succeed much better,[2] and government were obliged to hand over the duty in each place to three salaried officials from 1856. The municipal administration of the presidency towns has a continuous history only from this point onwards.

Madras. The Act of 1861 established provincial legislatures and these renewed the attempt to create local governing bodies for the presidency towns. The Madras Act of 1867 divided the city into eight wards, created a body of thirtytwo nominated members, four from each ward and over eleven of them officials, with a nominated president; and entrusted the police, education, hospitals, vaccination, street cleaning and lighting of the city to this body. The police were taken over by the Government from 1871, and by an amending Act of 1878, half the commissioners came to be elected. The corporation was however little more than a body of advisers to the president, who wielded all the powers, practically without any check. The most important works of public utility completed by this corporation were the Cholavaram and Red Hills Tanks, which supplied drinking water to the growing population upto 1884. A cyclone breached the latter tank in that year, the water was also found on analysis to have deteriorated in quality, and work had to be commenced on a new and larger water works scheme which was not completed before 1911. In the meanwhile the Act of 1884 gave a new constitution to the corporation increasing the number of elected members to twenty-four. And twenty years later, another Act increased the

2 The Mayor's Courts, established 1726, were entrusted with some municipal functions. Under the Charter Act, 1793, all European British subjects could be appointed justices of the peace, and the presidency town J. P.'s were formed into a corporation and municipal duties were assigned to them with the necessary powers. In 1840 and later, experiments were tried to secure by election from amongst the J. P.'s a member who would take fairly continuous interest in such matters.

total number of corporators to thirtysix, twenty to be elected by the wards as before, three each by the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Association, and two by such other association, corporate bodies, or classes of persons as Government might direct. A standing committee consisting of the president and eight corporators was also constituted to exercise some check upon the president on financial and public works questions. And power was also given for the removal of the president by a vote of twenty-eight members[3]; but the Madras Corporation has throughout been and still continues the most backward of the presidency town municipalities.

Calcutta. The Act of 1863 established a corporation at Calcutta consisting of a nominated president and the J. P.'s residing in the city. Schemes of water supply and drainage were taken in hand, the Hindu practice of throwing corpses into the river was stopped, burning and burial grounds were placed under strict supervision, and other measures for reducing insanitation were prosecuted with vigour. The Act of 1876 replaced the justices of the peace by elected and nominated members, fortyeight elected by the ratepayers, twentyfour nominated. But the Act continued all the powers of the corporation in the hands of the nominated president, and even as advisers and exponents of popular views and desires, a body of seventy-two proved rather unwieldy for business-like debates. In the meanwhile the suburbs in close proximity to the city but outside the limits of the corporation grew in numbers and in filth, and the ratepayers demanded a remedy for the evil. The Act of 1888 amalgamated seven of the suburbs with the city, and the water supply, drainage and sanitation systems had to be extended over the additional area. Lord Curzon's Act of 1899 followed, cutting down the number of members to fifty, twenty-five

3 There is a similar provision in the Bombay and Calcutta Acts also.

elected by the ratepayers, four each by the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Association, two by the Port Commissioners, and the rest nominated. This Act also created a standing committee of twelve, in imitation of Bombay; but the nominated president continued more independent of popular check or control, and the corporation as a whole, therefore, was more of an officialised department, than in Bombay. It was also in imitation of Bombay that an Improvement Board of eleven trustees—four nominated by government, four elected by the Corporation, one each by the Bengal and the Bengal National Chambers of Commerce, and a nominated president,—was established by an Act of 1911, to open up congested areas, regulate housebuilding and house-occupation, create open spaces, construct buildings for the poor, and pursue systematically a policy of progressive city improvement. It is only in one particular that the Calcutta corporation appears to have done somewhat better than the Bombay model. Its roll of voters was for many years as small compared to the population, as in Bombay or Madras. But by an amendment of the rules in 1909 the number of voters was increased from under 10,000 to over 38,000.[4]

Bombay. The Bombay Corporation established under the Act of 1865 saw the light on the 1st of July, a day never to be forgotten in local history, since it witnessed the bursting of the huge speculative bubbles floated by reckless company promoters upon the sudden jump in cotton prices resulting from the American Civil War.

4 The racial distribution of the vote is even more striking than the small total number of persons held entitled to it. *The Bombay Chronicle* analysed the Bombay Municipal elections of 1916 and 1919; it showed among other things, that in 1916 there were only 11,547 voters—784 Europeans, 330 Indo-Portuguese and Eurasians, 2,806 Parsis, 2,578 Muhammadans, 4,924 Hindus, and 125 others. The corresponding figures for 1919 were respectively 12,781—858; 246; 2,924; 2,872; 5,760; and 121. The distribution in Madras and Calcutta is certain to have been quite as faulty.

This first corporation consisted of a nominated municipal commissioner and justices of the peace. Arthur Crawford was the first Commissioner and he prosecuted his activities for the cleansing and improvement of the island with a vigour which soon outstripped the resources placed at his disposal. The J. P's had little power to check him, he had little need to exceed the extensive powers the Act gave him, but in his zeal he was guilty of both extravagance and irregularities, the J. P.'s themselves led the popular agitation for an inquiry and a reform of the constitution, and the result was the Act of 1872. It was universally acknowledged that the powers of the executive head must be curtailed, and that a body like the J. P.'s appointed for life would not answer. Few of the older leaders ventured to suggest a body periodically elected by the ratepayers, since they had no hope that government would consent to the adoption of popular election in India. Pherozeshah Mehta, however, then only twentysix, had the audacity and optimism of youth. He also saw that it was not merely a Bombay question; the constitution that proved successful in Bombay would have every chance of being extended to other Indian towns also. He boldly suggested[5] a corporation of which half the number was elected by the ratepayers and the other half made up of J. P.'s and nominees of the government; a corporation of which the executive powers were

