common cause. They must have had sufficient experience of the insecurity of their isolated position and if they want really to safeguard their own interests they must cast in their lot with the people and abandon their ostrich-like policy. Many of them are men of culture and education, and they must know the difference that exists between marching in manly dignity at the head of one's own people and being dragged at the tail of guilded equipages for the glorification of other and stronger men with however no other recognition than that of a side glance with a smile or an empty title for all the indignities to which they are sometimes subjected The British people with all their defects are a manly race and nothing is really more repugnant to their ideas and instincts than cringing servility and fawning hypocrisy.

It has already been observed that the movement stands in need of a readjustment and revision of its method of working. It is no doubt a deliberative body and it cannot be altogether divested of its deliberative character. But it has also a practical side in which it has to preach its propaganda, educate the mass, generate fresh enthusiasm and take definite steps towards the attainment of its objects. For doing all this in an efficient manner it must be provided with a permanent active organization working all the year round and throughout the country. If it is to have an active propaganda, it must have a permanent mission to carry it on. It ought to be provided with a permanent office at a fixed centre and a sufficient establishment regularly to carry on its work. The establishment must be

paid. Honorary duties lack in vigour and persistency and carry no sense of responsibility with them. It may be found useful to attach this office to the All-India Congress Committee, which should have a responsible paid executive secretary working under the guidance and control of the Joint General Secretaries assisted by the General Committee. The Joint General Secretaries may be elected every year from the province in which the Congress is to hold its next session; but the Executive Secretary must be a whole-time permanent officer. From this office and under the sanction and authority of the All-India Congress Committee, approved tracts and leaflets translated into the vernacular languages of the country should be issued and circulated broadcast among the masses bearing on political, social, economic, sanitary and educational problems engaging the attention of the Congress and thereby a strong healthy public opinion should be created in the country on all the phases of the national life. Much may be done through these publications to direct a campaign against anarchism and other acts of lawlessness which are not only a stigma on the national character, but have also proved serious impediments to many a reform of the administration. Above all, there ought to be a systematic missionary work carried on in all the provinces explaining and impressing upon the public the real nature of the work upon which the Congress is engaged and upon a proper solution of which the future destiny of the country so largely depends. It has almost grown into a fashion among a certain class of people to decry the art of

speaking. The cry is a meaningless, mischievous cant. Word without action may no doubt be useless like powder without shot; but the shot is equally ineffective without the use of the powder. Practical politics cannot be taught in Deaf and Dumb Schools by mere signs and symbols.

This missionary work cannot, however, safely be entrusted to immature and irresponsible agencies. It should be undertaken, at all events, at the outset by the leaders themselves. Each Provincial Committee may be left to choose or elect its own missionaries with their jurisdictions or circles defined and allotetd to them through which they must make occasional tours holding meetings and conferences for the dissemination of the Congress propaganda. If properly arranged, this need not very much interfere with the ordinary avocation of the missionaries themselves, while it is sure to bring them into closer touch with the people and secure for them a stronger hold upon the popular mind. While our public men are ever so justly persistent in their complaints against the aloofness and the unsympathetic attitude of the executive officers of Government, they cannot themselves consistently with their protestations live in a state of splendid isolation from their own countrymen. None of the leaders, not even the tallest among them, should consider himself above this work and grudge whatever little sacrifice it may involve, if the flame which they themselves have lighted is to be kept burning. The annual session of the Congress should thus become an anniversary of the movement

at which the works done during the year by the entire organization should come under review and the operations of the next year carefully planned and laid before the country. Without being guilty of pessimism it seems permissible to draw the attention of the leaders of the movement even more pointedly to the future than to the present. The assets of a national life cannot be the subject of a free gift or a testamentary bequest: They must be the heritage of natural succession. Every generation of a nation succeeds to the acquisition of its past and, whether augmenting it with its own acquisitions or depreciating it by its own extravagance, is bound to transmit it to the next. The training of a succeeding generation is also an imperative task in the work of nation-building which cannot be accomplished in a single generation. If Rome was not built in a day, the Roman nation was not built even in a century. Those who have laid the foundation of a new structure in this country upon the shapeless ruins of its departed glories and upon whom the shadows of the evening are deepening may well pause for a moment and seriously consider whether they have sufficiently trained those upon whom their mantle will shortly fall. Of course "there may be as good fishes in the sea as ever came out of it"; but those who have spent their life-blood in the undertaking cannot better close their career than with a clear knowledge and confidence that they are leaving the work to successors who will carry on the work, raise it higher and if they cannot themselves complete it will at all events leave it far advanced for those who will come after them.

The next step in the reorganization of the movement must be directed to its work in England. The British Parliamentary Committee which after a brilliant career has ceased to exist should be restored. The euphimistic platitude that every one of the Six Hundred and odd members of the House, including of course Sir J. D. Rees, was a member for India, was only a paraphrase of a sounder and truer dictum that very man's business is no man's business, and Congressmen cannot forget that India received the largest amount of attention in England when the Parliamentary Committee was at its highest strength. In a Liberal House of Commons there are no doubt apparent difficulties for the maintenance of such a special body; but where both sides of the House can conveniently agree to treat India as being outside the scope of party politics, the existence of such a body, to watch the special interests of India, cannot be deemed either superfluous or anomalous. On the contrary, its absence is sorely felt in this country when the Liberals are apparently disposed to take long holidays under the spell of a nominal improvement of the situation which needs not only consolidation, but is also threatened with a reverse from underground sapping and mining operations in this country. In this as in every other operation at the main theatre of the struggle in which the Congress is engaged, its British Committee is its principal ally and no sacrifice can be deemed too heavy to maintain it in an efficient condition. That Committee ought also to be strengthened from time to time by the addition to its roll of prominent

Englishmen who evince a genuine interest in Indian problems. Sir William Wedderburn who has so long been the moving spirit of the Committee as well as of the Parliamentary Party and who has ever so freely and ungrudgingly sacrificed his time, energies and resources for the cause of India would probably be only too glad to undertake both these reforms if only the Indians themselves could make up their minds to supply him with the sinews of the operations. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and Mr. R. C. Dutt, practically settled in England, proved a tower of strength to the British Committee, and an earnest attempt should again be made to instal a couple of well-posted Indians at the seat of power to pilot the course of that important body. And lastly the paper *India* which is the sole organ of the Congress in England ought to be considerably improved and popularized in both countries. It must of course be conducted in England and by an Englishman thoroughly conversant with British politics and in full touch with the trend of British public opinion; but to make it more interesting and serviceable a few Indian publicists either as sub-editors or contributors ought regularly to co-operate with the editor in purveying Indian views on all important questions and making its columns more weighty and attractive to the British public.

Another remedy, though of an adventitious character, which suggests itself from some of the foregoing observations, refers to the concentration and co-ordination of all the public movements among which all the

national forces are now distributed. The social and the industrial conferences are already closely associated with the Congress movement. But there are many other organizations which have sprung up in the country which are all crowded within the Christmas week at different places in absence of more convenient occasions. If it is not possible to deal with all of them, the Moslem League at all events should be held every year at the same centre and if possible in the same pavilion where the Congress is held either on successive or on alternate days. By this means not only all the communities may be brought into closer touch with one another but a greater enthusiasm may be secured for all of them. Since the League has already come into a line with the Congress, such an arrangement may not be at all difficult if the leaders of both the organizations will put their heads together and work out the details of the scheme.

It may be said that the above suggestions form a very large order; but large or small, some such order must be substantially complied with if the struggle is to be continued and further success achieved. To carry out a scheme of action which has for its object the regeneration of a nation through a process of evolution in which all the moral and intellectual forces on a subject people have not only to be called out and harmonized, but also arrayed against the colliding interests of a powerful dominant race, is no light work and cannot be approached with a light heart. The first and foremost condition of such a scheme is that of ways and means. A national organization must have

at its back a national fund. As no sustained movement is possible without a well-defined organization, so no organization can subsist for any length of time without the sinews of war. If there is any depression in the movement it is largely due to the stagnation with which it is threatened in the absence of such an effective organization. It is no small surprise to many, that the movement has not collapsed within this sufficiently long period without a solid financial foundation for its basis. For thirty years it has fought out its way on a precarious dole annually voted to it and its agencies, the tardy realization of which has not a little hampered its progress. Its vitality is no doubt due to the intense patriotic sentiment that has been its underlying motive power ever since the movement was started; but even patriotism requires a healthy nourishment unless it is to degenerate into a spasm of fitful excitement and then die out like a flame fed only on straw. So early as 1889 it was proposed to establish a Permanent Congress Fund and a sum of Rs. 59,000 was voted to form the nucleus of such a fund. Out of this a small sum of Rs. 5,000 only was realized and deposited with the Oriental Bank which was then considered as the strongest Exchange Bank in India. In the Bombay crisis of 1890 the bank however went into liquidation and the small sum thus credited to the fund was lost. Ever since then no serious attempt has ever been made to re-establish this fund, and the undignified spectacle of one of the leaders at every session stretching out his beggarly "Brahminical hand" and the Congress going out hat

in hand for a precarious subsistance allowance towards the maintenance of its British agency and its office establishment has contributed not a little to the bitter sarcasm of its critics, as much as to the mortification and discouragement of its supporters. The messages of Sir William Wedderburn alternately coaxing and threatening for financial help every year for the work of the British Committee seem to have lost their sting, and the whole business is carried on perfunctorily in an atmosphere of uncertainty and despondency. Complaints are often heard that the British Committee is no longer as efficient as it used to be. But whose fault is it if it has really fallen off from its pristine vigour and energy? It has certainly not deteriorated either in form or substance. Its weakness lies in its financial embarrassment created by our own inability to regularly meet its requirements for useful action. It is a bad policy to try to cover one's own failings by throwing dirt upon others. It cannot be denied that although the Congress has many critics, it is at present maintained only by the devotion and self-sacrifice of a small band of its supporters, who have always borne the brunt of the action, and strange as it may seem, its loudest detractors are to be found generally among those who have been least disposed to make any sacrifice in its cause and at the same time most exacting in their demands for its account. If the members of the Congress seriously mean, as they no doubt mean, to carry on its work and not throw away the immense labour and sacrifice of an entire generation, they should lose no more time in providing it with a permanent

working organisation and investing it with a solid permanent fund sufficient to carry on the work before it efficiently and in a thoroughly methodical and business-like manner. The work before the Congress is much stiffer than its work in the past, and its present equipment must necessarily be of a more efficient and substantial character. If the Congress has so far successfully carried on a guerilla campaign it has now arrived at a stage where it must be prepared to fight the real issue involved in the struggle at close quarters, and for this no sacrifice in money or energy can be too great. In a country where fabulous sums are still available for a memorial hall, or a ceremonial demonstration, surely a decent contribution for the emancipation of a nation ought to be so difficult a task as to be beyond the capacity of genuine patriotic self-sacrifice. It would be a stigma and a reproach on our national character and a sad commentary on our patriotic fervour if after having advanced so far the national energy were to break down at this supreme moment with all the sacrifices made, grounds gained and the prospects opened lost for ever.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Having so far cursorily dealt with the past career of the national movement and glanced over its present condition, a brief survey of the difficult task which

awaits its future labours may not be deemed altogether out of place. Following the question of the reorganisation of the Congress, there is another very serious question which must sooner or later press itself upon the closest attention of its members: It is the question of the Indian Civil Service in which is vested the actual internal administration of the country. The Congress has so long discussed the questions of simultaneous examinations for the recruitment of that service, its age-limit, and the comparative importance of the various subjects of that examination from the Indian point of view. But these are all side issues forming, as it were, the mere fringes of the real crux of the case, which, divested of all shuffling and circumlocution, resolves into the plain question,—Is the Indian Civil Service, as at present constituted, to be the permanent basis of the Indian administration, or whether the time has not long arrived when that service should be thoroughly overhauled and reconstructed not only with reference to its own defects, but also in the light of the vast changes which the country has undergone and the enormous difficulties which have grown round the Indian administration? A little consideration of only three of the most vital points upon which the Congress has so far directed its main operations may afford a sufficient clue to the right investigation of this important question.

