurate individual discrimination is impossible. Let there be no mistaking of the meaning of this, however. It is tyranny and injustice justified by a crisis and by the establishment of conditions which end it. Its continuance as a potential power, sanctioned by law held in abeyance, can never be justified. It is a weapon which must be forged when it is required and not one kept in the armoury of Government ready for use whenever it chooses to resort to it. Here lies the fault of the Indian Government. Its Press Act of 1910 and its Criminal Law (Amendment) Acts of 1919 are contrary to freedom of peoples and responsibility of Governments, and ought to appear on the statute books of no free country.

In the first place a power of repression habitually enjoyed tends to develop a habit of mind in the Government¹ which regards all effectively troublesome criticism as sedition, and it allows a Government which is always partly responsible itself for seditious conspiracy to avoid its own share of the

¹ The Press Act of 1910 was passed for the express purpose of dealing with the seditious movement which started in Bengal owing to the mistaken way in which the Government partitioned that Province, but it has been used, as in the *New India* case six years later, for a purpose which was not in any one's mind when the Act was passed, and which the Government dared not have asked powers to deal with in that way.

blame and impose the whole upon the shoulders of its opponents. A Government which has to justify repression in relation to any given crisis is not only careful to see that its case is overwhelming when it asks for powers, but, what is of much greater importance, it is first of all careful to prevent, by political sagacity, the development of the crisis. As arms make for wars, so the possession of coercive powers makes for tyranny. The power and policy of repression do not make for tranquillity, but for repression and nothing more. The hand which imposes the punishment is also the hand which has helped to make the punishment necessary, and such a hand can never be just, and ought not to have absolute authority at times when justice ought to be the rule of the State—that is, in normal times. This is specially true in States like India where the magistrate is in such close contact with the executive authorities that he is practically their mouthpiece and servant. The very fact that if a Press Act exists at all it cannot be effective if every move which the Government makes under it may be debated, and every reason for putting it into operation argued out in court, is a reason why every such law should be passed not as a part of the body of ordinary legislation but to apply to a particular condition which makes special powers necessary and in regard to which alone the Government receives a free hand. Every foolish Government would like to be able to exercise absolute authority when, in its own opinion, it thinks it ought to do so, but no people with any regard for liberty will give its Government such power.

The practical effect of the Press Act of 1910 in statistics is not very striking. Up to the end of 1913 there were 208 prosecutions under the Act, the busiest year being 1913, when there were 77. That year, in the Punjab, which had been rather troublesome, four deposits were forfeited, two presses were closed, eleven were prevented from starting because they could not make the necessary deposits, eleven that would have been published but for the deposit could not appear, and eleven again were warned for publishing articles that might

stir up strife between the religious communities, and one for sedition. Statistics, however, do not reveal the oppressive effect of such a law, but as it is the record is neither imposing nor satisfying. After the outbreak of war several other papers were suppressed—especially Mohammedan organs under the Defence of India Act. Regarding the suppression of these newspapers in Bengal the following suggestive comment was made by another Mohammedan paper: "The readers of the *Tarjuman* and the *Ekdam* were mostly the Urdu-speaking masses in Calcutta and other places. They used to get correct news—correct, if the Reuter's news received through the censors be so considered—from those papers, and now in their absence wild rumours have the opportunity of playing upon the gullibility of the simple folks. It is a pity that the Government seems to be totally blind to this aspect of the question."

The Press Act is only one of the provisions which the Indian Government uses for repressive purposes. In her little book on *India: A Nation*,¹ Mrs. Besant gives a list of the measures which she would classify under this heading. They are: the *lettres-de-cachet* system embodied in Regulation III of 1818 (Bengal), Regulation II of 1819 (Madras), Regulation XXV 1827 (Bombay), Act XXXIV of 1850, and Act III of 1858. The State Offences Act, XI of 1857, only applying to any district that is or has been in a state of rebellion, and providing for trials of persons charged, should either be repealed or the clause which excepts European-born natural subjects of the Crown should be expunged. The laws as to the Punitive Police—XXIV of 1859 (Madras) and V of 1861—should be repealed. So also the Indian Arms Act, XI of 1878, passed in panic under the "influence of the Afghanistan War. It is not only felt to be a constant humiliation, but it leaves the people at the mercy of armed decoits and a prey to wild beasts. . . . The whole group of panic legislation in 1907-1910 must go," and she also enumerates the Prevention of

Seditious Meetings Act, VI of 1907, the Press Laws, VII of 1908, and I of 1910, the Explosive Substances Act, VI of 1908, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, XIV of 1908. In any event the Government should make a thorough revision of all these Acts and Regulations, removing from them everything which has been or can be used for repression in ordinary times, and trust courageously to those powers which all Governments have to protect themselves and their States from anarchy, sedition, and disorder. Governments should be compelled to meet the growth of sedition by political wisdom and not allowed to burden other people with their mistakes, as the Indian Government does when it seeks to maintain order by its Press Laws and Rowlett Acts. The Indian Government has been too often content to create a special class of evildoers—those whose opinions are inconvenient to it—and in the history of Indian repressive legislation this class occupies a prominent and distinguished place. The case of Mr. Buckingham, to which I have already referred, belongs to it; in our own time that of Mr. Tilak largely belongs to it (a number of papers are on the border line between spiteful and malicious evildoing and honest, if strong, criticism); those of Mrs. Besant and the papers, *The Comrade* and *New India*, wholly belong to it. Whilst in the midst of one of her several troubles as editor of *New India*, and after having had to deposit a guarantee of R.2,000 for having written an article advocating Home Rule, Mrs. Besant issued the following statement which exposes the partiality with which all such legislation must be administered, and deprives the “crimes” created by such laws of a serious character and even of a definite meaning: “Under the rule of the bureaucrat it is safer to conspire than to seek for reforms in an open, law-abiding, constitutional way. For if a man is found out in a conspiracy he has at least a trial, and may be acquitted, whereas if he carries on a constitutional agitation his liberty may be taken away and his property confiscated without any more formality than the turning of a magistrate from his normal

business of punishing thieves into a licensed plunderer. . . . The Madras Government, for the first time, attack a newspaper of the first rank, which has never spoken one word of violence, which has loyally stood by the English connection, which has used only constitutional and law-abiding means to bring about reforms which are absolutely necessary if that connection is to be preserved. Loyal as India is, *The Madras Mail* states that she must not be allowed to volunteer lest she should turn her arms against the English; this atrocious article is passed by the Government, which does not care to protect its Indian subjects from the grossest insult. *The Madras Mail*, despite the war, takes the treasonable line of abusing the Coalition Government in a way which would land its editor in gaol if he were in England; but here the Government never dreams of checking it, although it holds up His Majesty's Government to hatred and contempt. It keeps the vials of its wrath for a paper which has dared to demand Home Rule, and has demanded it so effectively that the whole country rings with the cry. *New India* is assailed because it has started a constitutional and law-abiding movement for self-government in India, with the view of keeping India within the Empire. . . . I have nothing to apologise for, nothing to regret, in all that I have written in *New India*." Every one who has followed the prosecutions and repressions under the Press Act, and who has also followed the pernicious but unpunished editorials of papers typified by the Anglo-Indian journal named, must admit that Mrs. Besant's criticisms are fully justified.

Sometimes it is observed in a spirit of disappointment that no Indian newspaper of any value is on the side of the Government in the sense that newspapers here are on the side of political parties. It would be most extraordinary, however, if such a paper were to exist—if it did, its support would be bought. For, however much a Government is appreciated, there can be no Government "party" unless its responsibilities are shared by others than the bureaucracy. The

wisest and best of rulers governing an educated community autocratically can never hope to receive the support of a press outside their own official *Gazette*.¹ The Anglo-Indian press supports the Government only in so far as the Government is the instrument of British rule in India. The link between them is not an agreed policy, but interest and racial prestige. On the other hand, I have never failed to observe in Indian papers due appreciation—often expressed in exaggerated terms of gratitude—of Government actions approved by Indians. It is not true to say that the Indian press is anti-Government. It is more accurately described as independent, and in this respect does not differ from the Anglo-Indian press. Each looks after its own interest and supports or opposes the Government accordingly.

But there is a point of still greater importance. In this country we know that an Opposition is essential to good government. A House of Commons without an Opposition becomes futile. That is a general truth, the force of which has been renewed by recent experience. Governments always create Oppositions, and in India the Opposition is still in the main outside Legislatures and is to be found in National Congresses and the press. That is really the view that the great Indian liberal statesmen have taken. Macaulay's opinion was that the function of the Indian press was to bring to the notice of the Government grievances which would otherwise be hidden from its eyes, and though he was unwilling that his sister should read these papers owing to the personal attacks they made upon himself, he was instrumental in relieving them of the censorship. He grasped the true meaning of political power.

And yet the limits of press freedom consistent with bureaucratic government are narrowly defined. Grievances

¹ This has been tried in India and has failed. Governments have also subsidised newspapers (in 1915-16 the Punjab Government spent R.17,000 in circulating an Anglo-Indian and Mohammedan journal), and that is only to waste public money.

may be ventilated, and the Government may even be attacked in language which ought not to meet the eyes of the sisters of its members. Still no harm is done: indeed, the Government may be all the better for the jolting it gets. It thereby knows the nature of the road it is travelling. But it is quite another thing when public opinion, supported by a powerful press, does not merely ventilate grievances, but criticises policy, or goes the length of demanding that the bureaucracy itself should cease to exist and a freer form of government take its place. A representative Government successfully attacked by the press changes a minister or resigns; representative government sways in the breezes of public opinion as a tree does in the winds, but its roots remain. A bureaucracy so assailed can change nothing because it cannot be expected to change itself; it cannot resign, and if it were to do so that would be a revolution in the form of government. Free discussion, the witness of representative government, is the destruction of a bureaucracy. This is a fundamental difference with many attending consequences. The present form of Indian government cannot exist in the midst of a vigorous public opinion. It may be well intentioned, but it cannot be obedient. It cannot allow, if it can prevent it, a determined campaign to be conducted demanding for the people that badge of liberty—self-government. That is sedition so soon as it goes beyond the stage of an interesting debate and reaches that of a serious demand. And this is the case even when political opinion here in the sovereign State is in favour of the change asked for by public opinion in India, but opposed to, and by, the bureaucracy. For instance, there can be little doubt but that the opinions which have been prosecuted in India during the past few years have had the support of the people of this country. The Indian Government is in this dilemma. It may be doomed and its successor may be almost ready: still, it has to govern till the day of its death: therefore, it cannot tolerate the heralds and followers of the new order near to its own throne. ✓The Indian

reformer is in this dilemma. He must agitate for the revolutionised Government, for he knows he will never get it otherwise : he is well aware that this necessary agitation will make the bureaucracy more obdurate and its trust in repressive legislation more certain. Of course in actual practice it is possible to avoid these dilemmas by the exercise of broad-minded common sense and practical sagacity, but a bureaucracy of Civil Servants who have become old in authority must find it difficult, as the Indian Government undoubtedly has, to unbend itself and humour the powers which it cannot subdue. These considerations and not the existence of sedition and other political crime in India, however much of that there may have been, are the true reasons why the Indian codes and statutes are disfigured with so much repressive power. The Indian press, though its function may be to act as part of the constitutional Opposition to the Government, cannot do this work in the full way that papers in this country do, until there is a really free press in India, but Press Acts will never finally disappear there, though both their contents and their administration may vary in stringency, whilst the Government is a bureaucracy. To demand the complete abolition of the Press Acts is equivalent to demanding that the Government itself should be put on a more liberal foundation. The problem of the Indian press is at root that of the inherent conflict between a bureaucracy and public opinion. The last chapter in the history of bureaucracies is repression. They pass away like an old monarch driven from his throne, hurling accusations of sedition against his approaching successor.