5 "...A similar expedient to that adopted in the constitution of the English Board of Guardians in which the J. P.'s of the district sit *ex-officio* along with the elected members, in number limited by law to a third of the whole. A number of members, holding positions of public trust and importance might be similarly incorporated *ex-officio* in our elected body, thus ensuring the admixture of a certain amount of the highest intelligence and education in the town...such a body may be left, not to administer and govern, for which it is radically unfit, but to fulfil its proper function...The only way to dispose of the executive authority is to vest it in a single responsible officer...The most liberal political thinker of the present age emphatically lays down that such an officer should be nominated, not elected"...From Mehta's Paper on the subject, 29-11-1871, printed at *Speeches*, pp 81-115; see also, for the rest of the above paragraph, *Speeches*, 186-22, 235-59. And Mody, *Life*, pp 56-80, 116-21, 193-206, 265-73, and 558-63.

vested in an officer nominated by government. These were the very principles finally embodied in the Act of 1872, which also provided a Standing Committee of twelve, eight elected by the corporation and four nominated, for more detailed supervision and control of the executive departments. The corporation itself laid down general policy, scrutinised and sanctioned the budget, and attended to complaints and shortcomings. The system worked so well that no radical change was introduced by the Act of 1888; popular representation was increased by the addition of eight members to the whole,[6] four more elected by the wards, two by the University, and two by the Chamber of Commerce. The Vehar Lake in the valley of the Gopur river had been completed in 1860, work on the Tulsi Lake in a higher valley was begun and completed in the seventies, the Pawai Reservoir was finished in 1890, and the great Tansa Lake with a masonry dam two miles long was ready by 1892. Government and the corporation had various differences on financial and other questions and on more than one occasion the latter had to appeal to the government of India and the Secretary of State. But on the whole they worked together fairly smoothly, and in the face of calamities like the plague the corporation set an example of loyal co-operation to the rest of the country. The Bombay Improvement Trust was constituted in 1898, with fourteen members,—four elected by the corporation, one each by the Chamber of Commerce, the Port Trustees and the Mill Owners' Association, and seven nominated,—and a nominated president. And in 1907 government took upon itself the entire burden of the city Police, transferring to the corporation in exchange the entire burden of primary education, medical relief and vaccination. This put an end to controversies which had lasted for years, and the expendi-

6 Bringing up the total to 72.

ture of the corporation upon primary education, which had been far greater than in Calcutta and Madras from the first, has gone on increasing at a still higher rate from 1908 upto date. That public opinion has not urged the corporation to advance with equal or greater energy in providing better sanitation, more and better equipped hospitals, medical schools, and at least a second medical college, is a fact which clearly indicates the level at which vocal and active opinion stands today in our country even in wealthy and progressive Bombay.

§ 56. *Town Municipalities.* The above account shows that Bombay City had elected members before Madras and Calcutta. And historically some of the smaller cities had elected members in their Municipalities even before Bombay. The principle of election was accepted in the provincial Acts constituting city and town Municipalities (1871-4), which followed Lord Mayo's Decentralisation Resolution (1870);[1] and although C. P. was the only pro-

1. The Bengal Act X of 1842 proved inoperative. Act XXVI of 1850, applicable to the whole of India, but principally availed of in Bombay and U. P., did not create any Municipalities with elected members. Local Self-Government in the proper meaning of the term necessarily implies local bodies including a number, however small, of popular representatives. Hence the history of local self-government in British India begins only with the above Resolution of the 14th December, paras 23 and 24 of which are quoted here as really initiating the change:—

"23. But, beyond all this, there is a greater and wider object in view. Local interest, supervision and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to Education, Sanitation, Medical charity, and Local Public Works. The operation of this Resolution, in its full meaning and integrity, will afford opportunities for the development of Self-Government, for strengthening Municipal institutions, and for the association of Natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs.

24. The Gov. Gen. in Council is aware of the difficulties attending the practical application of these principles But they are not insurmountable. Disappointments and partial failures may occur; but the object in view being the instruction of many peoples and races in a good system of administration, H. E. in Council is fully convinced that the Local Govts. and all their subordinates will enlist the active assistance, or at all events the sympathy, of many classes, who have hitherto taken little or no part in the work of social and material advancement."

vince in which election thus came to be generally resorted to, the other major provinces also (except Burma) came to have a number of municipalities with elected members. Lord Ripon's Resolution of 1882 followed, that solitary gleam of genuine liberalism in the entire period of which we are reviewing the history.[2] Lord Ripon's aims were a greater uniformity, a greater association of the people in the tasks and responsibilities of a civilised administration, which were bound to grow increasingly onerous, and above all the development of "an instrument of political and popular education." He realised clearly that the steps he advocated might bring about at first some loss of efficiency but "had no doubt that in course of time as local knowledge and local interest were brought to bear more freely upon local administration improved efficiency would in fact follow," especially if Government officers "set themselves to foster sedulously the small beginnings of the independent political life and came to realise that the system really opened to them a fairer field for the exercise of administrative tact and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it superseded." He added that "as education advanced there was rapidly growing up an intelligent class of public-spirited men all over the country whom it was not only bad policy but sheer waste of power to fail to utilise." And he also urged that the contemplated advance could not be a success unless it was "though cautious, yet at the same time real and substantial." The fundamental principles he laid down, "which after every allowance has been made for local peculiarities must be universally followed and frankly adopted, if the system was to have anywhere a fair trial" were:—(1) Not less than two-thirds of the members of the Municipalities must be non-officials. (2) The system of election should be cordially accepted, Government officers should set