At the outset, the leaders of Indian public opinion appear to have strongly believed that the real remedy for nearly all the grievances of the people lay in the reform of the Legislative Councils and in that view

their energies were largely directed towards the expansion of these Councils on a representative basis. Lord Cross' reforms of 1892, though it would be quite unfair to characterize them as mere lollypops, practically turned out to be very unsubstantial; while, eighteen years after, the very substantial reforms initiated by Lord Morley, also met with a similar fate. Although Lord Morley most gratuitously taunted the Indian public at the time with asking for "the moon," a prayer which they in their senses could never venture to make even to any one who may be supposed to be nearer that orb, yet people are not altogether wanting in this country who only after five years' experiment have come to regard his great reforms of 1910 as no more than mere moon-shine. The failure of these reforms, manacled and maimed in their operations by a set of Regulations framed in this country, has revealed the fact that there is one powerful factor which has to be seriously reckoned with in dealing with any real reform of the Indian administration. That factor is the strong, stereotyped Indian bureaucracy which stands between the Government and the people and can always make or mar the prospect of peaceful development of the country. The object of the best-intentioned legislative enactment may easily be defeated by those who must be ultimately entrusted with its practical application, and so the most generous measure of the British Parliament granted after full half a century of cool and collected deliberation has been allowed to be practically stranded on the bed-rock of bureaucratic opposition in India. The Councils, upon which the

people built their hopes and pinned their faith, have been reformed and the popular representatives in much larger numbers armed with powers of interpellation, as well as of moving resolutions and dividing the Councils upon them; but the cry still is that these privileges have proved quite disappointing if not altogether illusory. The debates in these councils still retain their academic character, the results being generally a foregone conclusion. The most modest prayers of the representatives are sometimes summarily rejected and their most reasonable resolutions treated with scant courtesy or consideration; while, with a highly inadequate representation of the interests of the educated community on the one hand and a mischievous communal representation on the other, the real strength of the non-official members of these Councils has been reduced almost to an irreducible minimum.

Again, on the vexed question of the separation of judicial from executive functions, although there was apparently none to oppose the much desired reform, while every one seemed to be unreservedly in favour of it, a mysterious force has in spite of all the authoritative promises and pronouncements succeeded in shelving the proposal with the flimsiest of excuses and evasions which cannot deceive even the most credulous of schoolboys.

Then there is yet another question of vital importance upon which the Congress has directed its energies ever since its beginning: The admission of the children of the soil into the higher offices of the State having

regard to their fitness and capacity for such appointments. It would be uncharitable not to recognise the fact that Government has in recent years shown a laudable disposition to admit, though very sparingly, the just and natural claims of the Indians to participate in the administration of their own country. But here again the galling injustice manifest in almost every department and which is the root cause of the popular dissatisfaction may easily be traced to a common source from which mainly flow all the other grievances of the people and the unpopularity of the administration. What is that source of mischief and where lies the remedy? Upon a closer examination of the situation, it will be found that the real obstacle to all substantial reforms in this country is the bureaucracy. It is the same narrow, short sighted and close-fisted official hierarchy which crippled Lord Ripon's early measure of Local Self-Government by a set of model Rules, practically over-riding the spirit if not the letter of the law, that has again successfully defeated Lord Morley's great scheme of national Self-Government by a set of Regulations circumscribing and barricading the measure in such a way as to render it almost important in substance though not in form. And it is this bureaucracy which in its nervousness, no less than in its blind selfishness, has stood bodily in opposition to the judicial reform and the admission of the children of the soil into its close preserves to which it believes to have acquired an exclusive and indefeasible right by virtue of its prescriptive enjoyment. The Indian Civil Service forms the citadel and the stronghold of this bureaucracy, and

that service is so deeply saturated with selfish prejudices and so highly inflated with the legend of its natural superiority that it cannot heartily entertain any proposal of reform which necessarily militates against its vested interests and which if forced upon it by higher statesmanship naturally excites its secret opposition. The entire administration from the Government of India down to the smallest district charge, is practically vested in one train of officials who belong to this Service and who as such form a compact fraternity. They are, with honourable exceptions, traditionally conservative in their ideas and exclusive in their habits and manners, while their systematic training in the arts of autocratic government leaves little or no room for the development of those instincts which might go to curb their insular pride and inspire confidence and respect for those whom they are called upon to govern. In vain would one try to find a single instance in which, with very rare exceptions, the members of this Service have supported any great measure of reform of the administration which they as a body naturally regard either as an infraction of their status or as a reflection upon their capacity for good government. They apparently do not believe in the dictum of their own statesmen who have repeatedly held that no good government can be a substitute for a government by the people themselves. Very well-intentioned British statesmen coming out as Viceroys or Governors find themselves in the hands of the veterans of this Service and however strong they may be, they can hardly be sufficiently strong to overcome the deep-rooted prejudices and the all-per-

vading and overpowering influence of the bureaucratic atmosphere into which they are placed. Unless and until that atmosphere is cleared, it would be useless to expect any great results either from any parliamentary measure or from the ablest of Viceroys and Governors whom England may send out for the administration of her greatest dependency.

Nobody denies that the Indian Civil Service has a brilliant record in the past. It was eminently adapted to a period of consolidation when by its firmness and devotion to duty it not only established peace and order, but also inspired confidence in its justice and moral strength. But an archaic institution is ill-suited to a period of development in an organised administration and is an anomaly in an advanced stage of national evolution. The Indian Civil service has long outlived its career of usefulness, and however benevolent may have been the patronising methods of its administation in the past, those methods are neither suited to the present condition of the country nor are they appreciated by the people. Besides, people are not wanting who honestly believe that the halcyon day of the Indian Civil Service has long passed away, that it no longer commands the characteristic virtues of the sturdy Anglo-Saxon race and has largely degenerated into a mutual-admiration-society, demoralized to no small extent by the unrestrained exercise of its extensive powers and the extravagant adulations lavished upon it in season and out of season and sometimes beyond all proportion. It is no wonder that in the circumstances under which they are trained from youth

to age in bureaucratic methods, the members of the Service should become obstinate, conceited and impatient of criticism. It is the system, more than any individual, that seems to be responsible for the decadence of this once magnificent Service. In point of compactness, the Service has been organised into a rigid caste system where it is impossible to touch it even in its remotest extremities without exciting the susceptibilities of the entire system. From the Lieutenant-Governor to the rawest assistant magistrate there seems to be established a magnetic current which is responsive to the mildest touch on the hereditary prerogatives of the service, and the highest demands of justice and fairness are sometimes cruelly sacrificed on the altar of a blind prestige, the maintenance of which appears to be the paramount consideration of the administration. Instances are not wanting where a young civilian insulting an Indian gentleman of position for no other offence than that of intruding upon his august presence without taking off his shoes, or walking before him with an open umbrella in his hand, is broadly justified by the head of a provincial administration; while the forcible ejection of an Indian member of a Legislative Council from a first class compartment in a railway carriage is hardly considered sufficient to call even for a mild rebuke. On the contrary, such is the idolatrous veneration for the *fetish* of prestige and so undisguised is the contempt displayed towards public opinion, that a stronger public censure passed upon the vagaries of an erring member of the Service has come to be regarded almost as a passport for his advancement rather than as a drawback

in his official career. Young men just above their *teens*, who are probably bad enough for the Home Service and not good enough for the Colonial, are generally supposed to be drafted for the Indian Civil Service and, placed in important positions of trust and responsibility, they learn more to depend upon the extensive powers, privileges and immunities attaching to that Service than upon the art of governing well. Whip in hand, they learn only to sit tight without acquiring the easy grace of an accomplished rider. They are often placed when only a few months in the country in charge of sub-districts some of which are larger than an English county and as they rise with the official tide, they carry with them the accumulations of their earlier training. They generally seem to have a peculiar ethics of their own in which conciliation is tabooed as a sign of weakness and popularity as a disqualification. They love more to be dreaded than to be respected. Such is the obstinacy of their infallibility that once a suspect always a suspect. A man may be honourably acquitted by the highest tribunal in the land; but if he is fortunate enough not to be rearrested upon some other charge as soon as he leaves the dock, he is sure to be dogged all the rest of his life until that life becomes a burden to him and he is goaded to desperation. The success and delight of the administration seem to consist more in chasing the criminal than in reforming the society. In every civilised country, the courts of justice have the last word on every difference between an administration and the people; but here in India the bureaucracy seems to have very little scruple to sit at

times in judgment over His Majesty's judges, and committees and commissions of the members of the Service who are ordinarily subordinate to them are sometimes appointed to review the decision of even the highest tribunals in the land. The spectacle is neither decent nor dignified which slowly undermines all respect for the administration of justice in the country. All this constitutes what is termed the efficiency of the administration. These may be called little accidents; but they mark the trend of a decaying Service and point to the source of the unpopularity it has so largely earned. The greatest loss which England has suffered in her connection with India is perhaps the moral deterioration she is silently undergoing in the manly dignity of her national character in exchange for her material gains. It is neither army nor commerce, but it is moral greatness, that constitutes the most valuable and enduring asset of a nation, and if England has to fear from any quarter it is mostly from the "voluntary exiles" who having passed the best portions of their lives in the enervating climate of India and getting themselves practically divorced from lofty British principles, every year go to swell the colonies at Chelmsford and Bayswater.

It is persistently claimed for the Indian Civil Service that it is the best Service which human ingenuity has ever devised for the administration of any country in this world. The Indians have, however, no experience of any other system, and as such they are equally precluded from either implicitly accepting or

summarily rejecting such a strong verdict. It seems, however, incomprehensible to the average Indian intellect what peculiar charm there may be in any particular stiff examination in certain subjects, which are taught all over the civilised world, so as to make every one successfully passing that examination proof against all lapses and failures in practical life. It cannot be argued that there is anything mysterious in the method or manner of that examination which necessarily sifts the grain from the chaff in British society and turns out what is best or noblest in British life. And where is the evidence that any other system of recruitment for the Indian Civil Service would not have served the purpose equally well if not better? Is the Civil Service in Great Britain less efficient because it is not trained in the methods of a close bureaucracy? Then what becomes of the hollow fallacy underlying this boasted claim for the Indian Civil Service when the open competitive examination for the Subordinate Civil Service was found after a brief experiment not to be congenial to the Indian administration? Probably it will be urged that what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander.

The real crux of the case, however, appears to be this: The Indian Civil Service, however glorious its past record may be, is, after all, one of the *services* of the State and it ought never to have been allowed to usurp the function of the State itself. The duties of a service are to carry out the policy of a government and to discharge with efficiency and devotion the functions

entrusted to it in the general distribution of work of the State. In the Indian administration the covenanted Civil Service not only administers the work, but also dictates the policy, distributes the work and supervises it. In short, the State is merged in the Service and all distinction between the Service and the State has practically disappeared. The best candidates who successfully pass the Civil Service Examination every year are generally retained for the Home Service and yet they are nowhere in the Government and have no hand in determining the policy of the State. In India, however, the term *Service* is a misnomer: for the Service and the State are interchangeable, or, more correctly speaking, the one is entirely lost in the other. Wherever such a condition prevails, principles of constitutional government fly through the windows and the establishment of bureaucratic rule becomes an imperative necessity.