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

It has become a threadbare truism to say of India that its religion is its life. There in sober truth the unseen is lord of the seen. All its political and social origins are in its sacred books. Hinduism as a way of life is the trunk on to which everything else is engrafted and from which everything else draws its sap. It is therefore important to understand the currents now running in Indian religion—always remembering that in the bulk it is immobile.

When, early in the nineteenth century, missionary propaganda and educational influence created a revolution on the surface of Hinduism, the sections affected were small. Only a few were really converted to Christianity, the bulk of those influenced retained their Hinduism and joined in the resistance offered to the new proselytising. Hinduism was reformed in their minds, not overthrown. It was purged of some of its grosser practices, prejudices, and superstitions, its gods became transformed, but it itself became active in self-defence. The Brahmo Samaj was founded because in his heart the Hindu was unwilling to desert Hinduism, but was quite willing to become liberal and respond to the impact of Western faiths. If one were to say that the grand effect of Christianity and of Western education in India has been to throw Hinduism back on its purer origins, one would not be very far wrong, though the statement would not be quite accurate.

The change took several forms. Amongst the less emotional people of the north-west it was one of doctrine and of a kind of puritanical activity; in Bengal it was more idealistic

and led to the study of the poetical and spiritual expressions of the religion, like the *Gita*, and to symbolising the temple worship; elsewhere it ran into various movements, some of them, like the Order of Ramakrishna which Vivekananda founded, being pure Hinduism; others, like Theosophy, being a mingling of Hinduism with other philosophies; others, like the Servants of India, concerning themselves with social reform and service.

Perhaps it was only a drop in the ocean. Hinduism believes and worships as before, its millions living and dying all unconscious of any change. But still, the revolution is to be influenced profoundly by these movements, and they have all contributed to its birth. The West has created the Nationalist movement in India not only by feeding the Indian mind on Western liberal politics, but by driving back that mind upon the entrenchments of its own patriotism.

First amongst Hindu revivals is the Arya Samaj, founded by Swami Dyananda Saraswati, the son of a Gujarati Brahmin, born in 1824. A dramatic little story is told of how the light came to Dyananda. When he was fourteen years of age his father took him to the temple to keep the Shivaratri fast, which entailed a night being spent in prayer to Shiva. As the night wore on the worshippers slept, but the boy kept awake. A mouse came out and crawling round the base of the image nibbled at the offerings. This struck the sensitive mind of the lad. If this image was Shiva, why did the god allow such sacrilege? Awakening his father, he put his doubts to him, and finally received as his answer that the image was not Shiva, but that the devout praying to it found grace from Shiva. The boy would have none of this refinement, returned home, broke his fast, went to bed and slept. Henceforth there were no more idols for him, and the anniversary of this night is kept as a feast by his followers. Then death came into his family, and filled his heart with a yearning to fathom the mystery of being and not-being, of coming and going; and in 1845 he ran away from home, and for

fifteen years wandered in search of the teacher who would reveal to him what his soul wanted to know. After years of pilgrimage in search of truth, during which his greatest discovery was the debasement of Hinduism, he fell in with the blind Swami Virjananda, to whom he became pupil, and who, when he had taught him all he knew, exacted the guru's fee which it was customary for the *Brahmchari* to pay, in the shape of a pledge that he would "devote his life to the dissemination of truth, to the waging of incessant warfare against the falsehood of the prevailing *Puranic* faith (faith based on the *Puranas*), and to establish the right method of education, as was in vogue in pre-Buddhist times." He went out into the world again, teaching and disputing, his call being: "Back to the purity of the Vedas" At a great meeting presided over by the Maharajah of Benares he met the pandits of Benares, and they claimed the victory and practically excommunicated him. But Dyananda was not a man to be overawed by the frowns of censoring pandits. His doctrine was that there is one God who is to be known, obeyed, and worshipped, who has never been incarnate and who cannot be approached by the worship of any deity but himself. Caste is a political and not a religious creation. In 1875, after the Swami had come into contact with the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta, the Arya Samaj was founded in Bombay. But it took healthiest root in the Punjab, where Lahore may now be regarded as its capital city, and in the United Provinces.

This was a purely internal Hindu reform, a pruning of all the engrafted shoots upon the Vedas, a return to the authoritative doctrine. The most robust and prolific of these debasements of Hinduism were the claims of the Brahmin. These the Arya disallowed. The Vedas were a closed book to the people. That the Arya opened, imitating in this respect the restoration of our own Bible by the Reformation. Hinduism was a condition of birth. That the Arya denied, and threw wide its doors to any one who cared to enter.

In his defence of the Vedas as a sufficient basis for faith, the Swami came into conflict with Christianity, and thus gave the Arya its first tinge of aggressiveness which made it an expression of Indian nationalism. India was combating the world outside; Indian religion was defending itself and rebutting rival claims. It had been an indefinite and indefinable collection of precepts and beliefs, the Arya attempted to give it precision, at the same time enhancing its claims to great antiquity. The effect was to stop many Hindus from going over to Christianity and to anger missionaries accordingly. Nine-tenths of their attacks upon Hinduism did not apply to the Hinduism of the Arya Samaj. But the new Society carried the war of defence into one of offence, and conducted a propaganda against Christianity. Dyananda was no smooth-tongued controversialist, and his attacks upon our faith have been quoted to our annoyance and the detriment of his Society. He created passion as well as controversy. In a most interesting defence of the Society, written by Munshi Ram, the head of the Gurukul at Hardwar, and Ram Deva, of the Arya College at Lahore, a considerable number of pages are devoted to extracts to show that Christians themselves have not been too polite in the attacks made upon the faith of each other or upon that of other people.¹ In any event, the Arya claims not only to have stopped conversion in certain districts, but to have drawn back converts from the Christian fold.

Herein lies the Arya's strength and the contribution it has made to the Indian spirit. It is aggressive. It makes no apologies. It challenges and fights. That is why, when it began to influence the Nationalist movement, as it was bound to do, the combative independence with which it conducted itself made it so detested by official minds. To belong to the Arya was to carry the badge of a seditious disposition.

It is, however, in its social and educational work that it has

¹ *The Arya Samaj and its Detractors : A Vindication.*

maintained Hinduism most effectually. From its foundation it has opposed child marriages, and has countenanced the remarrying of widows ;¹ it has been sympathetic with the outcaste and has sought to raise him ; and it has been specially interested in schools. In its educational schemes it has always sought to provide for women. Its chief living champion has admitted that "English education and Western ideas have played an important part in bringing about this change, but an equally great, if not even greater part has been played by an appeal to ancient Hindu ideals of womanhood and to the teachings of the ancient Hindu religion in the matter of the relations of the sexes."²

Its educational work is concentrated in two great institutions, the Dyananda Anglo-Vedic College in Lahore and the Gurukul in the neighbourhood of Hardwar. The former is associated with the Punjab University, the other is quite independent of Government control, either direct or indirect, but both are intensely national in spirit. Whoever, walking through the D.A.V. College, sees its rooms, the pictures and texts on the walls of its offices, talks with its officials and teachers, who are all Indians, cannot fail to feel how different is the atmosphere there from any of the other colleges in Lahore or elsewhere. At every point he is impressed by the fact that this is an Indian effort, and the reason for it is stated quite definitely in its literature and reports. "To secure the best advantages of education, it is necessary to make it national in tone and character." The present system of education in India "tends to loosen these ties [of nationality] or obstructs the beneficent influence of education from being fairly extended to, and beneficially operating upon, the uneducated," and is therefore "partial, and, from the public point of view, undesirable." "Foreign education has produced a schism in society which is truly deplorable." "This

¹ It has not exactly approved of this, but does not condemn it. In any event the Arya in this as in other rules treats men exactly as it does women.

² Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj*, pp. 144-5

result, sad in itself, is the inevitable consequence of the one-sided policy of education imparted through a foreign agency, for whom it was simply impossible to appreciate the indigenous wants, and to apply a suitable method." The task of the founders of the college, therefore, has been "to make provision for the efficient study of the national language and literature, and carefully to initiate the youthful mind into habits and modes of life consistent with the national spirit and character." These are extracts from the opening pages of the first report of the college, and there is much more in the same strain. They make the purpose of the venture perfectly obvious.

Since 1886, the institution has been at work and has been served by teachers and officials who are wholeheartedly with its purpose, and who have accepted salaries very much less—sometimes nothing at all—than are paid in similar schools and colleges.

Even this college, with its determined Indian spirit, does not fully satisfy many of its supporters. Mr. Lajpat Rai, speaking at a college meeting on Founder's Day in 1914, remarked: "But the discipline enforced and the life lived at the Gurukul at Kangri is more in accordance with genuine Hindu ideals than those in the college." This Gurukul to which Mr. Lajpat Rai refers is an offspring from the D.A.V. college. Its founders believed that the connection of the college with the Punjab University hampered it in its work, made it think too much of university examinations (in which it has had much success) and too little of sound national education, and prevented it from pursuing such a curriculum of studies as Indian Educationalists would devise were they free to do so. After being a dissentient minority on the college committee they decided to begin work of their own. In conversation with the head of the Gurukul, Munshi Ram, I had the following explanation of how he came to start the school. He had been a successful lawyer, but the spirit of religion came upon him and he shook the sins of law off his

soul and sought peace in training youth. He had seen how English hampered the education of his own sons and so he desired a new method of instruction ; he was a devoted child of India and he cast out Western methods and returned to the ancient models. So in the jungle by the Ganges near Hardwar he began his Gurukul in 1902. When I was there 300 pupils were at the school.

The Gurukul has been the subject of much suspicion in Government quarters, and it has roused great opposition in missionary and other circles of Anglo-India. But its position is perfectly clear. In so far as the spirit of an independent India, declining to put itself unreservedly in the hands of the British, determined to preserve its own life and traditions, refusing to acquiesce in a denationalising educational system, is a menace to the Government, these Arya institutions are a menace, but in so far as the ultimate purpose of Great Britain in India is consistent with the growth and nurture of a pure Indian conscience and intellect, these institutions are not only legitimate, but are experiments which the Government should watch with vigilant sympathy and copy if need be with grateful care.¹ There are now several Gurukuls in existence.

Of course, there must be political results from these institutions. Teachers, students, and ex-students must appear from time to time in Nationalist agitation and must contribute (as every denominational and government college in India does) to the ranks of "political undesirables." But the danger into which the Government ran in those trying years at the close of Lord Curzon's rule and the opening of his successor's was that it would classify everything that was pro-

¹ The visit of Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces in 1913, not only dispelled the official cloud under which the school was lying, but did a great deal to prove to the Indians that the Government had not altogether forsaken the many liberal declarations which it had made since the Crown became responsible for India. His kindly recognition of this school was one of many marks of wisdom which characterised Lord Hardinge's rule.