2 To be more exact, in the period from 1858 to 1906.

themselves to make it a success, and it should be introduced at once as widely as possible, first in towns of any considerable size and then though cautiously also in smaller and less advanced areas; "the simple vote, the cumulative vote, election by wards, election by the whole town or tract, suffrage of more or less extended qualification, election by castes or occupations, new methods unthought of in Europe," should all be tried, until experience indicated the form or forms "best suited to the local peculiarities and idiosyncracies of the different populations." (3) Government control should be exercised in two ways: Municipalities should have to obtain the sanction of Government before deciding upon some of the most important acts, such as raising a loan, levying a novel tax, or any matters likely to affect religious passions or the public peace. But the number of cases in which such previous sanction was insisted upon ought to be gradually reduced, and the executive should confine itself more and more to "control from without rather than from within;" the act or acts of the Municipality might be set aside in particular cases; "in the event of gross and continued neglect of any important duty," the Board might even be suspended for a time; but all the resources of friendly advice, sympathetic exhortations and timely remonstrances must first be exhausted. (4) The chairmen should be non-officials as far as possible, for thus alone would the non-official members come to feel that they had real power and responsibilities; thus also could the committees become effective schools of public spirit and political education. The chief executive officers should stand outside, "acting as arbiters between all parties, and not as leaders of any;" and so, even where, to begin with, official chairmen could not be dispensed with, they should not vote in the proceedings. (5) Expert advice help and supervision by such Government officers as engineers and doctors must be rendered

by them as servants of the Municipality and not their masters; the outside control vested in the District Officer should be sufficient to ensure smooth working. (6) Lastly, the resources made available for these self-governing bodies should in the main be such as could yield an increasing revenue with improving administration; nor should any duties involving additional expenditure be transferred to them without the simultaneous transfer of additional resources fairly adequate for the purpose.

It must be admitted that these ideas were at the moment of their promulgation somewhat in advance of the time. Outside the presidency towns, the great majority of the elderly Indians who had then acquired any eminence, still preferred nomination by the government; a contested election they hardly cared for, success in one they hardly deemed an honour; nor were there many among them who could face their responsibilities or make a firm stand in the defence of their own convictions. The provincial governments were not ignorant of these facts and in translating the aspirations of Lord Ripon's Resolution into Acts of the legislature (1883-5),[3] they drafted the provisions in a conservative spirit. In the day to day administration of these provisions, again, the District Officers and their superiors whittled them down still further. And in the meanwhile, education was spreading, the younger men coming to the front were increasingly of a more modern type, nor did there arise any one between Lord Ripon and Lord Morley to recast the laws and reform the practice. The Decentralisation Commission appointed by the latter reported in 1909, a generation after Lord Ripon, that Municipalities ought to be given a substantial elective majority and allowed to elect their own chairmen, that they should have greater free-

3 The Act remodelling the C. P. Municipalities was passed as late as 1889.

dom in regard to their duties, establishments and taxes, that they must be relieved of some of the charges and contributions taken from them, and that they could not perform even their proper functions efficiently until they were also granted both a permanent addition to their resources and occasional substantial assistance besides to undertake necessary but expensive projects such as drainage or water supply schemes.[4] The period from 1882 to 1910 was not indeed altogether barren. Lord Ripon had spoken of a temporary loss of efficiency for the sake of familiarising the people with the modern methods of supplying their needs and solving their problems by their own efforts, through their own representative committees. What actually happened was "that the educative principle was subordinated to the desire for more immediate results. . . . The broad fact remained that in a space of over thirty years the progress in developing a genuine local self-government had been inadequate in the greater part of India."[5] In spite of elected members slowly increasing in numbers to about a half of the total, the system worked mainly as a department of the State imposed upon the people from above. Town conservancy and sanitation, the principal markets and roads and especially the water supply improved upto a certain point and then were maintained at that higher level. The last of these services is a specially noteworthy item. The large number of cities and towns which have had water-works constructed for them, bringing to each house an abundant supply of pure water, reflects as much credit on the administration as their successful fight againt smallpox mentioned in an earlier chapter. But though there has been this improvement in the municipal administration in the course of these decades, the rate of improvement cannot

4 Report, ch 20 ; see also the 1915 Resolution on L. S.-G. Policy.

5 Report I. C. R., § 13 ; see also the 1918 Resolution on L. S.-G. Policy, § 3.

be held to have kept pace with the growing needs, still less outstripped them : a more favourable judgment is impossible in face of the death-rate.

A brisker rate of progress commenced from 1910 when Sir Harcourt Butler was placed in charge of the department as a member of the Governor-General's Council, and especially from 1915 when Sir C. Sankaran Nair succeeded him. The municipalities—and District Boards —became from 1892 electoral colleges for the return of members to the provincial legislative Councils, a function that assumed somewhat greater importance from 1909, as they returned more members under the Morley Reform. And with the parliamentary announcement on the 20th August 1917, it has become more than ever necessary to make the municipalities—and the district boards—representative bodies responsible to the people in the full sense of the term. The Viceroy in commenting on the pronouncement observed that the time had come to quicken the advance in the domain of urban and rural self-government, to stimulate the sense of responsibility in the average citizen and to enlarge his experience. A Resolution of the Government of India reviewing the subject as a whole followed (1918), with recommendations of a far-reaching character. (1) The elective element was to be raised from slightly over a half to seventyfive *per cent.* of the total number of members. An adequate representation of minorities was to be secured either by communial representation or by nomination. As Chief Officers, Municipal Commissioners, Health Officers, and other experts (whose appointment to executive office under the general direction of the municipality but with powers defined by legislation and by-laws had been recently introduced)[6], increased in numbers, it was

6 Bombay provided for such appointments by an amending Act in 1914 ; U. P., in 1916 ; &c.

felt that the need for Government officials as members of municipalities would not in future be as great as in the past. But even where they continued to be necessary, they were to be appointed merely as advisers and supernumeraries, without the right of voting. (2) The municipal franchise was high, its actual working was not a little arbitrary, and the electoral roll rarely included more than six per cent of the population. This was to be reformed everywhere, and the electorate was to include about sixteen percent., so as to be really representative of the ratepayers. (3) Of the chairmen in 1914-15, 222 (32%) were elected non-officials, 51 (7%) were nominated non-officials, 248 (35%) were elected officials, and 174 (25%) were nominated officials.[7] Bombay had 56 non-official chairmen out of a total of 153; Bengal, 82 out of 111; Punjab, 16 out of 104; U. P., 39out of 84; Madras, 53 out of 63; C. P. and Berar, 12 out of 56; Bihar and Orissa, 12 out of 55; Assam 3 out of 15; and the chairmen in the Municipalities of the other provinces, about sixty in all, were as a rule officials. The number of elected non-officials as chairmen was to be increased as far as possible, though municipalities were not to be forbidden either to ask for a nominated chairman or to elect an official as chairman, but in the last alternative the election was to be by a majority of the non-official members and to be also dependent upon the approval of higher authorities. (4) The subject of control over the municipalities by the executive government gave rise to recommendations equally fundamental. Indebted municipalities whose loans had been either obtained from or guaranteed by Government were not to be free to make any alterations in their taxation without government sanction; but all other municipalities, especially those with a substantial elective element returned on a broad franchise, were to have full liberty in the matter within