The most orthodox argument invariably advanced in support of the Indian Civil Service is that experience has shown that it is best suited to the condition of the country and that its past achievements are a guarantee to its future success. But in this it is apparently ignored that the country itself has undergone stupendous changes in point of education, political training and economic development. An entirely new generation has come into existence inspired by a lofty sense of duties and responsibilities, as well as of the rights and privileges, of true citizenship; while there is no dearth of men who, by their education, training and

character, are quite capable of holding their own against the best men in the Service. The ideas of rights and liberties, as well as of self-respect, of this new generation of men is quite different from those of their predecessors who were content to eke out their existence purely under official patronage. The overdrawn picture of Lord Macaulay has not the slightest resemblance to the present condition of the country and its people, who have undergone a complete transformation within the last half a century of which the British nation ought to be justly proud instead of being either jealous or nervous. And is it to be supposed that, amidst all these changes and evolutions of time, the one Service in which the Government of the country has been vested since the days of Tippoo Sultan and Lord Cornwallis is to remain immutable and unchangeable? Granting that the Indian Civil Service has a splendid record behind it and admitting that it has produced in the past excellent public servants whose "devotion to duty is unparalleled in the history of the world," do not the marked changes which both the people and the Government have undergone during the life-time of two generations call for even a revision of that Service? The Indian Civil Service was organised in 1858, and can it be decently contended that any human institution, particularly an administrative machinery, can be so perfect as not to admit of some modification in more than fifty years at least to adapt itself to its shifting environments? It would evidently be a most extravagant claim even for a scientific invention or discovery.

The indictments thus preferred against the proud Service, which forms the pivot of the Indian administrative machinery and which a recent Royal Commission has been asked to recognise as the accepted basis of its investigation, may be regarded in some quarter as rather too strong. But whether strong or mild, the indictments are not perhaps an unfaithful reflex of the Indian view of the situation; and if Government is really anxious to ascertain public opinion on the merits of its administration, they may not be regarded as either offensive or altogether gratuitous. Then, these charges do not appear to be altogether unsupported by facts and arguments to which competent opinions, other than Indian, have also from time to time subscribed in no uncertain language. Mr. D. S. White, the late president of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, who but for his premature death would have certainly adorned, like Mr. George Yule, the distinguished roll of the Congress presidents, was present among the distinguished visitors at the first Congress held in 1885. Speaking, however, on the question of the Indian Civil Service which was being hotly discussed by the delegates, Mr. White said :—

"The proposition contains an application for raising the competitive age in England of candidates for the Civil Service, and for holding examinations simultaneous in India. On both the points I differ. I do not think the remedy is in raising age, but in procuring the gradual abolition of the Civil Service. What we need, I think, is that the future importation of boys should be put a stop to. The real education of these boys takes place in India and the State is put to enormous expense in connection therewith, while there is no need for the expenditure. The State now has at hand indigenous talent, educated at its own expense, either locally or in England and should take advantage of it, and if it requires

special talent from England it may import it just as men ready-made are imported for the Educational Department. For the Judicial Service, the Bar in India offers itself, and why boy-civilians should be paid for years to learn to become judges is a matter not easily understood."

Mr. White was clearly of opinion that the competitive system should be abolished and that "men of eminence and skill alone, in any profession, should be brought out on limited covenants." This was said thirty years ago by a man who was universally respected for his sobriety of views and dispassionate judgment. It cannot be disputed that both India and the Government of India to-day are as different from what they were in 1885 as the butterfly is from the catterpillar, and yet how strange that methods, arrangements and conditions which were considered ill-adapted even to the rearing of the larva are sought to be applied without any amendment for its nourishment in its full-grown form. Sir Henry Cotton, who with just pride recalls that for a hundred years his family have been members of the Indian Civil Service and himself a most distinguished member of that service, who by sheer force of his character and abilities rose to the position of the head of a provincial administration, has quite recently again brought the question prominently to the notice of the public. It is now nearly thirty years that Sir Henry with his characteristic frankness and intimate knowledge of the Indian administration raised his warning voice that "the Indian Civil Service as at present constituted is doomed." Then in 1888, while giving evidence before the Indian Public Service Commission, he formulated a reconstructive policy;

but he was brushed aside as a "visionary." Now that another Royal Commission has been appointed to enquire into the Indian Public Services, Sir Henry Cotton has again returned to his charge. Writing in the *Contemporary Review* and commenting on the terms of reference to the Commission, which apparently assume the existing constitution as the permanent basis of Indian administration, Sir Henry Cotton says :

> "But what is wanted now is no scheme for bolstering up the decaying fabric of a Service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return."

Calmly considered, without passion or prejudice, the question would appear to be no longer one of repair, but of reconstruction. A sudden drastic change may, however, be found as impracticable as it may be inexpedient. At the same time it should be recognised that any attempt to revitalize a system which has long run its normal course by means of a variety of make-shifts, proposed by those who are naturally interested in anyhow preserving the ancient monument to which they are deeply attached by tradition and sentiment as well as by the supreme instinct of self-love, is bound to be a costly failure. The inadaptability of that system to the present condition of the country is writ large in almost every page of the records of an administration extending over the lifetime of a generation, and instances are neither few nor far between where a truly benevolent Government has often incurred unnecessary odium owing chiefly to its lingering affection for a spoilt service. That affection has now practically grown into a blind superstition

under the spell of which none dare take any serious step towards its correction. Speaking of the *morale* of the administration, Sir Henry Cotton frankly observes:

"When once the sacred name of *prestige* has been sounded as a civilian war-cry by such a bureaucracy as we have in India, with vested interests clamouring for protection, it is no simple matter to solve any problem of reconstruction. No Viceroy has hitherto been strong enough to deal with the question."

For thirty years the people have cried hoarse for the separation of judicial from executive functions. Successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State have repeatedly declared themselves in favour of this "counsel of perfection." But successfully has the Indian bureaucracy resisted the proposal upon the sole ground that it would impair its prestige, the only other plea of double expense having been neatly disposed of by the various practical schemes formulated by the different provinces for an effective separation of the two functions. This prestige, however, the Indian public understand as meaning nothing more than the immunity which the bureaucracy enjoys in the exercise of its arbitrary powers and the protection which the unholy combination affords against its incompetency to carry on the administration in the ordinary way. Nowhere is this incompetency more glaringly disclosed than in the judicial administration of the country. If the queer experiences of practising lawyers in the country could be collected and published it would form a very amusing, though somewhat grotesque and humiliating, catalogue of the strange vagaries and colossal ignorance of the young civilian judges as regards the law and procedure of the

country; and these young civilians are as a rule called upon not only to control the subordinate judiciary, but also to sit in judgment over the decisions of veteran Indian officers of established reputation and long experience. The disastrous result of such a system may easily be imagined.

"The Bar in India," says the high authority just quoted, "is daily becoming stronger than the bench, and the ignorance of law and practise exhibited by junior civilians who are called on to preside over the judicial administration of a district—not to speak of the executive tendencies which are the inevitable accompaniment of their earlier training—has become a source of danger which will not be remedied by a year's study in a London barrister's chamber, or by passing the final examination at an inn of court."

Like all old orthodox institutions, the Indian Civil Service has become saturated with strong prejudices against all popular aspirations and even the rawest recruits for that Service are not often free from conceited notions of their superiority and importance much above their desert. It may be no exaggeration to say that like Narcissus of old that Service is so enchanted with the loveliness of its own shadow that it has neither the leisure nor the inclination to contemplate beauty in others. Its devotion to duty may be unquestioned; but its superstitious veneration for its own prestige is much stronger. It is generally opposed to change and is always afraid of being regarded as weak. It has acquired all the characteristics of an antiquated institution which, unable to adapt itself to its modern environments, is always great in the worship of its great past. "The Indian Civil Service," says Sir Henry Cotton, "is moribund and must pass away after a prolonged

period of magnificent work to be replaced by a more popular sytem which will perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects." Rightly understood there is no censure or disparagement in this ; for every human institution has its rise, its progress and its decay and the world is ever marching onwards through a process of changes and evolutions.

It is admitted on all hands that the Indian administration is the most costly and elaborate in the world and unless means are devised for an early revision of this huge and expensive machinery it stands the risk of being threatened with a collapse. The most obvious remedy lies in the reconstruction of the entire Civil Service, by gradually replacing the Covenanted Service by uncovenanted indigenous materials which may be found cheaper and not less efficient. There is no longer any dearth of such materials in the country although the bureaucracy is naturally ever so loud in their disparagement and in the advertisement of its own superior stuff. There is scarcely a department of the civil administration where, given the opportunity, the Indians have not proved their fitness and capacity to hold their own against foreign competition. Of course where any special qualification or expert knowledge may be needed it may be imported on a limited covenant ; but surely no country can be in such an awful plight as to be unable to do for a century without an army of covenanted officers on extravagant salaries with Exchange Compensation Allowances for the administration of its domestic concerns.

It is suggested that as a first step towards the reconstruction of the Indian Civil Service, the Judicial branch should be completely and effectively separated from the Executive branch of the service and the former recruited from the Bar as in England, though other sources must also be availed of at the experimental stage to avoid violent disruption as well as possible injustice to existing vested interests. The subordinate civil Judiciary is no doubt at present primarily recruited from the Bar, though it is afterwards crystallized into a rigid orthodox body beyond the charmed circle of which its members cannot move. But the original recruitment being mostly from among the inferior and inexperienced elements of the Bar, the subsequent outturn of the present system necessarily fails, with of course honourable exceptions, either to command the respect and confidence of the public, or adequately to satisfy the demands of the public service. The subordinate criminal judiciary, as at present constituted, is still more unsatisfactory. The competitive examination which annually used to introduce into the service a fair leaven of distinguished graduates of the Universities having been abolished, for reasons widely known throughout the country, that service is now entirely founded on the patronage of the bureaucracy naturally leading to a state of demoralization which has practically reduced the rank and file into three-quarters executive and only one-quarter judicial officers of the State. As a preliminary, therefore, to the reorganisation of the Indian Civil Service the judicial service being completely separated and re-

constructed on the lines indicated above, the entire Judicial administration should be vested in the High Courts, which to be worthy of the British constitution should be at once freed from the trammels of bureaucratic provincial administrations. The administration of British justice, more than the British arms, has been the bulwark of the British Empire in the East, and they are the greatest enemies of that Empire who either directly or indirectly work towards undermining that basal strength of its greatness. If the Indian Nationalist wants to make definite progress and to secure himself against disappointment even after a victory, he must go to the roots of the question and boldly face the situation however stiff the fight may be. The Indian National Congress has at last arrived at a stage when it can no longer burke the question of the reorganisation of the Indian Civil Service, and if it has necessarily to proceed step by step, it cannot afford to loose sight of its real objective and avoid the great struggle as well as the great sacrifices to which it has committed itself and the nation.