Indian as anti-British. Whilst it was running into that danger it insisted upon regarding the Arya and its works as dangerous political propaganda, and, unfortunately, it was encouraged in its error by biased and unbalanced critics who had an entry to journals of great influence in India and Great Britain. The years from, roughly, 1905 to 1910, will always be studied by statesmanlike Englishmen both in India and at home, as years of warning as to what British policy in India ought not to be ; and the terrible blunders into which officials and their friends fell regarding the nature of the Arya Samaj and the problems which it created will also be studied as illustrations of how easy it is for the best intentioned of people, afraid to face the liberating consequences of their work and to accept the changing circumstances for which they are responsible, to try, during a short time of thoughtless panic, to undo everything they have done. In one of Balzac's nightmare tales—*Don Juan*—he tells how a son anointing the dead body of his father with a magical fluid which was to bring him to life again, became terror-stricken with the return of the dead to life, and how, when only the head and arm were anointed, he dropped the phial and spilt the liquid, and the servants who rushed in saw a young, living head on an old, dead, decrepit body. The work of the British Government in India cannot end in such a horrible tragedy.

This virile, masculine, propagandist sect now numbers half a million adherents. Amongst Christians, amongst Mohammedans, as well as amongst Hindus, it works, drawing the two first to its energetic monotheistic faith, the last to its purified conception of Indian worship, inspiring them all with a patriotism which it never dissociates from its religion. The Arya is India armed against aggression—India solicitous for its own soul. "Nemo me impune lacessit," it might take as its motto, did it not disdain to use a foreign tongue for such a purpose.

In the Punjab we find the more "dour" type of Hindu, serious, stubborn. He does not ascend into flights. His

mind runs in channels of "the law and the gospel." In Bengal it is different. The Bengali is more impulsive and volatile, more poetical and imaginative, in religion more of a ritualist. The revival of Hinduism there has therefore taken a different form. Dealing less with creed, it has gone into literature and ritual, and has been attracted by the more ceremonial and sacrificial aspects of Hinduism. It has taken the *Gita* as its typical gospel, and Sri Krishna as its characteristic deity, and it has lit the fires of its heart from the flaming emotions of this song and the seductive abandon of this hero. The *Gita* expresses heroic action as the Sermon on the Mount expresses heroic passivity. It is very curious that the most beautiful poetry in the sacred books of the East, the temperament of which is always supposed to be contemplation, deals with battle and knightly sacrifice, whilst that in the sacred books of the West, the temperament of which is supposed to be bustling action, upholds the virtue of turning the other cheek.

What wells of the purest spiritual draughts and most invigorating refreshment lie amidst the tangled, weedy growths of Hinduism. Who is there who has read the beautiful contemplations of Sri Sankaracharya on man's soul—the individual Self and the universal Self—can fail to do homage to the religion contained therein, the devout attitude of the seeker who has to remain in the outer courts, and, from the glimpses seen there of the Eternal within, fashion hymns of faith and creeds of satisfaction? If religious philosophy must always at a point move from the mastery of reason into the music of emotion, where is there to be found a more chaste transformation than in these hymns? If religious action must in the end lead to the triumph of sacrifice, defeat, and death, where are its energies enshrined in more fitting emotions than in the finer chapters of the *Gita*? What I may call the neo-missionaries, like Mr. Farquhar,¹ may urge the incompleteness of Hinduism and the superiority of the Chris-

¹ *The Crown of Hindum.*

tian faith in relation to a liberal civilisation, but the Indian who has a bias in favour of creeds which belong to his own history finds in his own religious books enough spiritual energy and ennobling thought to serve him as a patriot, to guide him as a citizen, and purify him as a man. In any event, just as it was in Japan, the Indian national movement has reacted upon creeds, and the young Nationalist inspired by the conceptions of Indian self-government has also responded to a revival of national religion, sometimes in the crude form that the revival of the Ganpati festival at Poona took, sometimes in the more spiritual forms which were followed by men like Arabinda Ghose and Bipin Chandra Pal.

The revolutionary movement in Bengal has been based upon a return to Hinduism. A few agnostics, the products of English education and Western philosophy, led in it, but its strength did not lie in them. Even they, in garb and outward habit, returned to India. When Har Dayal was as far removed from religious Hinduism as I am, he discarded English dress and appeared, even in England, in kurta and dhoti. Most of the extreme left of the movement performed their temple duties with scrupulous devotion and regarded their political action as part of religious duty. The dirt of superstitious ages had gathered upon their idols, but they set about to restore and idealise them. Their worship symbolised life in its bounties and shortcomings, in its promises and failures, and their writing is full of this renaissance. Bipin Chandra Pal's *The Soul of India* may be taken as a guide to this revival. "All these old and traditional gods and goddesses," he writes,¹ "who had lost their hold upon the modern mind, have been reinstalled with a new historic and nationalist interpretation in the mind and soul of the people. Hundreds of thousands of our people have commenced to hail their motherland to-day as Durga, Kalee, Jagaddhatri. These are no longer mere mythological conceptions or legendary persons or even poetic symbols. They are different manifestations

¹ Pp. 187, etc.

of the Mother. This Mother is the Spirit of India. This geographical habitat of ours is only the outer body of the Mother. . . . Behind this physical and geographical body, there is a Being, a Personality—the Personality of the Mother. . . . Our history is the sacred biography of the Mother: . . . We her children know her even to-day as our fathers and their fathers had done before, for countless generations as a Being, a manifestation of Prakriti, as our Mother and the Mother of the Race. And we have always, and do still, worshipped her as such.” It is easy to blow these words about like thistledown before the breath of Western materialist philosophy and “common sense”; but for historical purposes, and for purposes of understanding the mind of Bengal, they stand. This strong back current towards Hinduism floats most of nationalist extremism on its surface. It is the creation in the minds of enthusiasts of an India which is a goddess demanding everything from her sons that has given the Government of India so much trouble recently. It is necessary to sift the husk from the corn in this movement and to understand what is good in it as well as censure what error it may contain. The intense consciousness that they are subordinate and subject cannot be plucked out or beaten down in the Bengalis’ minds, and this creates a reaction to tradition. The return to Hindu culture cannot be stopped. Indeed, so unlovely and barren would India be under an unchallenged and undiluted Western culture that the reversion to native roots and types ought to be welcomed. Our task is to help towards purification, trusting again to the natural procession of consequences to lead the Indian to some satisfactory goal. It is easy for a people to deify a land which they think is oppressed; it is natural for a people like the Indians, who are born hero-worshippers, to embody their spirit in gods and goddesses. Then, persecution does not suppress error and extravagance; it only intensifies them. Meanwhile this religious reawakening in Bengal seizes upon everything which adds honour to India and cherishes it like

a jewel. Places of honour at examinations in Oxford and Cambridge, the achievements of a Dr. Bose or a Dr. C. P. Ray in science, the work of Indians in the administration, the winning of V.C.'s at the front, the sacrifices of youths on the scaffold, are all treasured for laying at the feet of the Mother and enriching her. In the Punjab there is a belief in India ; in Bengal a worship of India.

Such movements at their best can often be most profitably explored by a study of the work of a man, and such a man exists in Bengal. Rabindranath Tagore is known to the West almost solely as a poet. But Tagore's poetry is India. It is the product of his devotion to Indian culture ; it belongs to a revival in Bengali literature which comes from the heart of Bengal far more purely than Chatterji's fiction. It is of the soul of a people, not merely the emotion of a man ; a systematic view of life, not merely a poetic mood ; a culture, not merely a tune. Its counterpart is those burning sentences in which he has time and time again condemned the civilisation of the West ; its companion is the work of his nephew, Gogendranath Tagore, who has revived Indian art with the devotion and soul of a worshipper. And just as in the Punjab the D.A.V. College and the Gurukul proclaim that educational systems spring out of the national spirit, so in Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore has expressed that fact, too, in his school at Bhulpur which meets in the ashram and the gardens where his father retired for rest and contemplation. This again is characteristically Bengali and has none of the rigidities of the Punjab spirit. Its classes are open to English teachers, and there are two there now. There is not the same Puritan following of the ancient ways as in the Punjab, but it is Indian and independent, and its worship is the ancient worship of the people. I have spent a few days there as a guest of the school, and its atmosphere and demeanour are as different as can be conceived from those of British-managed institutions.

In Madras there has been little upheaval. Its educated

people have responded to the Nationalist movement as politicians, not as devotees. It is of the south. But there is a purifying process going on. It has responded especially to theosophy, which has its head-quarters at Adyar on the outskirts of the city.

I need not enter into the controversies which the work of the Theosophical Society has raised. Its influence has been great in the awakening of India, and that influence has been described by Mrs. Besant as "the revival of the Eastern faiths, the checking of the destructive effects of missionary zeal, the establishment of an Indian ideal of education, the inspiring of self-respect in Indians, of pride in their past, evoking hope in their future, and the creation of the national spirit now throbbing throughout the land."¹ From the annual meeting of the Society held at Adyar, the Society's head-quarters, in 1884, came the inception of the Indian National Congress, and since the Society has passed under Mrs. Besant's influence it has become far more Hindu in its inspiration than in the days of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott. From its activities have come the Hindu College in Benares on the one hand, and the Home Rule League on the other.

In Bombay, the religious side of the revival has not been very marked (though Mr. Tilak bases himself upon religious Hinduism) and has been overshadowed by its political side. I have always found it difficult to get an emotional grasp of spiritual life in Bombay, whereas a political and historical grasp is easily attained. The Nationalist movement on this side of India has been kept largely in the hands of men who were politicians first—like the Parsis Sir Pheroscha Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji, the Brahmins Tilak and Gokhale, the Mohammedans Tyabji and Jinnah. The new spiritual forces which have revived India in the Punjab and Bengal have hardly disturbed Bombay, though they have made themselves felt. The Tilak religious movement, however, shows none

¹ *The Indian Review*, October 1913.

of that new life which recreates the gods whilst it preserves them. It is only a revival of the ceremonies of orthodox Hinduism—Ganpati festivals—prompted, his enemies say, much less by religious fervour than by political designs. Gloomy and resentful historical events are still too clearly impressed upon the minds of the Bombay Hindu leaders to allow the spirit of a purified religion to inspire the Nationalist movement.

But taken in the mass, the religious and heroic tales, creeds, and conceptions of India lend themselves admirably to a Nationalist revival whether conducted on legitimate or illegitimate lines, and the day has gone by—it was never anything but an interlude of reaction—when Western modes of thought and habits of life stood out in the sight of Indians as perfections to copy.¹ India has returned upon herself and is finding guidance from, and pride in, her own past.

I must now turn to the more direct results of Christian propaganda and try to estimate their place in Indian life. A few sentences will suffice for its purely destructive and negative effects which are found amongst the educated and partly educated classes.