7 Resn; 1915, § 7.

the limits laid down by the legislature, except where the legislature had not prescibed a maximum rate. The municipalities were also to have such greater control over the establishments provided out of their resources as the Decentralisation Commission had recommended. And the further recommendations of that body that municipalities should be free to make their own budgets, provided that they maintained a prescribed balance, and that the grants and subsidies given to them by Government should not be rigidly earmarked for specific services or should be in the form of a percentage contribution towards the expenditure on particular objects, were also endorsed. On the other hand, the powers of the exeeutive government, exercised either by the Collector and District Magistrate, or by the Commissioner, or by the Provincial Government itself, to suspend particular resolutions of a municipality, to remedy the neglect or omission to perform certain indispensable services, and even to suspend a municipality for a time in cases of grave and continued default,-at any rate, after Government had dissolved one council and ordered a fresh election to enable the electors to replace it by a better,-were necessary in the interests of the people and were to continue unimpaired. (5) Finally, the member of the executive council in charge of the local self government portfolio might have a board or a standing committee of the legislative council to help him, and such a body might not only shape policy and serve as a supreme court of appeal, but it might also entertain inspectors, auditors and other expert establishments, not merely to check and criticise but also to help, advise, and influence municipalities and local boards in a variety of ways.

Municipal activities and municipal finance are still in their infancy in our country. The importance of cattle and dairy produce, vegetables and green groceries, and of male and female labour for miscellaneous domestic and

factory purposes is not yet sufficientily realised, nor has any comprehensive policy been yet attempted or even thought out, distinguishing clearly between the sphere and responsibilities of the State, the towns, and the village areas in these matters; and the consequence is that chaos reigns although under the title, so dear to mid-Victorian liberalism, of individual liberty and free competition, chaos but slightly mitigated by such State tinkering as factory laws. Latterly we have begun to talk glibly of garden cities, city improvement and town-planning; but we do not appear to have advanced even in idea beyond wider roads and sanitary dwelling houses in particular areas. The key to the rapid, adequate and permanent improvement of a congested area like Bombay, for instance, really lies not inside that area at all, but outside; the real problem is to remedy the human drift towards Bombay, the instinctive drift of struggling masses in search of employment and food ; and the real solution can only be such an organisation of production and labour in the surrounding areas as would yield to the people there sufficient remunerative employment and so fix the bulk of them where they are, enabling each locality to keep for itself out of what it produces sufficient for its own regular needs, and to export the surplus. To try to make just one organ or region in a whole organism stronger and more active than the rest of it, is merely to draw the whole life-blood more and more into it, and thus to destroy the whole organic complex all the more surely, because the real effect is disguised by the maintenance of a hectic appearance of health vigour and progress in the particular organ or region favoured by this one-sided short-sighted system. Local remedies may have to be attempted at start, but these could only be palliatives, and there could not be any real solution without envisaging and attempting the problem as a whole in all its intricate ramifications. The legislature, how-

ever, has so far assigned to municipalities and rural boards hardly any powers and responsibilities for the proper regulation and organisation of any of these larger matters.[8] The fact is that in the definition of the powers to be granted to municipal and rural boards, English models are for India almost the worst models in the world to follow. Great Britain is a little island obtaining the bulk of its necessaries by import from other countries, and exporting in return capital, political commercial and shipping services, coal, and manunfactured goods. It is by this system of economy miscalled free-trade, that England has maintained a marvellous rate of growth in wealth and population for over a hundred and twenty years. Its manufacturing ship-building and mining districts thrive upon a concentration of the population. Self-sufficiency in the production of necessaries became physically impossible long before Peel's repeal of the Corn Laws, and even the idea of maintaining it was dropped with that repeal. Picture a ship at sea now in front of one coast and now another, with vast almost inexhaustible mineral stores in its holds and several workshops upon its decks; there are plenty of children, women and old men always on board, the ship is their only home; but of the adult male population, large numbers always spend more of their time on the coasts, and taking capital skill and power along with them when they land, they send over to the ship interest, profit and tribute dividends in the shape of necessaries

---

8 See, for instance, the Bombay District Municipal Act 1901, as modified upto the end of 1919-20, ch. 9. "Municipal Powers and Offences." The sub-captions are : Powers in respect of streets (3 sections), Powers to regulate buildings &c. (7 sections), Powers connected with drainage &c. (14 sections), Powers regarding external structures etc. (6 sections), Powers for promotion of public health safety and convenience (8 sections), Powers for the prevention of nuisances (13 sections), Regulation of markets sale of food etc. (12 sections), and Nuisances from certain trades and occupations (12 sections).

and luxuries ; the men, women and children busy on the ship in its holds and its workshops consume themselves only a little of what their labour yields, they are labouring all the while with a view to the needs of the coast populations, and sending over the bulk of what they make, buy in return such other necessaries and luxuries as they need but cannot produce inside the ship. That has been the situation, the policy and the economy of England. State municipal and rural institutions and regulations which further such a system, the Englishman instinctively looks upon as inherently right and just ; institutions and regulations of a different character he finds it difficult to understand, and even when he does so his sympathy for them can only be halfhearted. India on the other hand is a sub-continent, economically self-sufficient and even rich if properly organised, and geographically severed to an exceptional degree from other countries, so that it is no exaggeration to call it a world in itself. The Englishman, again, is not only self-reliant but also enjoys his self-reliance, to an exceptional degree. That is what his history and traditions have made him. Our history and traditions, on the other hand, have fashioned us very differently. We are almost at the opposite pole of humanity. The Indian is nothing if not communal : the family, the caste, the hereditary occupation and status, the village, the birthplace, he clings to with all his heart, and more than all his strength ; he is never so happy as when living and working in and through and for them and under their protective canopy (छत्र). As soon as our municipalities and districts become really self-governing, it needs no prophet to predict that the tendency will be to claim for them almost all the powers of a state in miniature, and to organise them as a federation of occupation and trades' gilds, each accepting full responsibility for and asking for complete control over its members. That, of course,