CHAPTER XX.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

The reform of the Legislative Councils is no doubt justly regarded as a great triumph of the Indian National Congress. It has for the first time recognised

the elective principle in the government of this country and invested these councils with the form, though not the substance, of representative institutions. But although it may be somewhat premature to hazard an opinion as to the probable outcome of this scheme, the comparative ease and freedom with which it has been allowed to be circumscribed, mutilated and crippled in its operation at the hands of a nervous bureaucracy, have furnished no small excuse for the disappointment and scepticism evinced by a section of the people as regards the ultimate result of such an experiment. Apart from its immediate results, the value of which need not be either under-rated or over-estimated, it seems fairly permissible to these critics to ask, whether any further expansion of these councils, on the only lines upon which such expansion appears to be possible in the existing temper of the bureaucracy, can be very much counted upon to lead to a substantial reform of the administration, or to any appreciable development of the political status of the people? That the reform scheme pointed to such an aim there can be no mistake, and that it was fully intended to operate towards that end there need be no doubt. But the point is, does the reform scheme, as actually carried out, really provide a constitution which in its normal development is likely to bring about the desired improvement either in the one or the other? Lord Morley quite superfluously observed, that he could not give us the moon; for no one in this country ever asked for the moon. But has his Lordship ever enquired, whether the great scheme of reform which he took so much pains to carry through

both the Houses of Parliament has or has not been practically converted into stone when the people cried for bread ?" Supposing, for instance every district in a province were allowed, in course of a gradual expansion of this reform, to return a member to the local council and the number of members for the Supreme Council were raised from 75 to 750, would the people gain or the bureaucracy lose an inch of ground under such an expansion if the official element were always to maintain its corresponding level proportionate to this increase? Then again the right of interpellation and the right of moving resolutions are no doubt valued rights; but even if the representatives of the people were to be armed with the right of moving a vote of want of confidence in the Government, would these rights mean much unless they were capable of influencing the policy of the administration? A resolution *carried* is as good as a resolution *lost* when it carries no binding force with it and all the animated discussion in a council serves only the purpose of letting out a quantity of extra steam or of gratifying a Governor's admiration for eloquence. If the power of the purse is ever to remain a forbidden fruit to the people, of what earthly good is it for their representatives to annually enter into a mock-fight over the budget? The whole atmosphere of the reformed councils as they stand is one of unreality and largely of dramatic interest. The normal expansion and development of such rights and privileges for any length of time cannot, therefore, be calculated very much either to advance the status of the people, or to popularize the administration. A

proper exercise of such rights may no doubt occasionally produce a certain amount of moral pressure; but moral pressure by itself is of very little consequence in practical politics, particularly such politics as are commonly practised by a bureaucratic administration in a subject country. Lastly, the incalculable mischief which the Regulations have done, by providing water-tight compartments in representation and creating vested interests, is a serious blow to the national development from which the country is not likely to recover either very soon, or without the united efforts of the people. ''

The wholesome changes initiated by Lord Morley's Act of 1909 and the impetus it has generated in the body politic in this country must, therefore, be supplemented by other forces not only to counteract the retrograde policy of the Regulations, but also to prevent the reforms granted, like so many other reforms neutralised almost in their inception, from relapsing into a lifeless, rigid official formula to be mechanically repeated for another generation without any variation and in compliance with the letter without the spirit of these reforms. The most effective of these forces must no doubt come from within and not without. The people must train themselves in the art of evolving constructive policies and not merely indulge themselves in destructive criticisms. They must learn calmly to weigh the two sides of a question and take the most practical and not the most dramatic view of a situation. And, above all, they must be thoroughly characterised by honesty of purpose and firmness of determination and inspired by a spirit of lofty, patriotic

self-sacrifice which is calculated to sink all differences and merge all personal considerations into the common well-being of the nation. Proper discipline is as much needed in national development as in military organisation, and the Indian bureaucracy furnishes the most striking object-lesson of the value of such discipline. The evolution wrought by the national movement during the last thirty years is no doubt very remarkable; but it would be a grievous error not to recognise the serious defects which still underlie our national character and constitute its weakness. A robust, healthy public opinion, divested of prejudice and passion and founded upon impartial observation and careful study, carries with it not only a highly educative effect; but is the most potent safeguard against national demoralization. It is the only censor of all lapses and aberrations in public life. It is as useless, as it is harmful, to disguise the fact, that the public in this country are still much given to carping criticism and abuse. Self-confidence is indeed a virtue, but self-conceit is a vice which, like a slow deleterious poison imperceptibly undermines the intellectual and moral constitution of an individual as well as of a nation. The habit of thinking the oneself is indeed to be diligently cultivated; but the practice of immature young men sitting in judgment over the decisions of veteran public men and lightly formulating chimerical ideas of which they can have no clear conception is very much to be deprecated in their own interest as well as in the interest of the public of whom they are the future asset. Honest emulation is indeed to be desired, but not arrogance. True

patriotism is not a mere passive sentiment, but an active energy which in its proper exercise strengthens the nerves, stimulates the will, broadens the vision and purges nature of all its dross. It is the most valuable asset of national existence. With the loss of this one supreme virtue, India had once lost nearly all the glories of her past and with its revival dawns her present regeneration. At this renaissance there is indeed no lack of bright examples of patriotic devotion to duty: but it cannot be denied, that there is also no want of cracked coins still in circulation in this country. These false currencies are not only a deception but also a sure token of the moral turpitude of a nation. In an enlightened community thoroughly imbued with a stern sense of public responsibility, it should be practically impossible for all milksops and blotting papers to secure public trust as a means to their personal advancement at the sacrifice of public interest. For all these, the people themselves must be held responsible, and the pace of their progress must be graduated by the scale of their development of these national virtues.

But while it is perfectly true that most nations get as good a government as they deserve, it cannot be disputed that the conditions of a subject people are materially different from those of a free country, and that as such the development of both cannot be governed precisely by the same rules. In a free country the government itself is based upon public opinion and cannot but be guided by that opinion in its adaptation to the demands of public interest which is the very essence of its existence. In a subject country, particularly where the overning

class and the governed are perfect aliens to each other, there is always some amount of colliding interest which naturally precludes a fusion of the two elements and thus deters the progress of the people which accordingly becomes more largely dependent on the support of the Government. Where the State is perfectly independent of the people, the political advancement of the latter becomes almost an impossibility without proper facilities and opportunities afforded by the former. The people must, therefore, look to the supreme authority from which has emanated the present reforms for their future growth and expansion. It is the British Parliament which must apply the necessary force to correct the defects of the present system and remove the various impediments which have been thrown to arrest the progress of its future development. The British public are mostly ignorant of the actual state of affairs in this country, while the British Parliament is naturally disposed to content itself with the thought that when a reform has once been granted, it is bound to take its usual course and that the administrations in India may be fully depended upon loyally to carry out its policy. Unfortunately, however, such is not the case, and the Indian public are driven to the necessity of constantly knocking at the gate of the House which is always so carefully guarded by some well-trained Cerberuses, not a few of whom have fattened themselves upon the salt of India, but owe no allegiance to her, that their most reasonable complaints are easily drowned in the howling raised by these watch-dogs. But the people must knock and knock, until the gate is opened to them.

If India is to be redeemed through British connection, the battle of India must be fought on British and not Indian soil. It is to the British public and the British Parliament that India must look for her ultimate redemption.

The best means therefore of having Indian's voice heard in England is to have some persons directly to represent her in Parliament. As has already been pointed out, Henry Fawcett was the first to assume the title of "Member for India," although he too had to apologise to his constituency for devoting some portion of his time and attention to the affairs of India. Next came Charles Bradlaugh, to whom the title was conceded by his colleagues more as a nickname than as a genuine compliment. But perhaps the highest representation which India ever obtained in the House of Commons was through the Parliamentary Committee which was so successfully organised mainly through the efforts of the much-abused British Committee of the Congress. This Committee at one time counted upon its roll no less than 200 members of Parliament, and a careful student of Indian politics will have no difficulty in finding that they were a tower of strength to India and that the persistent agitations which they kept up in the House were at the root of most of the reforms which have recently been inaugurated in the administration of this country. Those were the halcyondays of the Congress. But that Committee has been dissolved and it has naturally ceased to exist under a Liberal Parliament and is not likely to be fully revived even under the next Conservative Government.

The question of direct representation for India in the British House of Commons therefore comes to the forefront of the future programme of the Congress. The question is not altogether a new one. It was first noticed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential address at the Lahore Congress of 1893. But for ten years the Congress apparently took no notice of it until 1904 when it unanimously adopted the following Resolution :—

"That in the opinion of the Congress the time has arrived when the people of this country should be allowed a larger voice in the administration and control of the affairs of their country by (*a*) the bestowal on each Province or Presidency of India of the franchise of returning at least two members to the British House of Commons."

The Resolution was tacked on to the more immediate questions of the expansion of the Legislative Councils and the appointment of Indian members to the India Council as well as to the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Presidency Governments of Bombay and Madras. It was again repeated in 1905 ; but owing partly to the immediate pressure of reforms nearer at home and partly because of the serious troubles into which the country was plunged since 1905 this important question was allowed to be dropped from the programme of all subsequent Congresses. But the spirit in which the expansion of the councils has been carried out and the manner in which effect has been given to the reform of the Executive Councils, from which popular leaders of exceptional abilities appear to have been carefully excluded for reasons which are not perhaps

too far to seek and which the bureaucracy apparently does not care much to conceal, would seem to call for the revival of the question with all the the vigour and earnestness which it obviously demands. It is the high pressure of Parliament which is absolutely needed to keep an obstructive bureaucracy abreast of the times and to enforce ungrudging compliance with its supreme mandates. And it goes without saying, that such a pressure can be generated only by India's own representatives in the House. If it be true, that "it is not England's heart that is steeled against India, but it is her ear that is deaf to her cries," then it follows that the highest endeavour of the Indian nationalist should not be confined to the loudest cries raised in India, but directed towards their gaining access to the ear of England.

The tremendous influence of Parliamentary representation may be judged from two sources. The labours of Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the unofficial Indian Parliamentary Committee are well known to the public and it must be remembered that they were all Britishers and constitutionally represented certain British constituencies only. Mr. Dadabdai Naoroji was the first Indian who ever sat in a British Parliament. He too sat not for Bombay, but for Central Finsbury. But such was the moral influence of the presence of this "black man" in the House that it at once excited the jealousy and nervousness of a conservative premier and led to the hasty return of another black man who was

none the whiter because he was set up in the conservative interest.

The other and the more potent example is furnished by Ireland. Ireland like India has been fighting for her national emancipation for a much longer time and with much greater determination and unquestionably with incomparably superior advantages on her side. Yet Ireland, with Parnell on one side of the Irish Channel and Gladstone on the other, was unable to make one-tenth of the impression which she has now made upon Great Britain with Redmond in Ireland and Asquith in England. Nobody would ever venture to suggest that the present great leader of the Irish Party and the present distinguished premier of England are stronger personalities than the "uncrowned king of Ireland" and the "Great Commoner" of England; but nevertheless the success of the former is more decided and remarkable than the failure of the latter. It is the seventy odd Nationalist members in the House who holding the balance of power in their hands have turned the scale and decided the question of Irish Home Rule. It is practically the same question with which the Indian Nationalist is concerned:—It is National Self-Government within the Empire, or Home Rule for India. And the Indian people must be armed with similar weapons to carry the struggle to a successful conclusion. If two dozens of Indian representatives were to be admitted into the British House of Commons, they would not only by themselves form an important factor in the House; but a party

would naturally grow round them which would undoubtedly exercise considerable influence in shaping the policy of Government and doing adequate justice to India. It would then be impracticable for the Indian bureaucracy to tamper or tinker with the wholesome provisions of any Parliamentary statute or to impede the normal growth of Indian nationalism. Bureaucracy may shudder at the prospect of such an innovation, but true statesmanship can hardly fail to realise that it would form a permanent cement and a bond of indissoluble union between England and India, the value of which, as the most precious assets of Great Britain, even the most blatant jingo would be bound to admit. It must be a process of gradual fusion and not of increasing dominance that will permanently secure British rule in India.