When a creed is attacked as Hinduism has been, not only by a new culture, but also by the direct assaults of a rival faith, the attack is evidenced not merely by an awakened allegiance to the spirit of the old creed and the conversions to the new one, but also by the destruction of all credal belief. I was once shown round a Khalee temple, famous for its rites, one of the most frequented outside sacred cities like Benares, by a Hindu dressed in a compromise Eastern-Western garb, who had been at a university and had a superficial smattering of Western knowledge. He discussed what was being shown to me with a semi-cynical detachment, certainly with no devotional attitude. Much to my surprise I found afterwards that he was one of the priests. Too much importance must

¹ When the Brahmo Samaj became cosmopolitan under the influence of its great and only leader, Keshub Chunder Sen, it ceased to appeal to India.

not be put upon this, however, as religion has always sat lightly on many Hindus, especially of the priestly caste, but some reading of Herbert Spencer and Reynolds's novels, together with some knowledge of Christian criticism, had eaten into the foundations of this man's creed, without supplying him with a new one, and in this he was typical of a considerable section of his fellow-countrymen who had been taught the absurdity of seas of treacle without being led to a belief in rivers of crystal. The mentality of these men remains Indian, but they have been emancipated from Indian beliefs. They have creeds, but iconoclasm has shattered faith. Amongst them, Christian activities have been merged in the sum total of Western influence. They belong to a separate group of hybrids, the future of which is doubtful. They are struggling to find a new spiritual soil and certainly have not yet succeeded in their quest. Amongst the masses the case is different.

Christianity in India has not only a long history, but one which begins in myth and fable. St. Thomas himself is said to have been the first missionary, and the quaint little Catholic settlement at the Little Mount outside Madras includes the cavern church where he is said to have worshipped, and is the place of his reputed martyrdom. On the western coast of Southern India are Christian populations whose conversion came by Syriac apostles and whose Christian rites and social habits are twisted and gnarled by age and the pressure of native circumstance and superstition. There are Brahmin Christians who wear the sacred thread and practise Hindu ceremonies; there are Hindu Christians who maintain the habits of caste as rigidly as the most orthodox; to-day the Christian Church, especially in the south, is divided as to whether the outcaste should be baptized from the same font and in the same place in the church as the man of caste, and should sit with him at worship and Communion. In some villages there are different churches for different castes. Christian Hindus often perform ceremonies forbidden by one

or other of their creeds, and they then close the doors of the temples or cover the faces of their gods lest the divinities that would be offended might see. They sin, as they think, securely behind the backs of their gods, Christian and Hindu alike. Christian Hindus have been known, when migrating from one village to another, to take with them the image of the goddess which protects them from cholera, to build temples for Hindu gods and employ priests to minister unto them out of mission funds. "Near Negapatam," says Mr. Sharrock,¹ "the Roman Catholics have a famous image called the Potter's Virgin, who is specially noted for her miraculous powers and is visited by thousands of pilgrims, Hindu and Muslim, as well as Christian. The Roman congregation at A—— determined to get the Virgin also to their village, and so erected a wooden cross to which she was supposed to be transferred, and this was put next to Karumbayi's stone [the cholera goddess] and surrounded by a number of minor deities. Karumbayi, however, signified her disapproval of the symbol of a cross in her neighbourhood, and so it had to be placed elsewhere. They say that the two goddesses are sisters, and St. Thomas and St. Anthony are brothers, while prayers are offered to all four indifferently." Famine and pestilence bring worshippers who bear testimony to their Christian faith just as the Hindus under similar stress bear testimony to their belief in their gods.²

The propaganda of the Christian missionaries is not exactly what many people at home imagine it to be. The vision of an earnest and faithful man preaching, preaching, preaching the evangel of Christ with all its superimposed creeds and theologies of Catholicism, Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and so on, is but an imperfect vision of Indian mission propaganda. Sir William Hunter writes in *The Old Missionary*: "I asked why he laid so much stress on teaching, as compared with the

¹ *South Indian Missions*, p. 291.

² We find a similar thing in Eastern Bengal, where the people are Moham-medans by profession, but Hindus by superstition.

preaching which formed the popular idea of a missionary's work. The reply was: 'I have never forgotten John Lawrence's parting words to me when he passed through Calcutta on sick leave in 1840: "The only way that will bring the natives to truer and more enlightened ideas is the gradual progress of education."'" John Lawrence's words have been adopted as the motto of Indian missions. Of course one has to remember that in mission work, as in everything else in India, there must be variety according to circumstances. The problem of a missionary working amongst the educated youth of Calcutta is not the same as that of one working amongst the Ghonds of the Central Provinces. The clash between philosophic Christianity and Hinduism which occupies the thoughts of the missionary faced with the Brahmo or the Arya Samāj implies a propaganda quite different from that which is to appeal to the outcaste in Bombay or the Santal in Seoni. But even amongst these latter the propaganda is becoming more and more indirect. Amongst the ignorant peoples whose religion is really not even Hinduism as taught in the Vedas or anywhere else, but the survival of far more ancient beliefs and ceremonies, the missionary comes less as a preacher than as a friend and protector. He cures the sick, he defends the oppressed. Through the doors of friendship comes the Christian creed. The physician preaches the gospel and the friend of the friendless catechises about its creeds. It is not the dogmatic way of opening the doors to heaven, but it opens them all the same. One has only to drop in to one of those humble mission churches on a Sunday evening to see that in some hearts the good seed has fallen and germinated. The spiritual light in these churches may be dim, but they seem to come up close to you in their smallness and bareness. The worshippers sit on the floor and they cannot forbear to look around and be lively and take a homely interest in a stranger. The hymns and scriptures are in an unknown tongue and yet bring into memory the familiar worship at home. There is devotion, and there is happiness in these tiny places. But

the missionary is far more than a preacher. He is the father and ruler of his flock, who before he came amongst them had not a champion in the world. Some of the older type of Scottish missionaries, the men who came from the bench or the workshop originally, with their hearts full of "love and pity for the heathen," filled this rôle of ruler as well as preacher with a gifted power. Stern, rugged men, with a rich endowment of common sense and an overbearing and commanding personality, they turned the mission into a State. That type is disappearing, though in the outlying districts it has still much work to do. But in the towns, the football university Christian is taking the place of the workman missionary. Hinduism is not now to be stormed by a rival system; it is to be dwarfed and dwindled by a new atmosphere or it is to be transformed out of itself into Christianity by its own internal forces of growth, quickened by the influences which Christianity has brought to bear upon them.¹ Thus the mission lays more and more weight on education, not only that Christians may be able to read, but because the subtle and creative atmosphere which is most congenial to Christian influence is suffused by education; and it is not so much the Christian creed that is propagated (though of course this is done all the time) as the social implications of Christianity which Hinduism cannot satisfy. The Church thus ceases to be Christ's body and becomes Christ's spirit. So it can be said: "Government officials, from the Viceroy to the lowest subordinate, stand side by side with the missionary in this sacred and holy ministry." I know how fine are the men who are at this work, but I wonder if they can succeed. Particularly do I wonder if they do not lose sight of India, because their little group of converts and would-be converts stands so close round about them. All the while, however, they are creating India because they are not making converts so much

¹ J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*.

² Lucas, *Our Task in India: Shall we Proselytise Hindus or Evangelise India?*

as emancipating men's minds, breaking down old social divisions, and purifying old faiths. At one Christian college I came across a bright attractive-looking Mohammedan lad who told me he was studying under Christian influences in order to be "a good Mohammedan." I am not sure that they are aware of the full significance of this new missionary method, though it is felt by men like Mr. Andrews who used to be at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. They are grafting their new cultures on Indian stocks and in their own minds a curious Indianising process is at work. They are converting and being converted at the same time.

The statistical results of centuries of proselytising are not very massive, but no one would ever think of measuring the effect of missions in this way alone.

There are 4,000,000 Christians in the Indian population of about a hundred times as many, and they are mostly drawn from the outcastes and the lower social classes.¹ Progress is slow, and of the 4,000,000 a large number can hardly pass muster. They are poor dear children of dim and uncertain light, but they have been baptized. By no means have they all been converted individually. Economic motives have often determined their profession of faith, and the great colleges founded and maintained by missions have yielded but scanty harvests in converts. Few missionaries are happy about the result, and there is a perceptible movement in favour of closing miscellaneous colleges, making these institutions purely Christian, and specialising missionary activities upon residential halls where students may congregate. The resi-

¹ "Of the whole Christian community in India 90 per cent. have come from the depressed classes, or the outcaste community. Of the remaining tenth of the community, about four-fifths are from the respectable Sudra classes. Of the remaining one-fiftieth, most are from the Muslim faith; of these again the majority were originally members of the Hindu community, but they passed through Mohammedanism into Christianity. Probably not more than one in a thousand (of the whole Christian community in India) comes from the Brahmin Caste" (*Year Book of Missions in India*, 1912, pp. 203, etc.).

dential college and college hall are, for the time being, the new toy of the Indian educationalist. It is a good toy, but as I have walked through it I felt that its story would ultimately be read in the history of the disappointments of well-meaning men who have striven "to bring from afar good to India." Its success will depend upon how it is worked. I could name some of these institutions which I have visited and carefully scrutinised, and they will fail and fail badly; I have seen others which may succeed in supplying an atmosphere of reverence, of culture, of education to the Indian student.

But I write of the Christian mission here as at once the creator and the settler of great political problems. So soon as education penetrates to the very bottom strata of Indian society and political ideas follow it, the outcaste will become a mighty Indian problem. A few educated and intelligent outcastes with some determination and strength of will could raise that problem in a pressing form. For the challenge which a handful of such men could throw at Indian society would find that society unable to resist and would alter at any rate its political expression. One man breaks down a barrier and in his footsteps all men may tread. Here is the real revolutionary effect of missions.

This mission field is of immense width, and no friend of missions need be disturbed because his successes are "only amongst the outcastes." Paradoxical though it may seem, it is really one of the plainest and simplest of truths, that whoever emancipates the outcaste emancipates India. In India there are 50,000,000 outcastes (divided amongst themselves by caste divisions) scattered throughout the country, whose very shadow is a pollution, who live outside villages or in town districts under conditions unspeakably bad. The outcaste's lot is worse than that of the beasts who do not understand; his religion is of the most primitive kind, his superstitions are appalling. Fear lurks to greet him in every corner, and terror comes with every unusual occurrence. Pestilence dwells in his midst. Often sold with the land on

which he works, often pawned for debts, he is not treated as a human being at all. He is known by a name which is applied to everything outside the pale of kindness and consideration. He eats filth, his drinking habits are disgusting. The most respectable labour to which he can put his hand is work on the fields, and when that is not to be had, he becomes road-mender, scavenger, or anything that no one else will do on account of its nature or of prejudice against it. In the eyes of the law the outcaste is equal to a Brahmin, but the law is only a sentiment. He may acquire property, but it is constantly encroached upon, he must be servile in all his attitudes; sometimes he may not even approach a public place like a post-office. He is habitually in debt and pays without murmur most extortionate interest. The caste man has no scruples against fleecing him. Twenty-five per cent. per annum, not always honestly levied, is a common rate of interest to impose upon him. Yet he manages to be happy. You meet him smiling. He is said to have a good sense of humour and he is fascinated by rhythmic beatings of tom-toms. He accepts his lot. I have written of him as if he were all alike, but that is, in reality, not the case. He varies, but these are his typical characteristics.