would be mediaevalism, and the tyranny of it would be far greater under modern conditions. India is a world in itself; but it does not follow that each or any of its provinces is a world in itself; and to allow any town or district to organise itself on the supposition that it was also a world in itself would be the height of absurdity. Municipalities and districts must have far greater powers and freedom than hitherto; but where the line of demarcation is to fall between these on the one side and the State on the other, how each is to be the associate feeder and prop of the other in the every day life education and production of the community as a whole, is a problem so complex and difficult, that our legislatures will not be able to solve it in a hurry. Perhaps the best policy in the long run would be to allow local bodies a reasonable latitude for experimentation in the beginning, so that courses tempting in appearance but essentially unsound might have their real nature demonstrated, and the evils and losses necessarily resulting might be held in check and prevented from spreading over extensive areas.

The annual income of our district municipalities from taxes and rates and government contributions was Rs. 129 lakhs in 1880-1, Rs. 237 lakhs in 1900-1 and Rs. 492 lakhs in 1912-13.[9] As there were seven hundred municipalities in the last year, the average income per municipality was Rs. 70,000 per year. The average in the U. P. with its large cities such as Lakhnow, Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, and Allahabad, the smallest of which has over a lakh and three quarter inhabitants, is almost Rs. one lakh per year; the average in Bombay with its many municipalities that in other provinces would be only 'notified areas', is only Rs. 57,000 per year ; in Behar and Orissa the average falls below Rs. 40,000. The principal taxes are *octroi* in

9 *Imp. Gaz.* IV p 306 and the 1915 *Resn.*, § 10.

Bombay, U. P., Punjab, C. P., N. W. F. P., and Dehli; and taxes on houses and lands in the other provinces. The second is a tax upon property or capital or consumption, and in so far as it is a tax on capital, the owner could transfer it to (i. e. recover it from) the man actually consuming the capital, and thus alter it into a tax on consumption; but it is always felt as a direct tax. The first is a tax on consumption which is not so felt, since it is collected from the person bringing the article within municipal limits and not from the individual consuming it. Madras, Burma, Berar, and Assam District Municipalities also realise substantial amounts from tolls; Punjab, N. W. F. P. and British Baluchistan are the only provinces where there are no tolls; and every province taxes animals and vehicles. The tax on professions and trades—an income tax—is the principal source of municipal income in Berar, and Madras also derives one-fifth of its taxation-income from this source. And the other taxes levied are really rates for the services rendered such as water-supply, conservancy, lighting, schools, and hospitals.

§ 57 *Rural Boards and Village Panchayats.* The remaining section of the subject can be dealt with more briefly. There were no elected members on rural bodies in any province until the local self-government Acts passed in consequence of the Ripon Resolution introduced them.[1] That Resolution desired that "the smallest administrative unit-the subdivision, the *taluka*, or the *tahsil*,—should ordinarily form the maximum area to be placed under a local board;" and recommended for such boards as also for the higher district council or board in each district the same principles and aims as have been indicated in the foregoing sketch dealing with the municipalities. But in the boards actually set up or reorganised

1 For the earlier history of rural bodies see *Imp. Gaz*, IV pp 298-9.

in the eighties of the last century there was even less self-government than in the municipalities. Madras evolved a triple set. In the greater part of that presidency there are village sites, as elsewhere in India, but the houses of the villagers are scattered, many of them being in the fields, so that neighbouring villages meet and commingle, and in parts of the west coast even the regular village sites are non-existent.[2] Here, therefore, we have *village unions*, or all the inhabitants of a certain area, containing several village sites or only one or none, placed for sanitary administration under a body miscalled a *panchayat*, (पंचायत).[3] Larger areas are the subdivisions of a

2 Upper Assam, too, has no village sites. The houses of the villagers are also scattered in Bengal proper, and in the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra as the rainy season inundations subside, fresh mounds are thrown up, and houses closely packed together upon them, to be all washed away either at the very next inundation or in a few years. In Baluchistan and N. W. F. P. nomad tribes exist in large numbers. And forest tribes, hillmen, and aborigines in a still more primitive stage are still to be found in various parts of our vast country. The residential village with or without a wall or a hedge all round it or with a tower of refuge or a walled temple in the vicinity for shelter in times of danger, exists in the rest of India. But when the census of 1901 is quoted as having enumerated 728,605 villages in British India, the above brief summary of exceptional areas should be borne in mind, and it should be further remembered that "in some places the village was taken to be the area demarcated in the course of a survey, corresponding more or less to the English parish or the Tentonic mark," and in such cases was not necessarily a residential village community.—*Imp.Gaz.*I pp 455-6; J.Matthai, *Village Govt.* pp 8-9.

3 Under the Madras Local Boards Act, V of 1884, a village union with 5 or more members, principally headmen of the villages falling within the union, and a chairman nominated by the chairman of the taluka board, looked after (1) lighting the roads, (2) making and repairing roads and drains, (3) keeping them clean, as also wells, tanks, etc (4) water supply, by constructing and repairing tanks, wells, etc. (5) establishing and maintaining such hospitals dispensaries and schools as Government had sanctioned, (6) and, generally, doing all that might be required for the presevation of public health. Bengal too had such unions from 1895 but they were introduced there experimentally in some parts only, and do not appear to have been a success. Bombay and C. P. had instead village sanitary committees, the larger Bombay villages had sanitary boards with larger powers, from 1889. In U. P. the power of cleansing and constructing wells at the cost of the neighbourhood was given to the Collector from 1892, and there were neither sanitary committees nor village unions before 1912.—*Matthai* pp 99—108.