India certainly desires British connection, but it is a connection of co-partnership based upon mutual trust and confidence and comradeship in rights and responsibilities but not of permanent subjection which she aims at. The kind of connection commonly known as liege-lordism was sought to be enforced by Western civilisation in America, Africa and in other dark corners of the world, and it led to the extirpation of the weaker races. But India possesses a civilisation and literature older than that of Greece and Rome and even older than that of Egypt and Phœnicia which are still the admiration of the modern world. She still boasts of cities and towns which flourished before Babylon and Nineveh came into existence. She has withstood the ravages of time and revolutions of ages which

have swept over her often leaving their deep scars upon her; but neither the one nor the other have succeeded in wiping her out of existence, or even in disfiguring her beyond identification. She possesses a wonderful vitality which has, on the contrary, assimilated and absorbed most of the civilisations which came in contact with her and which she was unable either to resist or counteract. And to-day she is the common home of the Hindu, the Mussalman, the Parsi, the Jain, the Buddhist and the Christian. Such a country may be conquered, but not held in prepetual bondage. None of her many conquerors succeeded in doing so, and it would be a grievous mistake if Great Britain should either intend or attempt to make such an experiment. Militarism can subjugate countries, but cannot enslave a civilised people. India, emancipated and consolidated into a federal unit, will constitute the strongest cement of the British Empire; whereas emasculated, impoverished, distrusted and discontented, she is bound to be a standing menace to her true greatness and is likely to prove her greatest weakness in an hour of danger. England must be prepared to admit India into the Councils of the Empire if she is to be honestly treated as an integral part of that Empire. She must cease to be her greatest Dependency and rise to the dignity of her foremost Dominion, and her people should be treated not as paying subjects but as privileged citizens of that Empire. The misfortune is that so few Englishmen know much of ancient Indian History and fewer still command an insight into ancient Indian civilisation and have, therefore, so little sympathy and respect for Indian aspirations.

Reverting to the immediate question of Parliamentary representation, it may be pointed out that from the Queen's Proclamation down to the latest Royal declaration of George V, there was not a single authoritative pronouncement made which did not hold out the hope that the Indian people would be treated in all respects as "equal subjects" of Great Britain and entrusted with rights and privileges of British citizenship to which they by their position and education may be found entitled: and the people would naturally resent it as an evasion of these solemn pledges if, after they have been tried and found not unworthy of representative institutions, they should be still debarred from their legitimate position of representing their country's interest in the supreme Legislative assembly of the Empire of which they form such an important factor. Besides, if France has found no difficulty in extending such an important franchise to her handful of Indian subjects and thereby recognising them as free citizens and co-partners of the great Republic, it is no small or fancied grievance of the three hundred and odd millions of British Indian subjects, that they should stand carefully excluded from a fair participation in the rights of the British Empire although they have to bear more than a fair share of its responsibilities. It cannot be, and will perhaps never be, contended that Chandernagore is more advanced than Calcutta, Pondicherry than Madras, or Mahe than Bombay; or, that French Government have lost either in strength or prestige or efficiency by reason of the admission of their Indian and African subjects, either in the army or in the

Chamber of Deputies. Vigorous efforts should, therefore, be made to secure proper and adequate repesentation for India directly in the British House of Commons.

CHAPTER XXI.

INDIA IN PARTY POLITICS.

There is another question of difficulty which must shortly engage the attention of the Congress and its members. As often as an important question of Indian reform is raised for discussion, a studied, stereotyped cry is invariably raised both in the British Parliament as well as in the British Press, that India must be kept outside the pale of party politics in England. This earnest solicitude can evidently mean one of two things: It may either mean that India is regarded as too "great and solemn a trust of Providence" to be entrusted to the wrangling and rancorous spirit of the two hostile political parties which decide the fate of the rest of the British Empire; or it may mean, that India is a rich preserve in common held under a common agreement and for the benefit of both the parties which cannot, therefore, be allowed to be an apple of discord between them. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of the plea thus advanced, its one effect has always been to perpetuate India's wrongs and to defer Indian reforms by either party

in England. The grim humour of the situation, however, lies in the fact that India must alternately come under a Liberal or Conservative Government and be ruled by a Liberal or Conservative Secretary of State, while the anomaly is sometimes allowed to assume a most awkward position when a conservative Viceroy is permitted to govern India under a Liberal Government in England. The result of such an arrangement has invariably been found to involve a partial surrender of Liberal principles and a consequent sacrifice of India's best interests. Individual members may have occasionally nobly fought for justice to India; but seldom has Parliament risen to the height of such occasions for an adequate redress of her wrongs. The best of fights for India on the floor of the House has in recent years ended in a compromise where neither party has suffered any defeat and both parties have come out triumphant, as in a mock military tournament, at the sound of the warning note of 'party politics.' The story, however, is as old as the sovereignty of the British Crown in India. In 1858, when Lord Palmerston introduced his first India Bill for the reform of the Indian administration, Mr. Disraeli, who was then the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, elaborately dwelt on the desirability of having "the representative principle applied to the Government of India," and objected to the Bill on the ground that it did not provide sufficient check for the protection of India's interest and for "that redress of the grievances under which she suffered which British protection ought to ensure." But soon after when

upon the sudden defeat of Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby came into power, the same Benjamin Disraeli in introducing *his* India Bill "regretted that the unsettled state of the country did not admit of a representation of the people in India," and both sides of the House complacently agreed to his dictum. The same process of "promising to the ear and breaking to the hope" has long been repeated with unfailing precision and uniformity by both parties in Parliament in dealing with India and the Indian people: and it was this painful display of a tragi-comic farce that led Mr. George Yule candidly to observe that "the 650 odd members who were to be the palladium of India's rights and liberties have thrown 'the great and solemn trust of an inscrutible Providence' back upon the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best." It was the same sophistry to which in more recent years Sir Henry Fowler gave utterance, when as the Minister for India he said that every one of the said 650 odd members in the House, whether liberal or conservative, was a Member for India," which (according to the trite old saying that everybody's business is nobody's business) in simple unsophisticated Indian phraseology, was as much as to say that as in a letter so in spirit there was absolutely no member for India in the British Parliament. These platitudes have led not a few Indians, however erroneous they may be, honestly to believe, that the British people are entirely liberal as far as Great Britain is concerned; they are divided into liberals and conservatives when Ireland comes into question, and with few honourable exceptions,

they close their ranks and stand solid as conservatives when the fate of India has to be decided.

The question, therefore, whether India should be drawn into English party politics does not appear to be free from difficulties. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji speaking so early as 1885 said, that "the Conservatives are not so bad as that they will never do a good thing, nor are the Liberals so good that they never did a bad thing. In fact, we owe good to both and we have nothing to do with them yet as parties." This may be perfectly correct; but it seems equally clear that whenever the Conservatives have done a good thing by India, they have mostly done so under pressure from the other side. It is also commonly pointed out that the great Proclamation was the gift of a Conservative Government, though subsequent acts and declarations of responsible ministers of the Conservative rank have shown, that it is hardly accepted by them as the gift of any Government, but that of a female Sovereign addressing her distant alien subjects upon her assumption of power after a great revolution, and it did not probably cost a Conservative minister much to draw up a liberal manifesto in his "inimitable style" under the express dictation of that Sovereign. If that Proclamation has ever been respected as a sacred document, it has been so done only by liberal ministers and administrators. Current of events in recent times has, however, brought home to the Indian mind, that although it may not matter much to India which of the two parties is in actual authority in England, it matters a good deal whether the members who form the Government for

either party are or are not individually men of more generous instincts, wider sympathies and broader statesmanship in dealing with the affairs of an Empire which covers nearly one-sixth of this habitable globe. It is the saying of one of the greatest political philosophers the world has produced that "a great Empire and a little mind go ill together." Then India being a subject country without any voice in her own affairs, it is only natural that those that are imbued with liberal principles and democratic ideas, "Little Englanders" as they are called, who are more likely to be in sympathy with her than the lordly Impearialist who unreservedly talks of India having been conquered by the sword and who openly preaches that it must be retained by the sword.

Lord Cromer, who was perhaps the first open advocate of this doctrine of Indian neutrality, had no doubt his reasons for the occasion when he asked the House not to drag India into a party question; but is India really kept outside party politics? Is it not a fact, that although Great Britain is alternately governed on Liberal or Conservative principles, India is permanently ruled on Conservative lines? Parties rise and fall, ministers change and Viceroys come and go; but the bureaucracy in which the Indian administration is permanently vested, is an essentially conservative institution as unchangeable in its methods as it is unimpregnable in its policy. A time must, therefore, come when the Congress will have to face the situation and decide the question whether it should not openly cast in her lot with one of the political parties in England.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM.

The highest problem for solution in the evolution of a nation is perhaps Education. As it is the essence of civilization, so it is the very backbone of progressive humanity; while the force and stamina of a national life, as much as its longevity and capacity for action, are largely determined by the nature and extent of the development and expansion of its educational system. Education is the main stock-in-trade of a civilized people and the working capital of its administration. In every well-regulated country, therefore, the State assumes the charge and control of public education as its paramount duty towards its subjects. Administration of justice and protection of life and property are no doubt among the primary functions of a Government; but these are discharged in one shape or another by every form of government that cares for its own existence. Even in early stages of society these elementary duties were fully recognised in all communal or feudal systems of administration where the educated few held the ignorant many in bondage in return for the peace and security guaranteed to them. It is, however, the highest aim of civilization to emancipate humanity from this forced subjection and restore to it the rights and liberties which are the common heritage of mankind. And education is the only means towards that end: It is the only weapon with which to fight out the intellectual slavery and the

moral turpitude of a people. As it is the sole test of a people's fitness to participate in the management of its own concerns, so it is the only standard by which a civilized government is to be judged and justified in its assumption of authority to rule over its destinies. The highest claim of Britain to the gratitude of the people of this country is, therefore, not founded either upon its elaborate system of efficient administration, or upon its extensive railways or other means of communication. Nor is that claim based upon the development of the country's resources and the expansion of its trade. All these are no doubt fully appreciated as the blessings of a civilized and enlightened rule; but the people know and feel that these blessings are purchased not without the payment of a price for each and all of them. The real source from which that gratitude flows lies deeper and is to be traced to the Educational policy which the British Government solemnly undertook to carry out, and which it has to no small extent carried out in the administration of this country ever since the assumption of its sovereignty. In recent years the educational policy of the Government has admittedly undergone remarkable changes leading to a considerable divergence of opinion, as regards not only the aim, but also the effect of that policy upon the general education of the country. While the Government maintains that these changes are intended to improve education, the people are unable to divest themselves of the belief that they are all retrograde measures calculated seriously to restrict and hamper educational progress. A brief survey of the history of that policy,

therefore, appears to be necessary for a clear understanding of the issues involved in the discussion, as also of the merits of the contention on both sides.