Yet, in some districts, he is the descendant of ruling dynasties and the remnant of an imperial and conquering race. Sindh was once ruled by Sudras.¹ The masterpiece of Tamil literature was written by a pariah, in the south of India, Sivaites worship the deified Nanda, who was a pariah. Even to-day, in spite of the accumulated disadvantages of many generations of neglect and outlawry, many able men are included amongst the outcastes, and their children do well at school. The aboriginal converts in the Chota Nagpur district have made such progress in education that a college has been established for their boys. Of the Indian Christians

¹ "In one country we hear of high-caste Hindu princes receiving the *tilak*, or mark of investiture, from Bhil or Mina tribesmen" (Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, pp. 89-90).

who do so well at Madras University many are of outcaste descent, and such men are to be found in colleges teaching Brahmin youths. But if they are appointed to a public office the responsible officer is generally threatened with all sorts of disapproval. Many who claim the benefits of the Queen's Proclamation that no favour will be shown in appointing any of her Indian subjects to public office assume that it does not apply to the pariah—in any event they have no intention of applying it to him.

The effect of Christian propaganda is to bring within the pale of the political community this class, enormous in numbers, not altogether mean in capacity, but weakened in will and self-confidence by long generations of servility. As they are taught to lift up their heads so will they become of some political importance, but that is a slow process. Still, the beginning is made, and with it the most serious assault yet delivered against caste, and the most doughty blow yet struck for the liberation of Indian genius and intelligence.

Caste is by far and away the most predominating influence on Indian life. Begun to protect the higher civilisation of the invading Aryan from Dravidian and other aboriginal contamination, it has developed both in theory and in practice into a rigid religious and social organisation, the breach of which is attended with the direst consequences. Amongst the more educated sections its rigidity is slackening, but its spirit remains; amongst the masses its power has hardly been weakened. In fact, to-day, amongst the masses of the people, so ingrained is the spirit of caste that new castes are being formed. Communities, trades, and other groups seek social distinction and privilege by declaring that they belong to a caste, and they can usually get their claims sanctioned by some accommodating Brahmin who supplies them with a pedigree of race for a fee in the same way that the College of Heralds supplies an upstart at home with a coat of arms.¹ It perhaps matters not. Caste can be broken either by being

¹ There is even a caste of train thieves.

destroyed or by being made universal, as the glory of titles may be dimmed either by republicanism or sycophancy, by their abolition or their extension, after the manner of recent Honours Lists.

Some of the Hindu communities, like the Arya Samaj, dispute the authority of caste, but even amongst Christians it retains its power. "Striking as has been the success of Christian missions, it must be admitted that this great success has been nullified and vitiated to a great extent by the admission of caste into Christianity."¹ The caste mind is not only fenced round with social advantage, but with religious faith, and heroic indeed is the man who defies it. All the curses of the cruel hundred and ninth Psalm fall upon his head. He is cut off from his kin and his inheritance, his children are left unwedded. In the bazaar no one will trade with him; he must not cross the threshold of his temples. When he dies no one will carry his body to the burning-place. He is out-cast upon earth and debarred from heaven. Turned away from his own door in life, none of the rites which light his way through the darkness of death may be done for him.

The spread of education and the prevalence of foreign travel have modified caste rigidities. In the north they are less observed than in the south. The rules of exclusive eating are being widened, tea is not considered as a meal, and in Madras I was once invited to partake of a real meal with a company of Brahmins who remained in caste. The ceremony of purification is not only being applied to circumstances in which but a few years ago it would hardly have been held applicable, but the ceremony itself is being neglected in cases where it strictly ought to be resorted to. In whole classes—and those of the higher castes—caste is becoming not much more than the social exclusiveness which is prevalent in our own society, and its evils are becoming, in numerous social reform societies, the subject of condemnation.²

¹ Sharrock, *Hinduism Ancient and Modern*, p. 177.

² It is interesting to note that the Lutheran and other German missionaries

This division of Indian society has been a source of great trouble to Indian missions. Caste keeps the Brahmin a Hindu when he has ceased to believe in the doctrines of Hinduism, and for the people generally it means that Christianity loses its influence when it has destroyed the old faiths. It destroys but cannot replace. The new inspiration is parched out of existence by the social power of the organisation of the old faith.¹ At the same time, and for the same reason, Christian India, being outside the pale of Hindu India, finds its influence on the intimate life of the people very limited. The Christian is a foreigner to his own family, and that is true whether he has been a Brahmin or an outcaste. This is one of the explanations of mass conversion. It is much easier for a whole village than for an individual to be baptized, and whilst the religious value of the change may be doubtful (in accordance with the view one holds of what religious conversion really is) its political possibilities are very great.

This mass conversion is one of the most interesting movements in India from a political point of view, because it arises very largely from economic causes and from revolts against oppression which in time are bound to have political consequences of no mean importance.² Then the whole of a community goes over to Christianity, sometimes taking into Christianity its gods, its ceremonies, its superstitions, and its prejudices. The famine which lay upon the land from 1876 to 1879 brought thousands of outcastes to baptism. As a result of the secular work done by the missionaries, two Anglican

and the Roman Catholics coming from societies where social caste is strongly marked have accepted and explained caste in India as though it were practically the same social practice which they knew at home. The analogy is not complete. A more complete analogy is the refusal of white men to have social intercourse and sanction alliances with coloured people in communities like the American Southern States.

¹ "The history of South Indian missions is very largely a history of caste troubles and caste relapses" (Rev. J. A. Sharrook, *World Missionary Conference*, 1910, vol. II p. 370).

² Cf. *Census Report*, 1911, vol. I. part I. p. 137.

Societies at Tinnevely baptized, in 1880, 19,000 people. This began the great mass movement of pariahs in the south towards Christianity. The north followed later. Here the American Missions are powerful, and it is said they take less precautions than others as regards baptism; but, be that as it may, Indian Christians have increased in the Punjab in ten years (1901-11) by 431·6 per cent., and the gains are shared by all the missionary societies at work in the district. The moving cause of this must be put down to the fact that the missionaries got the Government to allot large areas of newly irrigated land for Christian settlement. Thus the Chuhras, who have hitherto been agricultural labourers and skin dealers, if they became Christians could for the first time in their lives become land-holders.¹ Gross cases of systematic persecution of pariahs come under the notice of missionaries, and even if they are not remedied at once, the sympathetic advice given awakens corresponding sympathy in the mind of the little community. A new light begins to dawn upon it and a new interest to awaken in it. When this is amplified by the feeling that at last the pariah has protection within the law and in his possessions, he becomes a new man in a new world. His whole community changes its social allegiance by accepting baptism. But the change does not end there. The improvement in his social status lets light into his mind. He is taught self-respect, he becomes more cleanly in his habits. He does give some proof of having been "born again." "It is just as true in the Punjab as in South India that, while the origin of the movement is mainly social, there is a strong spiritual force at work within it."² As was the case of the Shanars of Tinnevely, whose oppression by Brahmin tyranny led to mass conversion, the revolt of dignity precedes the religious change and is the reason for it, and, the new allegiance having been made, it carries certain spiritual consequences with it.

¹ *International Review of Missions*, October 1914, p. 653.

² Bishop of Madras, *International Review of Missions*, July 1913.

We must not assume, therefore, that mass conversion is something that is not conversion. The missionaries can defend it as missionaries and not merely as reformers. I deal with it here, however, mainly as one of the great movements in the emancipation of the Indian spirit. Men are influenced naturally in masses. Every evangelist campaign in Great Britain is an example of mass conversion and shows the characteristics of a mass psychology. It starts from personal influence. Schwarz acquired his hold over the Shanars of Tanjore because of his personality, and Ringeltaube laid the foundations of Christian missions in Travancore in the same way. The Christian movement amongst the Chuhras in the Punjab originated in the conversion of a hide-buyer of great propagandist zeal. But the personal influence is of an illuminating kind, and when it champions as well as persuades, and when it deals with people accustomed to common action in a community, a mass response is the result. Truly the method is like casting a net into the sea and hauling in every fish that gets entangled. This is good for the Church if the Church has the power and capacity to discipline the baptized; in any event it is good for India because it has put men on their feet. Nor must the sneer that the motives are economic be taken at too high a valuation. It may be so, but economic desires are very often the vehicles by which mental awakenings show themselves and find a fuller expression. The spirit needs a body; the free man needs possessions, and if these masses of outcastes are moved by a revolting spirit to seek justice and human right and testify to the change which has taken place within them in the only way open to them—a profession of what their champion considers to be all-important and an association with him in the worship of his God—who with any appreciation of the workings of the human mind will have the hardihood to say that what takes place can be described in terms of personal gain? It has a significance far deeper than that.

The areas where these mass conversions are prevalent lie

mainly in the extreme south of India, in Madras from the Mysore border to the middle of Hyderabad, amongst the Santals in Bengal, and north-westwards through the United Provinces and the Punjab from Bareilly and Meerut, in the Khasi Hills in Assam, in the region of Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces.

In addition to the Christian missions, other agencies are at work in India for the reclamation of the outcaste. Within recent years Hindus themselves have been active, and chief amongst them have been the Arya and the Brahmo Samaj. For in the Arya Samaj in particular and amongst Hindus in general is a keen determination not to allow the untouchables to be considered as anything but Hindus. The Hindu requires these people to keep up the numbers upon which he bases his political claims. If they slip from his fold he is weakened. So from this point of view, missionary activity is a grand attack upon his power and he must sacrifice some tradition to enable him to meet it. When the Gait circular threatened the Hindus that in the census of 1911 the outcastes might not be classified as Hindus, great was the consternation of Hindu society. "The Gait circular had a quite unexpected effect and galvanised the dying body of orthodox Hinduism into sympathy with its untouchable population, because that was so necessary to avert its own downfall."¹

True to its own tenets, the Arya admits outcastes to membership, allows them to perform rites like Homa, invests them with the sacred thread. These admissions sometimes are also of the nature of mass conversion when, as in the territories of the Maharajah of Jammu and in Kashmere, 10,000, and in the district of Sialkote 36,000, have been admitted *en bloc* into the Samaj. The Rajput Suddhi Sabha, formed by the Arya for the purpose of reconverting to Hinduism Mohamadan Rajputs, is said to have won for the Arya the conversion of as many as 370 in one day. Between 1907 and 1910 it reconverted 1,052. It is estimated that nearly two-

¹ Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj*, pp. 227-8.

thirds of the Arya members in the Punjab were of the depressed classes. There has been opposition from the orthodox, but the Arya Samaj is too strong to be cowed or to be turned from its deliberate purpose. It backs up its work by education and other kinds of reforming social effort. The Brahmo Samaj with less enthusiasm and on a smaller scale is doing similar work. It has, however, helped by both precept and example to interest orthodox Hindus in a Mission to the Depressed Classes. On such thorny questions as whether the converts of this Mission are to be absorbed into caste Hinduism or not—questions which the Arya Samaj has definitely answered in the affirmative—the Brahmo is divided. In this as in other things the Brahmo is well intentioned but feeble. The Servants of India and various other Social Reform Societies are working at the same problem, whilst no single leader of the Indian people has failed to acknowledge the responsibility of the higher castes to uplift the lower.

On the other hand, Mohammedan missionaries have met with some success particularly in the Punjab where they have made specially marked headway amongst the Chuhra who have yielded so many converts to Christianity. The outcaste turning Mohammedan becomes fully enfranchised at once in his new community—in some respects more than if he became a Christian. Thus, the long stagnant waters of Indian life are being stirred to the very bottom.