district made for constructing and attending to local works such as village roads, tanks, rest houses or dharmasalas (धर्मशाला), school buildings, lock-ups, &c. Each of these areas including several village unions has a *taluka* board mainly for these rural public works. And there is the District Board for the whole District. Excepting Burma, which has no rural boards at all, and Assam, which has *taluka* boards only, all the provinces have District Boards; and Bombay, C. P., Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and parts of Punjab and N. W. F. P. have sub-district boards also. U. P. had them upto 1906, but the U. P. Act III of that year abolished them.[4] Except in Bombay, elected members were introduced only in the district boards, and in some of the provinces these members were elected by the lower boards out of their own members and these were all nominated. The electors such as they were and where there was any election, were only ·6 percent of the population. After the report of the Decentralisation Commission (1909), recommending that nominated members should be only just sufficient to provide for minority representation and official experience, elected members have been everywhere increased. But Bombay did not consider it advisable to have an elected majority in either board, while such a majority was introduced in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and Assam, and in C. P. and Madras the elected element was increased to two-thirds and the in U. P. to three-fourths. The chairmen of the district boards have everywhere been Collectors, and of the taluka boards, the subdistrict officers. The U. P. Act mentioned above provided that the district board should elect its chairman, subject to confirmation by the Lieutenent Governor. The Decentralisation Commission held that to drop the district and sub-district officers from the presidentship would be to dissociate them from the

---

[4] Later on they were replaced in that province by tahsil sub-committees of the district boards.

general interests of the district. And the Resolution of 1918 has recommended that the franchise in all the rural boards should be substantially extended and that election or nomination of non-officials as chairmen should be encouraged, provided that the district or subdistrict having a non-official chairman should also have a special executive officer, appointed or removed only with the sanction of the Government.

The District Boards all over British India numbered 200, the sub-district boards, under 540, and the village unions, under 640. They had over Rs. five and a half crores to spend in 1912-13, and over Rs. seven crores in 1917-18.[4] The public works expenditure came to 50%, the educational to 25%[5] and that on medical relief to 10% of the total. The main item in their income was the one anna cess on the land revenue; but upto 1913 the Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, U. P., Punjab, and N.W.F.P. Governments handed over to them only a part of this, diverting considerable amounts to rural services which were not placed under their control. The contributions from the provincial Governments came to about 25% of their income from all other sources and from 1905 onwards the large capital and recurring grants which the Government of India has made principally for the improvement of education and sanitation have enabled the boards to confer increasing benefits upon the village population. The Decentralisation Commission recommended that a District Board might be allowed to levy an extra cess of one pice per rupee of land revenue, for building a light railway or a tramway, and Government accepted the suggestion, adding that the Board might either accumulate the proceeds and build the line out of them, or after a short period of such accumulation raise the balance

4 Excluding "extraordinary" and "debt" items.

5 In Bombay 38% was spent upon education; in U.P., C.P., and Berar, and N. W. F. P., 30%; but on the other hand only 17% in Bihar and Orissa, and Madras was at the bottom of the list with only 10%.

of the capital required on the security of the line itself, or raise all the capital from the first on the guarantee of this annual income. Madras, Bengal and Bombay have already taken advantage of this concession and some other provinces are going to do so in the near future. Other similar devices of increasing the resources of rural bodies either for general purposes or for some special object might also present themselves; and the provincial and central governments might have a period of financial prosperity before them, enabling them to make larger contributions for local use than in the past. Such contingencies, however, are unlikely, and steady progress, at any rate, cannot result from uncertain windfalls. Our district municipalities and rural boards must overcome the extreme reluctance they have so far shown to tax themselves even for objects necessary as well as paying in the long run, both directly and indirectly. Professor Gilbert Slater holds, for instance, that one of the evils India is suffering from to-day is "the heavy and crippling burden of insufficient taxation." No Indian economist will endorse the view for British India as a whole; but the ingenious antithesis does contain a lesson for our district municipalities and rural councils.

In his statement submitted to the Decentralisation Commission G. K. Gokhle[6] said:—

"The time is gone by when the Collector could hope to exercise and with beneficial results a kind of paternal authority over his district. The spread of education, the influence of new ideas, the steadily growing power of the vernacular press make a return to the benevolent autocracy of the Collector of old times impossible. The only remedy lies

6 He gives the following figures about villages in the Bombay Presidency:—Total number in the British districts—about 26,000; population below 500—about 16,000; population from 500 to 1,000—about 5,000; larger—the rest. For the villages with a population below 500 he says they should either be joined to larger adjoining villages or grouped into unions.

in carrying a substantial measure of decentralisation down to the villages and in building up local self-government from there. . .

I think in all villages with a population of 500 and over, a Panchayat should be constituted by statute to consist of five or seven members . . . (viz.) the village headman, the police patel of the village where he exists separately, the village munsiff, and the village conciliator, . . . and two or three other persons chosen by such of the villagers as pay a minimum land revenue of, say, Rs. ten. These Panchayats should be invested with the following powers and functions :—

(*a*) The disposal of simple money claims not exceeding Rs. fifty in value, their decision to be final unless gross partiality or fraud was alleged.[7] . . . They may charge one anna in the rupee on the value of the claims as costs in the suits, the parties being exempted from stamp duty and other fees.

(*b*) Trial of trivial offences, such as petty thefts (the value not exceeding Rs. ten), simple assault, simple hurt, abuse, nuisance, etc.

(*c*) Execution and supervision of village works.

(*d*) Management of village forests.

(*e*) Distribution of sanctioned allotments of *tagavi* in the village.

(*f*) Carrying out measures of famine and plague relief.

(*g*) Control of village water supply and irrigation.

(*h*) Supervision of school attendance.

(*i*) Management of cattle-pounds.

The funds of the Panchayats should consist of assignments made by the Taluka Board, costs of civil litigation realised, fines and penalties levied locally, realisation from village forests and cattle-pound receipts. As in the case of Co-operative Credit Societies, it may be necessary for the Government to appoint a special officer to start and guide for a time these Panchayats and watch over their working."[8]

The Decentralisation Commission accepted in a general way the desirability of developing village panchayats with powers and responsibilities with regard to local affairs; but they did not recommend any specific scheme for the whole country, and held that "the system must be gradually and cautiously worked". The provincial governments were even colder in their reception of the idea, and more than one of them were distinctly unfavour-

7 He notes that the total number of suits in the presidency is annually about 1½ lakhs, and fully half the number are claims not exceeding Rs. 50 in value.