It is a grievous mistake to assume, as not a few among the Englishmen have rather too hastily assumed, that when India passed into the hands of England she was found sunk deep in one unbroken darkness of ignorance and superstition ; that public education was foreign to the instinct and tradition of the people, and that educational institutions were imported from the West with the advent of the British, India was neither South Africa, nor the West Indies. Older than Rome and Greece and even older than Egypt and Phœnecia, India was in the dim and distant past the only one bright spot when the rest of the world was enveloped in darkness. She was the cynosure of all eyes and in spite of all the fanciful attempts of modern researches to prove the contrary, she still stands out in bold relief as the centre of all the earliest culture and enlightenment of the world. Even in later periods Chinese travellers from the East, and Grecian and Roman travellers from the West bore eloquent testimony to the unrivalled advancement and civilization of the Indian people. Coming down to modern times the Mahomedan historians have also ungrudgingly testified to their superior knowledge and culture. Since the Mahomedan conquest, India made further acquisition of Arabic and Persian enlightenment, and it seems absurd to suppose that, towards the middle of the eighteenth century all this civilization and culture of ages were suddenly swept away by some mysterious agency, leaving the

country involved in one impenetrable darkness. India with her vanished glories still retained the hall-mark of her proud and peculiar civilisation when she came in contact with the modern civilization of the West. She was even then rich in her Sanskrit and Persian literature, not to speak of the various Vernacular dialects of these classical languages, and though very much deficient in the knowledge of applied sciences, she possessed an indigenous system of education, both primary as well as secondary, spread throughout the country as the decaying fabric of the past—the crumbling relic of the vanished glories of her Nalanda and other Universities. We have it on the authority of the Education Commission of 1882, that prior to 1854, when the first Educational Despatch of Sir Charles Wood was issued, there were more than 900,000 or nearly a million of boys in British India, receiving elementary education in reading, writing and arithmetic including surveying, mensuration, square and cubic measures as well as equation. These primary instructions were systematically imparted in *Patshalas* and *Muktabs*; while higher education in literature, philosophy, logic, theology, medicine and astronomy was amply provided for in *Tols* and *Madrassas* established throughout the country, unsupported by any State-grant and uncontrolled by any State-agency. The customary recitation of the historical epics on festive and other occasions was another means of popular education. Medical science, including anatomy, surgery and chemistry, which is one of the highest products of civilization had reached such a degree of efficiency, that in recent

years with increased knowledge of ancient Indian civilization it has extorted the wonder and admiration of European scientists; while, in the domain of astronomy, although the latter-day Indians had ceased to make any fresh discoveries, the precision and accuracy with which they were still able to utilise their old stock of knowledge for the purpose of calculations and the many observatories which were in existence at Benares and other places down to the eighteenth century bore no mean evidence of the people's acquaintance with the wonders of the stellar world. Indian music still holds its place among the fine arts of the civilized world; while India's architecture and sculpture, of which eloquent testimony is still borne by the Taj at Agra, so well described as a "dream in marble, designed by Titans and finished by jewellers," and the grand mausoleum at Chunar which Bishop Heber characterised as "embroidery in stone," and by the numerous caves and temples still extant in Orissa as well as in Central and Southern India, gave unquestionable evidence of her technical knowledge of no mean order. The futile attempts of Western pride to attribute these wonderful works of art to either European or Byzantine civilization only add to their matchless glory and unrivalled superiority. India's maritime trade even in the sixteenth century was not inconsiderable; while her far-famed textile fabrics, particularly of cotton and silk, were largely in demand in the courts of Europe even in the eighteenth century. Scientific appliances she had none; but it was want of patronage, more than the competition of superior scientific machineries of

Europe, which crushed her finer industries and overpowered her in the end. Such was the country that was practically ceded to Great Britain towards the middle of the eighteenth century by a people torn by internal dissensions, distracted by mutual jealousy and spite, and tired of the misgovernment of a hundred inefficient principalities and administrations which had become accustomed to look more to their own pomp and grandeur than to the comforts and well-being of their subjects, and which had, as such, systematically neglected public instruction as a State duty. Of course the system of education at the time was very defective as there was hardly any method in the system; while the higher studies were generally of an unprofitable character. All this was due to the fact that there was no authority to guide or control education, and the people were left entirely to their own initiative and resource to educate their children as best as they could and as the circumstances of the country either permitted or required. The genius and aptitude of the people for education was, however, never extinct.

The government of the East India Company, which was mainly directed by purely mercantile considerations and from the highest to the lowest animated by a spirit of exploitation, naturally marked a very slow and slight advance in the direction of Education. The Board of Control from time to time no doubt urged for larger provisions being made for the education of the people, yet the largest grant ever made in any one year for education was not more than *one lakh* of rupees, which the Board strongly insisted

on being put down in one of the Budgets of the Company towards the close of its administration. Full twelve years were taken in deciding the controversy which raged between those who were called the 'Orientalists' and the 'Anglicists,' that is, persons who were opposed to the introduction of English education and urged for the encouragement of the study of the Oriental languages, and those on the other side, who advocated Western education and as such insisted on the English language being accepted as the medium of education in India. In this vital controversy, Rajah Rammohun Roy, strongly supported by David Hare, took a leading part and threw himself heart and soul at the forefront of the Anglicist party. We may not at this distance of time fully agree with the great Indian reformer in all that he said against the study of Sanskrit and Arabic languages which he strongly denounced as being barren and unprofitable studies, and we may even doubt if he actually anticipated the remarkable changes which his mother-country would undergo in the next hundred years; but that his prophetic vision clearly foresaw that India's future destiny lay in the acquisition of modern knowledge and that such knowledge could be adequately and efficiently purveyed only through the medium of a living Western language cannot certainly be disputed. The question was finally decided during the government of Lord William Bentinck, when by a Resolution dated the 7th May, 1835, it was declared that although elementary education was to be confined to the Vernacular languages, higher education in India must be imparted

in the English language. It was a most decisive point gained which paved the way for the future evolution of Indian Nationalism by providing a common language for the whole country. The Company, however, still moved at a very slow pace towards the educational development of the country when, worried and wearied by the systematic evasion of its mandates, the Board at the instance of Parliament at last laid down a definite policy of education to be pursued in India. The famous Despatch of the 19th July of 1854, commonly known as the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax,—then President of the Board of Control—was the first declaration of that Policy and it is justly regarded as the great charter of education in India. The Despatch opened with an unreserved declaration of the Government accepting the responsibility of education of the people as a State duty. The declaration runs as follows :—

"It is one of our most sacred *duties* to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of knowledge and which India may under Providence derive from her connection with England."

"The Despatch, after formulating its general scheme, went on to prescribe the following means for the attainment of its objects :—(i) The establishment of Universities at the Presidency cities ; (ii) the constitution of a Department of Education for each Presidency; (iii) the maintenance of the existing Colleges and High Schools whose number was very small and the increase of their number; (iv) the establishment of middle schools and of training institutions for teachers; (v)

provisions for increased facilities towards the expansion of elementary education among the masses; and (vi) the introduction of a grant-in-aid system for the development of education. Provision was also recommended for a system of State scholarships to connect the lower schools with the higher, and the higher schools with the colleges.

It was a grand and comprehensive scheme, and one now naturally feels inclined to inquire as to how far it has been carried out. Three years after this programme was taken in hand and immediately as the first university was established in Calcutta, the Mutiny broke out which again set in motion a retrograde policy and caused a set-back in education. A party of Anglo-Indians, who were never so zealous in the cause of education, if they were not actually opposed to it from the very beginning, came forward to denounce education as being mainly responsible for the attempted revolution. The question was neatly disposed of by Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in a minute of 1858 on a letter of Lord Ellenborough, as President of the Board of Control, to the Court of Directors, who had found in the disturbance ample excuse for reverting to their old policy of inaction and issuing a peremptory order upon the Government in India not to "sanction any increase of expenditure in any part of India in connection with Education" without their authority previously obtained. Sir Frederick Halliday wrote:

"On the question of the connection between education and the rebellion, our wisdom, no less than our duty, is to persevere

in what we have begun and not to turn our backs upon Bihar or any other parts of our territory, because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement. It is certain, however, that both the difficulty and the danger are exaggerated and look imposing only to those who keep at a distance from them and view them through the delusive mist of prejudice and mis-information. As to difficulty, the progress of Bengal, even within the memory of living witnesses, is a proof of the aptitude of the people and of their plastic docility. And though it is not uncommon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations, and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of similar consequences in future, the error of this opinion is like that of a man who after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of gunpowder to all kinds of dangerous influences and having by good luck, and in spite of bad management, long escaped without an accident, should, at last, when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place, blame neither the gunpowder nor his own rashness and indiscretion, but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of many little sparks flying about, and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences."

No more statesmanlike view of the situation or crushing reply could have been advanced, and the Government of Lord Canning made a firm stand against the insensate, hysteric cry of an alarmist crowd. It will be seen a little later on, that the same cry has again been raised in recent years and has contributed not a little to the shaping of the present educational policy of the Government, with this difference that there is neither a Halliday nor a Canning to take a dispassionate perspective of the situation and boldly adhere to the noble policy of 1854. By Statute 21 and 22 Victoria, passed on the 2nd August, 1858, the weak and vacillating misgovernment of the East India Company was brought to an end and on the 1st November of the same year, the great Proclamation was issued from Allahabad notifying the assumption of the Government of India

directly by the Crown. That Proclamation is universally regarded as the *Magna Charta* of British India.

The second great Despatch on Education was issued on the 7th April, 1859, shortly after the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown. After reviewing the working of the earlier Despatch, the policy of which it whole-heartedly re-affirmed and accepted as the policy of the Crown, it went on to point out that although much had been done to stimulate a desire for education and the people had evinced a great aptitude for Western knowledge, the progress made was indeed very slow and inadequate; and while fully endorsing the policy of encouraging all indigenous efforts towards the expansion of education, the practice of educational officers demanding contributions from the people, which had largely come to a vogue as a condition precedent to the establishment of Vernacular schools, was declared both undignified and inexpedient. Doubts were also expressed as to the suitability of the grant-in-aid system for the supply of Vernacular education to the masses of the population, which, it was suggested, should be provided by the direct efforts of the State. The question of levying an educational rate for the provision of elementary education was also recommended by this Despatch of the careful consideration of the Government.

At this period, the Christian Missionaries acted as strong auxiliaries towards the spread of education, and though their primary object was to facilitate the propagation of the Christian Gospel, the schools and colleges which they founded in connection with the

Universities became powerful adjuncts to the cause of secular education also. But by far the greatest efforts were perhaps made by the people themselves, particularly as regards secondary and high education, though they failed largely to co-operate with the Government in promoting elementary education among the masses. A number of enlightened Indian gentlemen, mostly inspired by the lofty teachings of Rajah Rammohun Roy, one after another took the field in different parts of the country which became soon studded with schools and colleges, some of which to this day stand as the proudest monuments of their patriotic labours and self-sacrifice. The names of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Prisonno Coomar Tagore, Gow Mohan Addy, Bhudev Mukherjee, Peary Churn Sircar, Mahomed Mosbin, Maharance Swarnamoye and many others in Bengal, of Dababhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Shastri, Roychand Premchand and Mahadev Govinda Ranade in Bombay, of Sir Syed Ahmed in the United Provinces of Pachyappa Mudaliar and Gopal Row in Madras and of the saintly educationist Dayananda Swaraswati in Benares are embalmed in the grateful memories of their countrymen.