The view is very commonly held, both by Indians and English, that the Christian missions in India thwart the Nationalist movement not only by openly opposing it, as some missionaries do, but still more effectively by implanting in the minds of the people thoughts which lead them away from Indian leadership and ideas. The results of a propaganda, however, are not always what they are intended to be; the harvest to be reaped is not in the keeping of the sower of the seed. It is true that the older missionaries appear on the whole to have been anti-Nationalist and to have led their people on roads other than Indian, and that opposition to

Nationalism has come from some of their converts. This, however, is changing. The younger school of missionaries are not anti-Nationalist;¹ Indian Christians have shown some degree of national independence in church government; the vitality of Indian life is bound to draw to itself the minds and movements awakened by missionary propaganda. The Christian mission may tend to bind the native Christian to the sovereignty of the conqueror by giving him the faith of the power in possession, but that is not antagonistic to Nationalism. "Jesus Christ," a leading Nationalist is reported to have said, "was hopelessly handicapped by his connection with the West."² But Jesus Christ is universal and is not Himself Western, and a Christian Church in India will, as it grows in strength, become Indian in spirit. The essential point to keep in view is that the missions are educating the people. In India, the highest percentage of literate men is amongst the Christians with the exception of the Brahmins, and also of literate women with the exception of the Parsis. This is bound to break down the barriers which separated the outcaste from humanity. As a result of this education, the outcaste is thinking for himself and is acting for himself. He becomes a personage in his own eyes and not a servile encumbrance on the face of the earth. He is forming his own communities, his own co-operative societies, his own rudimentary forms of self-government, and, though it will take him as a class some time to rise out of the deep muddy ruts into which he has fallen, his past shows that he has genius and ability. The instinct for self-control which an educated people have is even shown in the community of Indian Christians by an opposition to missionary tutelage. Raja Sir Harman Singh complained in a Presidential address delivered to an Indian Christian Conference that missionaries showed too much racial prejudice and too great a desire "to keep all power and authority in the missionaries' own hands," and he claimed

¹ Andrews, *Renaissance in India*, pp. 164-8.

² *World Missionary Conference Report*, 1910, ii. p. 346.

that Indian advice should be sought and taken in the management of the Church. He went on to say that "the Indian Christian community must ever keep before itself the national idea" and co-operate with non-Christian Hindus. So we have the National Missionary Society started and a native Indian Church organising itself. For some years there was an agitation amongst Anglicans for an Indian Bishop, and this was successful when the Rev. V. S. Azarian—himself of outcaste origin—was consecrated for the diocese of Madras a few years ago. In other walks of life, the educated outcaste is taking a part in the Nationalist agitations appropriate to his interests and experiences, and as was the case with the Mohammedans so will it be with the Christians: sharing in the life of India, they will give back to it their energy, begotten of their ideals and their discontents, their claims and their resentments. It is a strange phenomenon, this struggle for the control of the minds and souls of the 50,000,000 outcastes. It means that Indian society at the very bottom as well as at the top is being educated and is being taught self-reliance, and that, both above and below, political self-government and personal ambition are fermenting. It may be long ere this ferment produces its inevitable changes, but that it will do so is not open to doubt. One thing will hasten matters. Representative government must sooner or later, and in some degree, be given to India, and the outcaste will not be left out. His recognition is necessary for the Hindus to enable them to keep up their proportion of the Indian population, and his missionary champions are not likely to let him be excluded in the cold. Moreover, a sufficient section of the community is now too wide awake to allow an Indian Government to be established in which they have no share or lot,

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

WHEN the war burst upon Europe, India was in a state of great political unsettlement. The troubles with the South African and Canadian Governments had stirred up ugly feelings in India. "Anarchism" had become threatening. Centres of disaffection and revolutionary propaganda had been established in Europe and America, and the bomb had appeared. Political dacoities were prevalent in some districts, particularly in Bengal; youth was throwing off restraint, and students—now at this college, now at the next—showed an ominous ferment of conduct. But the forces making for creative change were to be found elsewhere. These incidents and signs only hampered those forces, filled the authorities with apprehension, but also with obstinacy, and confused the evolutionary tendencies native to Indian politics. A new generation had been born. The National Congress leaders found that a tide of opinion had risen outside which had submerged their old landmarks. At first, as was human, they looked on with regret and unwillingly accepted the facts. But the circumstances were too strong for them. The Surat split was healed; the demand for "Home Rule" was taken up; the old programme for detailed reforms was merged in a general claim for self-government. Indian politics were about to take a quick march forward.

Upon this the war came and suddenly the whole world seemed to be transformed. Comradeship in danger promised to wipe out past divisions, and facing a common foe to dispel

lack of confidence in each other. Those critics of the Indian Nationalist movement who saw in its demands nothing but sedition and in themselves nothing but perfection, had long been misreading the signs of the times and misleading the British public at home and the British Administration in India. With the outbreak of the war, the mischievous errors of these critics were revealed.¹ India was proud to send soldiers to fight as companions with white troops on European soil²; rich and poor gave, each after his kind, to India's offering; at home we began to talk of turning over a new leaf and of governing India differently. By and by from the field came stories of Indian valour, coveted V.C. badges were pinned on Indian breasts; India felt that her blood was washing out her colour. She even talked of saving the Empire from ruin. The exploits of Japan had been giving the East courage; the employment of Indian troops in the war gave India pride. Then there was a lull and a back-set. India's enthusiasm was not encouraged; her recruits were not accepted; her ambulance corps were disbanded; the adminis-

¹ How grievously these people misread the nature of the Nationalist movement is known to everybody who has spent any time in mastering its purposes. The surprise felt when India demanded a share in the war only showed how little our people understood India. This sentence from a speech delivered in Bombay in March 1894, by Mr A O Hume, the founder of the National Congress, is remarkable only for the accuracy of its description of what happened, not for the exceptional nature of what is said in it. "A great war will be India's opportunity—opportunity of proving that if in periods of peace she clamours—at times somewhat angrily—for equal civil rights, in the hour of war she is ever ready and anxious to accept equal military risks." The report records that this was followed by "prolonged applause."

² It is of some importance to note the precise direction in which the thoughts of Indians turned in those days, and that is shown in the speeches made in the Legislative Council on September 8th, 1914. Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad, Khan of Mahmudabad, said. "The decision [to employ Indian troops] has made the British Government more national than any measure of reform of recent years"; and Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur said. "It has not only satisfied the just pride of the several martial races that inhabit India, it has not only enhanced their sense of self-respect, but has also established, and proved before the world at large, their common citizenship with the inhabitants of other parts of this great Empire."

tration became timorous at the spectre of an aggressive nationalism. The lips spoke good things; the eyes glanced suspiciously at the audience. There was a reaction towards the old views that the East was destined to be governed and to yield huge profits to Western capital—was a place where the childhood of the world still lingered as if protected by some magic—was unable to look after itself in the bustle and turmoil of this earth.

Suddenly in the midst of this came the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the conduct of the Mesopotamia campaign. It revealed neglect, miscalculation, lack of foresight and forethought; but above all, it revealed a broken machinery, an inelastic system of government, an effete political method. The problem of Indian administration was brought before the nation with a dramatic force and an insistence which could not be denied. A change of a fundamental character in Indian administration must take place. Mr. Chamberlain resigned an office in which his heart was never set, I believe, and Mr. Montagu succeeded and declared for a thorough reform in the Indian Government. He then proceeded to India to consult with the Viceroy and representative parties, and in due time the Report christened after the Secretary of State and the Viceroy appeared. The bulk of this book was written before the Report was published—indeed, long before the Mesopotamia blunders were revealed—but the conclusions come to in it have required no modification by what has happened or what has been published since. Without the Report my conclusions would have appeared to be extreme and might have remained for years a desirable, perhaps, but certainly a distant goal. And yet, the Report dealt with a system of government spent before the war. The war revealed, but did not make, the cracks in it. Before Indian troops marched within sound of battle in Europe, the bureaucracy was shattered more completely than any anarchist bomb could do the work, but Indian Victoria Crosses and Mesopotamia Reports shortened its years of apparent utility.

In the inevitable reconstruction we must be guided by a fundamental fact. The system of Indian government which has come to an end was a historical growth, arising out of conquest and subjection. The Indian was inferior and had to be governed ; in so far as he took part in his government it was as a subordinate with very limited powers. Nominally, the ideal of self-government as a goal was always before us, but in the transition from a subordinate to a self-governing state there must be a break, because the conceptions of the one, even when liberally held, are different in kind to those of the other. An administration like that of India may be reformed ; its civil service thrown open to its sons ; a generous infusion of native members upon all the governing authorities made. But there still remains the citadel of the foreign Government, limited in its proud authority and narrowed in its empire maybe, yet untaken and dominating all else. When that citadel opens its gates a revolution, however peaceful and constitutional, has taken place, and it is just that last event in the evolution of liberty which it is so hard to bring about. The fundamental fact to which I have referred is that no mere reform of the existing system will be of avail because the conception of India's place in the Empire which that system embodied has changed and now no longer exists.

We must now begin with self-government set clearly before us as our definitely pursued goal, and in reconstructing Councils and Civil Services we must grant powers which give Indians a responsible share in their own government. When that break is made, the future can be left to look after itself, but until it is made we shall be creating administrative systems which will not evolve, and applying confusions which will keep us in the dark.

The most important of the changes required are indicated in the preceding chapters, and both their necessity and the difficulties attending them are discussed. Regarding them, a word of warning is necessary. The change cannot be made without great risks, some unsettlement, and the exercise of

the most commanding statesmanship. It is a task of enormous magnitude and its ultimate success will depend as much upon the spirit in which it is done as upon the first fashioning of details. It must be approached in no niggling frame of mind. Whoever does it will be faced by an array of paralysing facts, failures, disappointments. In countless secret documents there are records of how unsatisfactory Indian commissioners and magistrates have been ; in countless hearts there are secret fears of consequences kept alive by many tales of troubles, in countless psychologies there are racial antagonisms. These ought not to be pooh-poohed, nor ought they to befog the minds of those who wish to do justice to India.

Part of them are the products of the present system, and if they are to set bounds to our future policy that system will remain stifling and contorting the genius of India ; if, however, we regard them as evil effects and courageously set about removing their causes, they will disappear, and happier experiences and more generous appreciations will take their place. Part of them may be put down to "human nature," and will continue to trouble us. During the readjustment, Indian administration may have to suffer in certain respects, for you cannot teach a people a subordinate mentality and expect to find that the fruits of that mentality are those of a responsible self-governing race. We have done all we can *for* India ; we must now carry on our work *with* India.

I therefore lay the greatest stress upon the personality of the Viceroy and the Governors sent out from home. Those, in the reconstruction years, ought to be men of the highest political intelligence, who will associate with themselves the best Indian capacity available, who, believing in liberty, will not be frightened should its first appearance be threatening, and who understand that liberty, and not repression, is the safeguard of both rulers and States. When the first storm bursts, he who runs away will desert the nation, he who stands firm will save it.