8 Speeches, p p. 1213-4. Compare the provisions in the Madras Panchayats Bill introduced by Mr. T. Rangachari in Mrs. Besant's club for political debates, the Madras Parliament, published (1916) as No. 3 of the Madras Parlt. Transactions.

able to it.[9] The Government of India decided that (1) panchayats might be introduced in selected villages[10] 'where the people in general agree,' (2) that where-ever introduced, all other bodies and committees should be merged in them, (3) and that if judicial functions were conferred upon them they should be permissive. The essential point in the constitution of the panchayat was, in their opinion, the association of the village officers with others informally elected by the villagers themselves; and of the possible functions to be assigned to them the most important were village sanitation, village education, and jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases.

Legislative measures were introduced or under preparation in more than one province in recent years for improving local self-government, enlarging the powers and responsibilities of local bodies and making them really representative. Bills about village panchayats were also on the anvil. Then came the Government of India Act 1919, under which local self-government was placed in the group of departments transferred to the charge of ministers principally responsible to the people through their representatives in enlarged legislative councils armed with supreme powers with regard to purely provincial matters. We have therefore been marking time from 1918, and shall continue to do so until the new constitution settles down to its work. In the meanwhile instructed public opinion should carefully reconsider what functions could be most beneficially assigned to village panchayats. In the isolation of the Indian village

9 L. S. G. Resn., 1915, § 37. It would be difficult to express greater hostility to the idea of reviving village panchayats as tribunals than was done by Sir Henry Maine—of all people—in a Memorandum to the Secretary of State in 1880, which is quoted by Mr. Matthai (pp 182-3), and deserves most careful consideration by sentimental revivalists.

10 "The area under a panchayat should normally be a village unless villages are so closely connected that they may be treated as one" —L. S. G. Resn, 1918, § 23.

from times immemorial down to the end of the third quarter of the last century, judicial decisions in petty matters had to be either obtained from some person or body within the village boundary, or the aggrieved parties had to go without them altogether. This isolation has gone never to return. A system of travelling arbitrators and honourary magistrates could now be created, who could perform this function quite as cheaply and quickly and far more satisfactorily than lay panchayats, the members of which, moreover, could not always be free from the factions and party and caste feelings so frequent in villages. Again, it is the village environment that forces the witnesses cited and the parties themselves to tell the truth when solemnly adjured to do so: and the arbitrator or the magistrate coming down to the village to hold his court instead of calling up the parties and their witnesses to another place where he was holding it, would have the benefit of this circumstance as fully as it accrued to the panchayat of old or the *patel* or munsiff of recent times. Nor should it be feared that village panchayats would lack influence unless armed with judicial functions. Justice and security, however important, is after all a comparatively secondary matter. Far more important is the primary matter of winning a subsistence through honest intelligent well-directed toil. The castes of old were in India centres of vocational education and trade craft and industrial gilds, all in one, and they helped the individual in town and village throughout his life in his struggles to wrest a competence out of his surroundings. But their ability to perform this service has come to an end or is about to do so, even in the remotest and most isolated villages, and the caste bond is itself fast weakening. The Indian individual feels the loss and is groping after a more modern communal sentiment to hearten him, a more efficient collective organisation to take him by the hand and steady and

direct his faltering steps from the cradle to the grave. The village panchayats of Ancient India had not this primary function to perform as the castes were there already to discharge it far more efficiently. But now new communal bodies of a more modern type are required to undertake it. If any concrete confirmation of this argument was needed, we have it already in the rapid success, moral as well as material, of the co-operative movement, inevery locality lucky enough to find and place at the centre of the society a man or two animated by the spirit of disinterested service and the conscien-tious desire of securing equitable opportunities to all members alike. That is just the type of man who would make of village panchayats too an equal success. Only let us make our village panchayats the media not only for all sanitary advance in the village, but also for all economic, industrial, and educational advance. The Agriculture and the Co-operative Departments have already evolved ideas, methods, processes, schemes, excellent not merely in an academic way, but ready to be applied at once and reduced to practice ; ideas, methods, processes and schemes which they want to spread broadcast in order that the masses in their millions might reap the benefit. The Industries Department is being formed: let us hope it will from the outset begin its operations in three sections—Home Industries or Crafts ; Petty Industries and Crafts requiring, say, six labourers at the most, in which a small motor might be used at option ; and Factory Industries. The Education Department, too, let us hope, will soon get out of its present grooves, and develop practical methods of vocational training in strict correspondence with local possibilities and requirements. And both departments, as soon as they have developed these things, will, let us hope, want at once extensive propaganda work to spread them broadcast. Our village panchayats and other local bodies superimposed upon

them should be so constituted as to make of them the proper media through which these and other nation-building departments could quickly and successfully transmit their enriching ideas to the villager in his cottage home.

Mukharji I pp. 623-737.

Report, Decentralisation Commission, chs 18-20.

J. Matthai, Village Government in British India.

CHAPTER XII.

THE AWAKENING.

§ 58. *Modern Education : The Beginnings.* It is a historical fact that Ancient India from the period of Gautama Buddha and Mahavira Jina to that of Yuan Chwang was a well-educated country even by modern standards, A knowledge of the three R's was widespread-vocational training and apprenticeship were universal, and the country was dotted over with centres of higher learning thought and culture carrying on a living interpretation and continuously fresh adaptation of the rich legacy of former generations. Breakdowns recurred, no doubt, at irregular intervals, whenever famines, epidemic diseases, or wars and invasions devastated particular regions, but these were local in extent and temporary in their effects, and education and culture revived as the locality got over such calamities. The strength of the system lay in its being a spontaneous social activity quite independent of the State and its varying fortunes,

even while receiving munificent aid from innumerable rajas, ranis, and high officials, since the donations came from them in their individual capacity, prompted by reverence, or a sense of what they owed to particular localities, or foundations, or gurus ( ), or a desire for the good of their souls. No culture, however, can live on through the centuries unless it can also develop a stable self-sufficient political system, strong enough for defence against attacks from without, and elastic enough to allow ample latitude for the play of individual freedom within. And failing in the first, Hindu society instinctively turned to the only other alternative of strengthening the social framework, until individual freedom and individual initiative—the other indispensable requisite—came to be progressively sacrificed through imperceptible but cumulative stages. Hindu culture was thus weakening internally when the Muhammadan period of our history began, accelerating the decay. The forces of revival had little chance until Akbar established his dynasty, and after little more than a century anarchy got the upper hand again, until the East India Company could attempt a reconstruction, starting from the nuclear points of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