The next landmark in our educational histhory was the Education Commission of 1882, appointed by the Government of Lord Ripon under the presidency of Sir William Hunter, which reviewed the progress the country had made during a period of thirty years since the first Education Despatch of 1854. Although the province of Bengal was found to be much ahead of the other provinces, defects were noticed in the entire

system which loudly called for the earnest attention of the Government. The number of schools and colleges was still found to be inadequate and the provision for education insufficient. It was recommended by the Commission that the support and countenance afforded by the Government to indigenous schools, whether of elementary or of higher instruction, and the encouragement given to private enterprise by grant-in-aid rules should be further extended; that the Government should be reluctant to open Government institutions whenever private institutions could be expected or encouraged to do the work; that more liberal rates of aid should be granted to private colleges; and that primary education having been still very much neglected closer supervision and larger grants were needed for the education of the mass of the population. The Commission proposed an increased expenditure of 10 *lakhs* of rupees a year for the promotion of primary education. All these recommendations were of course generously accepted on principle; but only such effect could be given to them in practice as was possible under the eternal cry of financial difficulties, though of course neither the increase of the administrative machinery, universally admitted to be the costliest in the world, nor of the army, nor of the Home charges could afford to wait for their periodical expansion in an unfailing progressive ratio. And the official reports almost invariably winded up with the euphemistic platitude that "the recommendations of the Commission received the *fullest* attention *compatible with the necessity of avoiding any considerable increase of expenditure.*" Comment upon the rhyme

and reason of language like this is perfectly superfluous.

Then came the Local Self-Government scheme of Lord Ripon, and the Government found an opportunity of relieving itself of the charge of primary education which, with certain petty and fluctuating receipts, was transferred to the Municipalities, the District, and the Taluqa Boards. This was no doubt a wise measure taken towards the development of elementary education; but its efficiency was largely impaired by the crippled resources of the local bodies overburdened by an army of inspecting establishment which in some places swallowed up nearly 45 per cent. of the grants for education.

Having thus largely relieved itself of the charge of Primary Education, the Government set to deal with higher education. A tendency had become manifest for some time past to view high education with a degree of suspicion and distrust and in certain quarters even with positive disfavour. It was the educated community which clamoured for increased rights and privileges and it was their agitation which was supposed to be responsible for the increased difficulties of the administration. The smoothness with which that administration was carried on from the middle of the eighteenth to nearly three-quarters of the nineteenth century was very much disturbed by the growing consciousness of a people who, in the prophetic words of Lord Macaulay, having their minds and ideas expanded by Western education, were aspiring to Western institutions and methods of administration. It was

indeed the dawning of the "proudest day" of England though unfortunately, however, the just pride of British rule in India was at this stage slowly, though perceptibly, deteriorating into unworthy jealousy and spite, and the lessons of broad statesmanship gradually yielding to the dictates of a narrow, short-sighted policy. In 1902 Lord Curzon appointed a Universities Commission, and the Universities Act of 1904 was the outcome of the recent retrograde policy of education in India. With the ostensible view of securing *efficiency*, for which the government of Lord Curzon stood in every department of the administration, the Universities were officialized and their growth and expansion at once curbed to suit the purposes of the general administration. While it was apparently intended to secure a serene atmosphere of pure study, free from all political influences, it was entirely a political move to checkmate the Nationalist party who were the bugbear of the Indian bureaucracy. The whole programme of education was recast and the existing institutions were forced to conform themselves to a set of Regulations which placed them, as it were, upon the bed of Procrastes if they meant to exist. Some of the institutions died out on account of the stringent operation of these Regulations; while the growth of new ones was tightly fettered by their expensive requirements in a country notorious for its extreme poverty. To justify the new policy, the aim of which was unmistakably to restrict high education, it was pointed out that education was expanding in area at the sacrifice of depth and that in not a few cases it was conducted

by private enterprise more as commercial business than as philanthrophic undertakings. It was further urged that in the case of both the colleges as well as the high schools, the majority of the students lived in a suspicious atmosphere of uncontrolled and unrestricted independence incompatible with the healthy growth of their moral and intellectual development. Above all, it was contended that the Universities stood in urgent need of thorough overhauling both as regards the subjects of studies as well as the conditions of affiliation of colleges and recognition of high schools; while it was fairly proposed that if it was actually impossible to convert the existing Universities into teaching institutions like those of Europe, it should be the aim of a sound policy gradually to impart such a character to them by opening out fresh avenues for researches and post-graduate studies and establishing new chairs and professorships directly under these Universities. Most of these arguments were perfectly plausible, while some of them were simply unassailable; and the sudden change in the educational policy of the Government would not have been unwelcome to the people and become subject to much adverse public criticism if it had not been evidently dictated by a political object to divest the Universities of their popular character and place them entirely under bureaucratic control, and to restrict high education and sap the growth of indigenous enterprise which had largely contributed towards the expansion of education in the country. The new policy was, to all intents and purposes, a retrograde movement, and behind its charming frontispiece there

was the same lurking suspicion and distrust of education and of the educated community which manifested themselves after the Mutiny of 1857, with this difference that while the old servants of the Company, who were largely responsible for the outbreak, were then kept well in hand by superior British statesmanship, the servants of the Crown forming an invincible bureaucracy now got the upper hand of that statesmanship, and under more favourable auspices succeeded in completely reversing the policy of Government. It is not denied that in certain directions the policy of 1904 has achieved remarkable progress, while at least one of the Universities has, under the guidance of a very capable and energetic Vice-Chancellor, aided by the philanthropy and patriotism of some of its noblest products, well-nigh risen to the rank of a teaching University of high order; but in the estimation of the public, these solitary advantages are completely overshadowed by the sinister spirit of that policy which seeks to improve by reduction and foster by curtailment of education in a country whose educational requirements are admittedly so vast and yet whose educational status is still indisputably so weak and miserable, compared with the rest of the civilized world. Under the policy of 1854 the Government, fully conscious of its own weakness, was most anxious to supplement its efforts by offering all possible encouragements to private enterprise; but under the new policy of 1904 it assumed the full control of education not only without making any adequate provision for its progress, but by actually forging serious restrictions to its normal expansion

and development. If the earlier policy was purely educational in its character, the later policy has been politico-educational in its essence as well as substance. Even the large subsides which it has in some cases forced upon private bodies and individuals have been influenced rather by political than educational considerations. If the redeeming features of such a policy have failed to commend themselves to the appreciation of the people, it is more their misfortune than their fault. The improvements effected in certain directions are naturally regarded in the light of the improvised Chinese shoes for the improvement of Chinese beauty however maimed and crippled the subjects may be under its painful operations.

The next important step, in the history of education in the country, was the creation of a separate portfolio of Education in 1910 with an independent minister in charge of it. Although the Despatch of 1854 had established a separate Education Department for each of the provinces, it occupied a subordinate position where, in the words of Mr. Gokhale, "educational interests rubbed shoulders with jails and the police in the all-comprehensive charge of the Home Department." For the first time in 1910, Education received its due recognition as an important and independent department of the State. But the fullest results of the working of this department can hardly be expected until it is released from the fetters of the policy of 1904. Sir Harcourt Butler's Educational Resolution of 1913 clearly emphasises the necessity at least of a partial revision and relaxation of

that policy, and it is perfectly clear that if the creation of a new ministry for education is to have any meaning, the minister in charge must have a wider scope and greater freedom of action than the policy of 1904 apparently allows.

Lord Hardinge's scheme for the establishment of a residential and teaching University at Dacca is no doubt a movement in the right direction if the proposed University is to be conducted on the lines of the Universities of Great Britain. But if it is to have any territorial jurisdiction, however small, its usefulness will be considerably reduced; while if its standard in any way becomes lowered, it is bound to act as a setback rather than as an impetus to the advancement of high education in the country. The demand for high education is so great in the country that both the Hindus and the Mussalmans have come forward to found two independent Universities of their own. Their aim and scope have become the subject of considerable speculation among the people; but these attempts are a proof positive of the fact that the number of Universities in the country is too small to satisfy the demand of the people and that there is large room for additional adjuncts for the advancement of high education in the country.

The above is a short summary of the history of the educational policy of British rule in India, the net results of which up-to-date may now be briefly discussed. These results may broadly be considered under three heads: (1) High Education, (2) Secondary Education, and (3) Primary or Elementary Education. The

first and second may be taken together as the one is complimentary to the other. High education is imparted under the control of five examining Universities of which the first was established in Calcutta in 1857, the second and third in Madras and Bombay in 1858, the fourth at Lahore in 1882 and the fifth at Allahabad in 1887. The five Universities between them command 128 Arts Colleges for males and 10 Arts Colleges for females. These Colleges are fed by 1,278 High Schools for boys and 144 High Schools for girls. According to the statements furnished by the Hon'ble Member for Education in March, 1914, the number of scholars in the 138 Arts Colleges (both for males and females) amounted in 1912-13 to 33,249, and the 1,422 High Schools counted on their rolls a population of 446,697 pupils and students. As regards the products of the five Universities it will be found, counting only once graduates holding more than one degree, that the Calcutta University has so far turned out about 21,000, Bombay 12,000, Madras another 12,000 and the two youngest Universities of Lahore and Allahabad, about three to four thousand graduates in Art, Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering. The total number of graduates turned out by the five Universities during the last 57 years does not, therefore, come up even to 50,000. These figures standing by themselves may not appear to be altogether inappreciable; but taken with the vast extent and population of a country which, compared with the countries of Europe, with the exception of Russia, looms as large as a continent, they become practically lost to the view. Taking the total

population of the country under the last census at 255 millions, the percentage of scholars in Colleges, eliminating the odd figures on both sides, would be about '012, and that of the students in the High Schools 174 per cent. of the population ; while the percentage of graduates of more than half a century hardly works upto '018 only. This is the result of nearly 60 years' labours, and it has to be noticed that the highest increase in high education has been attained only in recent years. Now, in the face of this stunted growth and slow progress of the country in high education, can it be reasonably argued that the time has arrived for the application of the pruning knife? Pruning is good; but pruning before a plant has struck deep its roots and sufficiently put forth superfluous offshoots and branches can only help in hastening its destruction. So it has been with high education in India. With a total number of graduates which yields no percentage to the population until it is pursued down to two places of decimal fraction, an alarm has been sounded that the country is swamped by an army of "discontented graduates" and that a remedy must be provided against the yearly influx of these "disappointed place-seekers." To justify these retrograde movements, a responsible minister of the Government has openly enunciated a principle, which, in its originality no less than in its boldness, bids fair to mark a new departure in the history of the civilized world. It is confidently stated that "it is not in the interest of a poor people to receive high education." It is generally recognised in all civilised societies that poverty is no crime for which a special penalty need be provid-

ed by any Government; while it can hardly be disputed, that not many centuries ago, most of the advanced countries in the West were as poor as, if not much poorer than, India and that it is only through the falling off of education in the one case and advancement in the other that their economic conditions have become reversed. Germany since her prostration at Jena and France after her crushing defeat at Sedan would not have been the Germany and France of to-day but for the expansion and development of high education, which made such rapid strides in these countries since the disasters which overtook them alternately; while the continued prosperity and strength of Great Britain are to be traced primarily to her Oxford and Cambridge, Leeds and Bermingham, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Sandhurst and Woolwich. Poverty and ignorance may be hand-maids to each other, but they are neither inherent in nor inseparable accidents of the climatic condition of a people: these are conditions imposed upon a nation by the invasion of ignorance or of superior knowledge and culture. Besides, it would be the barest pretension on the part of any Government to evince such overwhelming anxiety for its poor subjects as not to further impoverish them by allowing them to have higher education without making adequate provision for their employment. Nobody expects the Government to make such a provision for a multitudinous population even on temporary occasions of drought, famine or flood, and far less is it reasonable to hope that Government should be able to absorb more than a very small percentage of the

educated community into its limited services. Education has a value of its own, and even where it is not sought for its own sake, it somehow solves the economic problem of its possessor. It may be useful to remember that more than two-thirds of the colleges and nearly four-fifths of the high schools are private institutions, and where the people are so eager for education it is not for the State indirectly to impede its progress even if it cannot directly contribute towards its advancement.