The first points to attack are the Legislative Councils and the Viceroy's Council. The former must have more authority—especially in finance—the latter must be made more representative. A Viceroy more distinctly the eyes, the ears, and the mouth of India, Councils more authoritative and representative—that is the foundation of everything. But I repeat here, to emphasise it, what I have already written: we must remember that the democratic forms of the West are not the only forms in which Democracy can take shape, and in the Indian reconstruction it will not be enough, after considering, say, Western constituencies as a basis of representation and discovering that such cannot exist in India, to conclude, therefore, that representative government is impossible.¹ India is not a nation of equal citizens so much as an organisation of co-operating social functions. So that I doubt, even if in India every adult was educated, and the vast majority took an intelligent interest in what business is transacted at Delhi or Simla, whether a General Election after the British manner is the only way to give a mandate to the Imperial or Provincial Councils, and elicit what Indian public opinion is. The forms of Democracy which we use and the methods we adopt to keep them going presuppose not only general education and political interests, but two other things—a population compassable in numbers and a land compassable in size. And even as I write our old assumptions regarding Democracy and its expression by elections and through Parliaments are being assailed by critical attacks more formidable and better armed by reason and experience than we have been accustomed to think were possible.

¹ Some grave defects have already shown themselves in the way elections are conducted in India and in the results of the unimaginative transportation of our democratic machinery to India. On these, *The Hindu Review* for February 1913 makes this sensible comment. "The failure of these new institutions [District and Local Boards] is due to the fact that they did not grow naturally from within the people themselves, but were imposed upon them from without. This failure does not prove our incapacity for self-government, but only the unsuitability of these to our genius and traditions."

India may not accommodate itself to our conditions. But it has its governing organs from the village panchayet to the Viceroy's Council, graded up through District and Municipal Boards and Provincial Legislatures. It has its men of political experience and ability, and though they may be confined rather much to landowning and the law, every one who knows them must admit that their outlook is a civic one and that their political ambitions are based upon thoughts of their municipality, their Province, and their country. Growing up around them is a class of successful manufacturers and men engaged in commerce and industry, and these, when the interest and honour of public life are presented to them, will appear on the representative bodies. The same class of man as was available for Parliament in England in 1832 is available now in India, and, if it be that only the blinded optimist sees no dangers and difficulties ahead, it is equally true that only the paralysed pessimist can refuse to admit that all the risks must be taken and the Indian trusted with a distinct measure of self-government.

Moreover, the first buds of a new democratic epoch also appear in two characteristic forms. The first is the Social Reform movement, which takes many shapes, from the Servants of India to the societies for raising the depressed classes. The second is the growth of the economic conflict between Capital and Labour. Whoever has visited the industrial districts of Bombay or Calcutta with their slums and filthy tenements—slums and tenements which make the very worst I have seen in Europe desirable dwelling-places—or whoever has studied factory conditions in the jute mills of Bengal or the cotton mills in Bombay, must have seen that, if this conflict is not soon organised and produces comprehensive programmes of legislation, municipal administration, and trade-union action, India is doomed to pauperism, disease, and degradation. But the trade union has appeared and the strike is known—the strike which has evoked the loyal support of great masses of workpeople both men and women,

which has been conducted with persistence and determination and been rewarded with success.

Equally hopeful and essential to a self-governing India is a social reform movement, and that now exists with vigour. The best of the reform societies is the Servants of India, founded in 1905 by the late Mr. Gokhale and inspired by him. The society is frankly Nationalist, but seeks to serve India by the disinterested work of its members in everyday concerns, and particularly those which relate to the downtrodden classes. Its membership is small because it calls for much sacrifice and renunciation, but its spirit is far spread.

In Bombay, too, there is a very promising Social Service League which has organised free travelling libraries of books meant to be read by working people, evening classes, and lantern lectures. Its libraries are done up in boxes of from twenty-five to fifty books, the custodians of the boxes make provision for their use, and where there are illiterate people in the chawls, literates are encouraged to gather them round and read aloud to them—a familiar Indian scene. A genuine educational work is carried on by the book-box campaign. The books are in Marathi and Gujarati, and are used most encouragingly by members of the depressed classes and by women. The subjects of the lantern lectures range from "Co-operative Stores" to "The Human Body," from "Temperance" to "Astronomy." University extension lectures are also given, and teaching in hygiene, first aid, nursing, household management undertaken. Co-operative Credit too is a cardinal work of this League. I have seen that part in operation, and the financial benefits it has conferred upon those who have converted their debts into indebtedness to it, have been most striking. For the first time in their lives some of its members know what it is to be practically free of usurious extortion. I pause to give these details because this Society is one of many, and I wish to give assurance that the work done is well thought out and of a practical kind.

All a drop in the bucket of Indian life! That is so. But

where the drops have fallen the muddy waters are already clearing, and those who work and watch are encouraged to go on, whilst those engaged in the wider fields of politics know they have reliable allies.

Thus political India evolves. No people can be freed from chains unless it has done something to strike them off, unless it feels their weight and their dishonour in its heart, unless its attainments in intelligence and in the things which create and uphold dignity have won the sympathy of men. India has met these tests.

Since the early days of the war when many felt that

not less than Gallic zeal
Kindled and burned among the sapless twigs
Of my exhausted heart,

there has been a retrogression, and

history, time's lavish scribe, will tell
How rapidly the zealots of the cause
Disbanded—or in hostile ranks appeared.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report has been scrutinised and its flaws discovered. Slowly there has gathered an opposition to it; manifestos against it have been issued by officials and ex-officials, in an unfortunate hour the Legislative Council has passed Acts grievously menacing liberty and still more grievously destroying confidence and good feeling. As I write these last sentences, eyes shade themselves from the light, hearts harden, and the minds of men long accustomed to wield authority return to their old moods, their old fears, their old narrowness. But the way of Britain is clear; the war has illuminated it. Heavy will be the responsibility and terrible the fault of those who obstruct or darken it; bountiful will be the reward and ample the justification of those who respond to the more generous and trustful emotions which possessed them when Indian troops rode into Flanders.

APPENDIX I

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

THE distribution of population, its density, and the pursuits of the people have a very direct bearing on the question of enfranchisement and elections, and Indian census Reports (amongst the most interesting publications issued by the Indian Government) afford elaborate information on this point.

The numbering of the people of India presents extraordinary difficulties on account of the size of the country, the varieties of government within it, the large numbers of people on the move at any given time, the backward state in civilisation and education of large masses, and their religious and superstitious prejudices. The first attempt was made between 1867 and 1872, but not until 1881 was any census carried out on systematic lines. Then it was but a first experiment, and every tenth year since, it has been done with greater accuracy and completeness. The bigness of the task can be estimated from the fact that about two million people were engaged upon it when it was last taken. The census of 1911 gave British India, with an area of 1,093,074 square miles, a population of 244,267,542, and the Native States, with an area of 709,583 square miles, one of 70,888,854. In the whole of India the population density is 175 persons to the square mile; in British India it is 223, and in the Native States 100. The population is massed mainly in the Ganges Valley and Punjab, on the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, in the south below the towns of Madras and Mysore, and on the coast districts south of Bombay between the hills and the sea. The chief factor in determining this density, in addition to physiographic configuration, is the climate, and a map of the rainfall follows in general features a

map of the distribution of the people. 'But, in addition, we see the traces of invasion and insurrection, of disease and famine, of irrigation¹ and of drainage. The development of commercial and industrial enterprise is hardly seen yet in the density of population outside Calcutta and Bombay, and in small localities like the mining district of Manbhum. India remains agricultural and the laws which determine the settlement of an agricultural population hold an almost unmodified sway. It has appeared to some observers² to be curious that in districts where rents are high and the cultivator is poor, population should be as dense as where rents are lower and the cultivator better off. That is, however, what we should naturally expect. In the one case, population is attracted to the soil by certain economic advantages, and in the other it is kept there by its caste cohesion, the weight of its poverty, and by the lowness of its standard of living. Generally it is true that whatever makes for successful cultivation makes for density of an agricultural population, and that law has to be supplemented by the other that a low standard of life also makes for a high density—especially in a country like India where obstacles are put in the way of a free circulation of the people.

The importance of the agricultural population in India can be seen at once by the figures. The census of 1911 showed that 9.5 per cent. lived in towns. In Assam only 3 per cent. are urban, in Bengal, 6 per cent.—only 4 per cent. if Calcutta be not taken into account; in Bihar and Orissa, 3.4 per cent.; in Bombay, 18 per cent., in Burma, 9.3 per cent., but the town here is often an extended village and its population can hardly be accepted as urban in its characteristics; in the Central Provinces and Berar, 8 per cent.; in Madras, 11.7 per cent., but here again the official town is not always a town, but a village founded on the economy of a village; in the Punjab, 10.6 per cent., in the United Provinces, 10.2 per cent. In Baroda, the proportion of the urban population has actually declined, but in every case the figures are not absolutely reliable owing to the prevalence of plague when the census was taken having caused an exodus from towns.

¹ In the Lyallpur district, for instance, a wheat-growing population of 272 to the square mile is maintained solely by irrigation on what used to be a desert.

² *Census Report, 1911, Part I, p. 26.*

With the exception of Bengal, where there is a large Mohammedan agricultural population, the trading propensities of Mohammedans draw them to urban areas, and the proportion of town-dwelling Mohammedans is therefore larger than town-dwelling Hindus. Parsis are town dwellers, and Christians are also largely found in great centres of population. Where there is an immigrant population, as the Hindus in Burma and the Hindus and Sikhs in the North-West Province, it is to be found in towns because it has come for trading purposes. It is found generally that the Mongoloid peoples of the East are attracted by towns more than the Dravidians, and the comparative largeness of the city populations of the North-West is owing to the fact that the walled city there was important for the fighting races which ruled and built capitals, and that has created a habit amongst the people. The racial proportions in towns do not correspond, therefore, with those of the country as a whole. The same is true of religious proportions.

Moreover, recent census figures show how steadily railway communication is changing the town geography of India. The old capitals and trading centres are being deserted. They are now remote from the paths of men on the banks of deserted rivers, or on roads and routes once full of a stream of traffic which no longer flows upon them.

With a direct bearing upon electoral arrangements is also the distribution of the educated population. In this respect, Burma easily holds the premier place. Three hundred and fourteen per thousand over the age of fifteen (the male proportion being 376) are literate, and they are scattered over the country; in Bengal and Madras, the figure is 77 and 75, at the bottom of the graded list are the United Provinces and the Central Provinces with Berar, boasting of 34 and 33 respectively. Taking India as a whole, the distribution of the literate population is three times as many males and nine times as many females in the cities as in the general population. Distributed amongst religions the Parsis come first with 711 per thousand literates, or 831 of persons over fifteen years of age. Of Buddhists, one in four is able to read and write, and the Christians come close upon that. The significant feature of Christian education, however, is that it is found to such a degree amongst aborigines and outcastes that the proportion of literate

people amongst these is three times as high as it is amongst Hindus, and four times more than amongst Mohammedans. One in four Indian Christian males is able to read and write. At the bottom of the grade are the Mohammedans, only 69 per thousand of whose males are literate.