The School Final Examination, which has already been introduced in some of the provinces and is sought to be introduced in others, is another standing menace to high education. It is already diverting a considerable number of boys from the Universities under the inducement of petty employments at small expense and is working a double mischief. As it is on the one hand weakening the colleges, so it is on the other hand impairing the efficiency of the minor services. The improvement of these services, which were at one time notoriously corrupt and inefficient, has been the work of generations during which the Government has systematically raised the standard of educational qualification and increased the value of the services, so that it is now the pride of not a few of them to count among their ranks graduates and under-graduates of the Universities. To discount the value of education and reverse the forward movement would be to undo a noble work done and demoralize the services as well as the people to no small extent. The people are afraid that, with the restrictions already imposed on the expansion

of high education and the school final thrown in as a sop to a poor people, accompanied with a transfer of the power of recognition of the high schools from the Universities to the Education Departments of Government, the prospect of high education may be regarded as sealed. Government has at no time like Japan or China either very materially helped or encouraged the people in receiving higher education in foreign countries, while signs are not wanting that even in the British Universities, the Indian students are often regarded with racial jealousy and spite. How intensely the serene atmosphere of Education has become saturated with racial and political considerations may be judged from the fact that the colour bar still sharply divides even the educational Service into what are called Imperial and Provincial branches, and distinguished Indians whose fame for original researches and discoveries in the domain of science has travelled to Europe and America are made to wear the badge of this invidious distinction apparently for no other offence than the colour of their skin. Owing to a most regrettable manifestation of lawlessness among a certain class of misguided young men in the country, into which immature school-boys were treacherously decoyed in some places, the high schools have been placed under a state of surveillance, the effect of which is equally demoralising to the teachers as well as to the taught. On the whole, the serenity of the educational atmosphere has been disturbed, the growth and expansion of colleges and high schools impeded, and the entire system of education has been largely subordinated to the political exigencies of the State.

As regards Primary or Elementary Education, the subject was completely threshed out with remarkable ability by Mr. G. K. Gokhale in connection with the famous Resolution which he moved in the Supreme Legislative Council in 1910 and the Elementary Education Bill which, in the following year, he introduced in the same Council. Himself a devoted educationist, who voluntarily sacrificed his high material prospects to his ardent love for education and a saintly politician who to serve his country declined an unsolicited honour for which many may be secret candidates and not a few would gladly sacrifice all that they possess if they could only attain it, Mr. Gokhale dealt with the subject so luminously and with such characteristic force that his remarkable exposition drew the unstinted admiration of the whole Council, while Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, then Finance Minister, went so far as to compare him with Mr. Gladstone in his mastery of facts and marshalling of figures. Mr. Gokhale pointed out that in 1882 (the year of Lord Ripon's Education Commission) there were 85,000 Primary Schools recognised by the Department with about 2,150,000 pupils attending these schools, which, with another 350,000 attending the unrecognised indigenous schools, gave a total of 2,500,000 of boys and girls receiving elementary education in the whole country at the time. That means that only 1·2 per cent. of the entire population were at school in 1882. In 1910 the number of Primary Schools rose to 113,000 and the number of pupils in recognised schools to 3,900,000 which, with another 1,600,000 attending unrecognised schools, made the figure stand at

4,500,000 or only 1·9 per cent. of the total population. Speaking in 1910, Mr. Gokhale had necessarily to take the census return of 1901 for the basis of his calculation; but if the population of 1910 had been available to him, he could have shewn that this percentage was still less. However that may be, we are now in a position to consider the state of elementary education in the further light of the census of 1911 and the Educational Statements of 1912-13 as furnished by the Member for Education in March, 1914. According to these statements, there are at present 113,955 primary schools for boys and 13,694 schools for girls giving a total of 127,649 schools with a total strength of 5,261,493 boys and girls receiving instruction in these schools. This works out to little over 2 per cent. of the entire population. There has been some slight improvement in the other provinces; but in Bengal, the most forward province in point of education, there has been a steady falling off in mass education. Mr. Hornell's Report for 1912-13 shows a loss of 513 schools with a decrease of 17,292 boys and 2,974 girls among Hindus and 5,421 boys and 1,588 girls among Mahomedans. The proportion of pupils to children of school-going age (reckoned at 15 per cent. of the population) is little over 18 per cent.; that is nearly five out of every six children are allowed to grow up in ignorance. That is how elementary education stands in the country after 150 years of British rule in India, and yet Mr. Gokhale's modest Bill was thrown out with a few complimentary platitudes.

Now, taking the total number of scholars in public institutions of all grades (both for males and females), the figures stand at 6,488,824, and the grand total including unrecognised institutions amounts to 7,149,669. This gives a percentage of 2·8 to the whole population of the country. This then is the net result of more than half a century during which the Crown has assumed the supreme control of education and systematically tried to foster it. It took nearly thirty years to raise the percentage to 1·2 in 1882 and it has taken another thirty years to increase it by 1·6 per cent. in 1913. Thus even with a normal increase in population, this rate of educational progress in the country must prove a veritable race between the hare and the tortoise to enable the one to overtake the other; and how many generations must pass before even half the population can be rescued from absolute darkness! Mr. Gokhale conclusively pointed out that whether it be the extent of literacy among the pupulation, or the proportion of those actually under instruction, or the system of education adopted, India lags far behind any other civilised country in the world. She occupies a worse position than even the Philippine Islands, which came under American rule only fifteen years ago, and Ceylon and the principality of Baroda, while the small State of Mysore may also be shortly expected to beat her in the race. According to the last census, barley 7 per cent. of the population of India are literate, while in Russia, the most backward of European countries, the proportion of literates is more than 25 per cent. In the Philippines the proportion

of children at school is 6 per cent. and in Ceylon it is 6·6 per cent. of the entire population: while in India it is little over 2 per cent. only. In the State of Baroda in the year 1912-13 about 80 per cent. of the boys and 48 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were at school, as against 28 per cent. of boys and 5 per cent. of girls in British India as shown in the statement of March 1914 referred to above. The Report of Mr. Masani, Director of Public Instruction, Baroda, on the educational progress of the State in 1913-14, reveals a still more remarkable advance made in all branches of education. During the year, as reported by the *Bombay Chronicle*, the educational institutions of all descriptions in the State rose from 3,045 to 3,088, the total number of pupils attending them rose from 207,913 to 229,903 or an acquisition of 22,000 new pupils, which is a remarkable record indeed for a single year for such a small State as Baroda. Out of this total, 550 were in the Arts Colleges, 8,079 in the secondary schools, and the remaining 221,274 attending Primary Schools. Of the total number of children, 147,413 were boys and 82,490 were girls. The number of Primary Schools increased by 39 and the number of pupils attending primary institutions by 21,680. The remarkable increase in a single year was mainly due to the raising during the year of the statutory age limit for boys to 14 and that for the girls to 12 and the statutory standard limit from the Fourth to the Fifth Standard. The result of this reform has been that "fully 93·2 per cent of the boys of the school-going age are attending

school to-day in Baroda,"—a state of things which is far, far in advance of the conditions in British India or any of even the most progressive States. The State spent on education about 1·9 per cent. of the total revenues, which must be pronounced to be a fair, or even more than fair, proportion for spending on education. What a sad commentary this to the state of things in British India!

As regards the State expenditure on education, Mr. Gokhale's statement showed that while Russia spent 7½*d* per head of population, the Indian expenditure was barely one penny. It must be admitted that in recent years educational grants have been largely augmented by the Government of India and the Education Member's statement quoted above, gives the total expenditure on Education from all sources in 1912-13 at Rs. 9,02,09,000, which would out work at about 4*d* per head of the population. But with reference to this large increase it has to be borne in mind, that it has gone more towards the increase of inspecting establishments, improvements of school buildings and subsidies to existing institutions than to the increase of schools and colleges or to other extension of existing facilities for further development of education. The objects to which the bulk of these increased grants have been devoted may be perfectly legitimate; but in a country where education is at such low level, every available income should be utilised more towards extension and expansion of education than towards the supervision of the inspecting staff and the improvement of

buildings. Indians are accustomed to receive instructions even under the open sky, sitting in the cool shade of a village tree or temple; and although a decent and well-ventilated school house is always preferable, India is in more urgent need of extended facilities than of improved but limited accommodation for education. Supervision is no doubt wanted; but an army of inspecting officers, out of all proportion to the number of institutions and of the pupils, constantly in motion recording statistics and indulging in criticisms, each in support of his own fad, is a serious obstacle to real progress if not a positive nuisance. The whole system is working like a machinery without any life or spirit to inspire it to a higher ideal or nobler aim; while underlying that system there seems to be a secret dread of higher as well as universal education for the people. Repeatedly has the Crown solemnly declared its policy of trust and confidence in the people and its earnest desire to sweeten their homes with the blessings of education, and at no time perhaps was such declaration marked by greater solemnity or inspired by more profound solicitude for the true well-being of the teeming millions of this vast country than when in December 1911, His Gracious Majesty George V announced from the Durbar Throne at Delhi, the choicest of his boons—the grant of 50 *lakhs* of rupees for the education of his Indian subjects. Unfortunately, however, whether it be the fault or misfortune of India, the veil of suspicion and distrust has never been wholly removed from her administration. Even conceding for argument's sake that there are dark

corners here and there requiring to be carefully watched, it is clearly the duty of a wise Government to clear them up by throwing in more light than to deepen the gloom by withdrawing all light from them. Education is certainly to the body-politic what light and air are to living organism. With the increase of education the Indians will no doubt clamour for greater rights and privileges; but with the growth of education they are also bound to grow in their intelligent attachment to the British connection. It is the educated community which has a correct appreciation of British rule, which is in a position to form a comparative estimate of the relative strength, status and genius of other civilized Governments, and however unsparing or disagreeable its comments and criticisms at times may be, it is this community alone which can and does weigh the serious consequences of a change of hands in the Government of the country. It is the dictates of self-interest—the highest of impulses in human nature—which draw the educated Indians towards the British connection. Theirs may not be love and loyalty in the sense in which an English man loves England and is loyal to her: but it is through the British connection that educated India aspires to rise in the scale of civilized nations and rank herself as a component part of the Empire, united by common ties of partnership and consolidated into a federation with the other units of that Empire on terms of equal rights and responsibilities of British citizenship. She aims not at separation but union, not at independence but amalgamation. She indeed wants to throw off the badge of a

Dependency but only to be ranked as a Dominion of the British Crown. Education is the only cement of that union, and if ever a crisis comes it will then be recognised how valuable an asset education is to British rule in India.

Nor can the Indian National Congress have a nobler aim or a higher destiny than the educational regeneration of the multitudinous population, whose interest and well-being it seeks to represent. Education is the problem of problems before it, and if the Congress can satisfactorily solve this one problem, the other problems will solve out themselves in no time. It is the main engine which gives motion to all the other wheels, and according as it moves backward or forward, the entire machinery is bound to have either a retrograde or progressive motion. With the engine reversed, neither wind nor tide, however favourable, will enable the nation to reach its destination. It is neither a dream nor a phantom that is alluring Educated and New India ; it is the glorious vision of a reality that inspires her in the evolution which has already set in and is silently shaping her destiny in the noiseless march of Time.