APPENDIX II

IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL REVENUES

THE subordination of local to central authority is best seen when one studies the Indian system of finance. In 1833 the financial administration of India was put absolutely into the hands of the Central Government. But in 1870 Lord Mayo began a system of decentralisation by handing over to the major Provinces control of police, jails, medical services, roads, education, and a few other activities together with a fixed sum from which the charges were to be met. Excesses in cost were to be found from savings or from provincial taxes, and powers, very limited and entailing much reference to the Central Government, were given to the Provincial Governments to employ the necessary staffs. Lord Lytton was responsible for a further step in advance, beginning in 1877. The responsibilities of Provincial Governments were extended, and in order to induce them to practise economy and develop their taxable resources, certain sources of income were placed under their control. The Imperial Government kept the total income from certain revenues, divided others with the Provincial Governments, and surrendered others altogether. But each fifth year the arrangements were revised. In 1904 the system was again revised, and the present one of "quasi-permanent settlement" instituted. The theory of the present arrangement is as follows. First of all, the Indian Government retains control of the services which it thinks necessary, and the revenues required to enable it to carry on its work—opium, railways, posts and telegraphs—Provincial Governments look after what remains, and receive a definite share of the revenues which they collect. Thus the Provincial Exchequers receive all the income from the spending departments which they administer, they share equally with the Indian Government the land revenue, excise, stamps, and forest receipts, they have a share in the income of the larger irri-

gation works and the total receipts from the minor provincial ones. This system, designed for the purpose of throwing back the Provincial Governments upon their own resources and of encouraging them to develop their own incomes by improving their Provinces, has been supplemented by substantial doles from the Indian Exchequer to enable the Provinces to effect certain improvements (as in police, agriculture, and education) without delay. Minor changes that did not affect the general system were made in 1912.

The method here explained is objectionable. The general control of the Central Government must, of course, remain so as to co-ordinate the work of the Provincial Governments, but Provincial revenues should be mainly under the control of the Provinces, the contributions to the Central Government being more and more of a tribute, whilst the system of doles and large grants for specific purposes, which may be nothing more than a passing hobby of some powerful member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, should be ended. It is liable to be wasteful and is not always in accord with the most pressing needs of the Provinces, and it allows the Central Government to exercise a control on local administration which is properly resented in the more progressive Provinces.

The changes that have been made have all tended to create an independent provincial financial system, but the Central Government has preserved its position as the sole budgeting authority. There has been much to be said for this hitherto, although Provincial Legislative Councils naturally object to it. Provincial autonomy must be consistent with a policy of Indian development, and this cannot be secured without central financial control. At present there is friction, but I can see emerging from present conditions of dispute an agreed and accepted settlement of existing difficulties in administration when the Provinces will have secured in practice a financial freedom which will not sacrifice the necessary central co-ordination, and which will place them independent of doles and so free them from unnecessary interference.

At the same time, it cannot be expected that self-respecting Provincial Governments will surrender the right to pass their own Budgets and be content to send them to the Government of India to be incorporated into an Imperial Budget. So long as the

Executive Councils of the Provinces and of India are composed of civilians belonging to the same service, and the official element on the Provincial Councils is so strong, this objection may not be felt very much; but immediately the official power is weakened, the representative bodies will want more financial liberty. The solution that ought to be aimed at is, I think, such a modification of the present system as will provide that Provincial Budgets shall be submitted to the central financial authorities as advisors whose powers of disallowance and modification shall be strictly defined, and then returned for discussion and approval to the Provincial Legislatures. On the other hand, the Imperial revenue should be derived from profitable services, like the railways, supplemented by demands upon the Provinces imposed in proportions to be fixed from time to time between Province and Province. This would put an end to the system of divided revenues, which has not much to commend it. The Indian Government should continue to be the authority for prescribing forms of accounts, methods of levying taxation, borrowing on the open market, and for dealing with all arrangements affecting the general financial administration, including customs and excise of India.

But when principles are settled, there are problems arising out of their application. I see no valid objection at all to a system by which the Imperial Government, having estimated the income from its own resources, distributes amongst the Provinces their share of the deficit and presents to them a rescript for the amount. It is done in Local Government here, and can be adopted in India. But there are certain revenues which come from impositions which, in the interests of the whole of India, ought not to be varied from Province to Province. The Land Tax, for instance, is a purely provincial matter, and there is no necessity for it to be a uniform proportion of product from one end of India to another. It is a rent and should respond to the economic laws of rent. That is not the case, however, with the Income Tax, which is a tax and not a rent, and therefore should be uniform. Commercial Stamp Duties are of the same nature. These latter ought to be Imperial revenues, and so the question arises how they can be collected. If Imperial collectors may be regarded as out of the question, there are still two methods open. The first is to make some grades of provincial officers responsible and arrange with the Provinces

for costs of collection, and the second is to make the Provinces responsible and allow them a commission. The first seems the better way. But in any event these are only matters of ways and means. The important thing is to settle that Provincial finance will be put upon an unassailable provincial basis, and that the Imperial Government, instead of being the dispenser of financial benefits, shall receive from the Provinces the means necessary to make both sides of its Budget balance; further, that the Provinces shall be free to develop their own resources with a superimposed control not for the purpose of hampering policy, but of securing the necessary uniformity and equity—and even that may soon be dispensed with.

APPENDIX III

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

THE growth of co-operation in India is phenomenal, though in every sense of the word the movement is still in its infancy. In fact, in some places it seems to have spread through the atmosphere. It has been regarded as a panacea, like one of the many drugs which cure everything, advertised in the Indian press. This does not discredit the movement or throw any doubt upon its stability. It has not only come to stay, but to cure, and no country in the world can give a more sincere welcome to the co-operative spirit than India. The Indian leans upon his family, his village, his community. From the moment of his birth till that of his death, he is under obligations of a social and personal character. To him the virtues of co-operation and the spirit of interdependence are an inheritance and not an acquired habit. But the co-operation of Indian life has degenerated. The wide world market has destroyed the co-operative organisation of the village, and the moneylender has more and more individualised credit. Commercialism has split up the co-operative life of the people into separate transactions of profit-making. But the soul of the people has not gone. Their traditional modes of life are still natural to them, and these, impelled by the pressure of exploitation which is upon them, make them turn readily to the co-operative promise.

The chief quarry from which information about co-operation is to be dug is the annual reports issued by the Governments. Figures are striking, but convey only an imperfect idea of what the movement means. A few will, however, enable one to understand both its size and its stability. In Bengal the societies of all kinds increased in 1913-14 from 1,123 to 1,663, the members from 56,889 to 90,363, the working capital from Rs.4,607,301 to Rs.8,940,803. In the United Provinces the report for 1914-15 records difficulties

owing to crop failures, and the work of the year was not conspicuously successful. But the number of agricultural societies increased from 2,560 to 2,716. The amounts borrowed from the societies, totalling 27 lakhs of rupees, show their utility, as by that much did they save cultivators from moneylenders. In the same year the societies in the Central Provinces and Berar increased from 2,213 to 2,297; the membership from 40,415 to 44,085, and the working capital from 65 to 72.5 lakhs of rupees. Here, again, there were failures in crops to contend with. The Punjab, also under difficulties, showed no increase in the number of societies or of members, but did show an increase in working capital of 7.25 lakhs of rupees. The stability which the Punjab Societies evidenced is very gratifying, for the crisis through which they passed was severe.

I studied the movement a little more closely in Madras. There in 1905-6 there were only 27 societies with 2,733 members, a working capital of Rs.107,651, and a meagre reserve of Rs.689; in seven years there were 1,078 societies, 82,713 members, Rs.9,548,750 capital, and Rs.443,000 in reserve. It is also noteworthy that whereas in the first of these years 32 per cent. of the members were agricultural, in the latter the percentage was 59. In this Province we also see the tendency to use these societies as Savings' Banks, for the deposits of non-members in the first year were 7 per cent. of the capital, whereas in the latter year they were 26 per cent. At first the Madras societies were helped by loans from both the Imperial and the Provincial Governments, but these have been discontinued because they are no longer required. To supply the needs of the societies and to organise their credit are two central banks—the Madras Central Urban Bank, a joint-stock society dealing only with registered Co-operative Societies, but neither managed nor controlled by them; and the Madura-Ramnad Co-operative District Bank, Ltd., which is a banking union of societies in the district. Banks of the latter type will in time control the grand finance of the movement so that the whole work will be put upon a self-contained basis of self-government.

The societies themselves show different modes of working, and greater uniformity is desirable. Some are of limited liability, others are not—some work with a large proportion of capital paid up, others are not so particular; but that they all supply a need is

seen by the loans they have paid—one hopes that in every case it is a real need. In 1908-9 the agricultural societies alone gave 6,951 loans; in 1912-13 they gave 27,835—the sum loaned in the former year being Rs.694,462, in the latter Rs.2,306,447. The non-agricultural societies gave in the same years 2,362 and 6,981 loans; of Rs.269,759 and Rs.842,764 respectively.

The Indian cultivator undoubtedly spends money and has no notion of keeping out of debt. It was therefore feared that co-operative credit, instead of being used to improve agriculture and the lot of the peasant, would only widen the margin of credit and be a new incentive to expenditure, and the Government tried, by regulations defining the purposes for which loans were to be granted, to protect the cultivator and the societies against this. The result has been good. Fifty-six per cent of the loans issued in Madras in 1912-13 were for production purposes, 41 per cent. to clear off old debts most of which bore usurious rates of interest, and only 3 per cent for non-productive expenditure. That is for the agricultural societies. For the non-agricultural societies the figures are almost as good, being 49, 38, and 13 respectively. The non productive borrowings were mainly for marriages, the expenses for which in India (until there is a revolution in habits) are not only essential, but cannot be cut down.

The redemption of old debt is most important, though some of the superficial critics of the movement always seize upon the figures under this heading to try to diminish the importance of co-operation. Thus, not only is the income of the cultivator relieved of heavy usurious charges—sometimes up to nearly 40 per cent.—not only is it possible for him to pay off his borrowings with interest on a considerably lower charge than his interest alone used to impose,¹ but he becomes a freer man altogether, and, so far from teaching him more extravagance, this freedom gives him a chance of learning what economy means. In one of his reports the registrar of the Punjab societies says regarding the conversion of *bunniya* indebtedness into co-operative-society indebtedness: "It will thus be seen that members have replaced one form of

¹ "At a low computation, we save the agriculturists of India from an absolutely unnecessary burden of at least 10 lakhs of rupees on every crore of rupees lent out by the Co-operative Societies" (Sir E. MacLagan, *Registrars' Conference*, 1912).

indebtedness amounting to at least 30 lakhs by another amounting to 72 lakhs, and they are still further this much to the good in so far as the interest they pay on the new form of debt is very much lighter than what they paid on the previous form, while they have recovered cultivating possession of valuable ancestral lands amounting to no less than 8,000 acres." That is a very striking statement showing the back-breaking oppressiveness of the moneylender upon the Indian cultivator.

Whoever visits Conjeeveram to see its famous temples would do well to direct his steps to the workshops of the Co-operative Productive Society. It is for weavers. The people one meets there are imbued with the co-operative idea exactly like the workmen in a similar factory here. The society supplies looms, raw material, and capital, it buys the products of its members and sells them to the best advantage. It divides its profits between its reserve funds, its management, and its weavers, and it employs the attractions of a bonus to encourage regularity in habits and excellence in work. It has had its ups and downs, but the time I spent looking round it and hearing from its moving spirits what their hopes and fears were was full of the most lively interest.

There are also co-operative trading societies; but I found these still in a struggling infancy, experimenting to find a field and a method, and complaining of the hardness of their task. But of the future I have no doubt, whatever disappointments may intervene between now and final success. In time, the usurious moneylender will go, the parasitic middleman will go, and co-operation will take their place in the interests of the cultivator and the craftsman.

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