The motives of the pioneers were rather mixed. There was sound policy in trying to win the intellectual classes over to the side of the conqueror, by patronising their best representatives and harnessing them to a revival of the learning they valued so highly. The law courts needed learned pundits and moulvis whose rulings the people would respect in proportion to their learning.[1] Devout missionaries and earnest-minded

1. The Calcutta Madrassa founded in October 1780 and maintained for the first few months by Warren Hastings at his own expense, was a Persian and Arabic institution specialising in Muhammadan law. It had a chequered career for over forty years before an English class was added to it. The Benares Sasnkrit College, founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1792, was similarly an institution for Sanskrit learning. Here, too, English was not taught before 1827. The Hindu Sanskrit College at Calcutta, founded in 1824, had a wider aim: the cultivation of Hindu (Sanskrit) literature and the gradual diffusion of European knowledge through the medium of Sanskrit. This latter attempt, however, did not succeed. Colleges were also established in the twenties at Agra and Dehli, in which Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi were taught. The Royal Asiatic Society was founded at Calcutta by Colebrooke in 1822.

leaders of opinion like Wilberforce and Charles Grant wanted to spread Christianity, or at any rate, they wanted the benighted and superstitious heathen to have a chance of seeing for himself what Christianity was, hoping from it the best and the most far-reaching results.[2] The administration had to be cheapened as well as improved, larger numbers had to be employed in various capacities; this was not possible without an increasing use of indigenous agency; and the necessary amount of intregrity, loyalty, intelligence and knowledge could only be obtained at reasonable rates by a suitable system of education. The language of the courts and of official business had to be changed, and this could not be accomplished without the creation of a growing class with a working knowledge of English. A practical training in the medical and engineering sciences was inspired by motives of pure philanthropy as well as by a recognition of their obvious utility. And there was also the faith in the cultivation of the intellectual faculties and the spread of positive knowledge for its own sake. Darkness and superstitions were held to be the greatest enemies of the population and the greatest dangers to the stability of English rule in India, and it was realised that they could only be removed very gradually by the diffusion of a rational education. Equally mixed were the motives of the people, the living material upon whom the experiment was tried, who seized the widening opportunities offered to them in ever increasing numbers. Some applied themselves to the new subjects for the same reasons that their forefathers

2. In the discussions leading up to the Charter Act of 1793 they succeeded in persuading the house of commons to adopt a resolution emphasizing the duty of the state "to promote by all just and prudent means the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement". But the Company through their spokesmen in the house and in their own Courts opposed the contemplated departure violently and persistently, and the idea had to be dropped on that occasion.—*Mahmud*, p. 229.

for centuries past had applied themselves to the old; study was their traditional occupation, their historical *dharma* (धर्म), the *raison d'être* of their life and their place in the social whole. Others studied with a view to the worldly benefits they personally expected in return. And almost from the first, there were also others, rare spirits with a vision and a faith, of whom Raja Rammohan Roy was the great prototype. These were the first patriots of modern India. They saw their dear motherland feeble, cursed with many ills, humiliated. And they saw in the conqueror and in the West whence he came, the God-appointed agent to restore her to better days. They sat at the feet of England and the West as admiring disciples determined to acquire from the Guru (गुरु) the secrets of economic revival, intellectual activity, moral vigour, social health, political power, and religious purity. The advance of India would have been much quicker and far better balanced if such men had appeared amongst Muhammadans also from the first. And some of the officers of the Company did obtain favourable opinions from one or two liberal moulvis recommending English education to their co-religionists.[3] But the community as a whole hung back suspecting the new departure, and after the Mutiny, their attitude towards the new order was, naturally perhaps but all the same very unfortunately, tinged with a bitterness which did not quite fade away for another two decades.

Official missionary and private efforts, individual and collective, have jointly contributed to the growth and evolution of our complex educational system. All three strands in the historical web are important, each has dis-

3. "The Musalman subjects of the Government are much more jealous of innovation...When it was first proposed to teach them English they consulted their oracle of the day, Azizuddin of Dehli, as to whether it was sinful to yield to the innovation. He gave them a most sensible answer..." H. T. Prinsep's Note on Macaulay's Minute (*H. Sharp* p. 129).

tinctive features, each agency has been inspired by ideals which have demanded more and more effort at every stage of accomplishment, and perhaps the most valuable lesson the history of modern education in India has to teach is that all three are still as indispensable as they were in the dawn of small and tentative beginnings at the opening of the nineteenth century. To educate a subcontinent like India means an ever-increasing outlay on a vast scale, the bulk of which must come out of state treasuries, local, provincial and central. Without a rigid anatomy of structural uniformity and system, moreover, the education of our diverse nationalities would soon cease to be animated by a common spirit, and state agency, legislative and administrative, is the most natural source from which to derive this. The distinctive merits of missionary agency are freedom from the traditional limitations of the Indian outlook, Hindu and Moslem, an appreciation of the dignity of man as man, and a living grasp of the stern economic realities of Indian existence. The official is almost always conscious of being on a higher rung himself, and patronisingly bends down and extends his hand to pull up the Indian from where he is. The missionary, on the other hand, who is the true disciple of his Master, goes among the people, becomes one of themselves, shares their life and work, and the children come to him because of his greater gentleness and love, and gradually they learn from him how to live and work better than their own elders are doing. Missionary education is but a part, though an integral part, of the larger missionary endeavour to recast the whole life of the individual into a higher mould. Missionaries in Indian education are thus the pioneers and path-finders ; they are the experimenters in our educational laboratory. Their failures are many, some even grotesque, but these do not matter ; while every success they achieve, however heterodox the methods, is so much pure gain.[4] It is also pure gain for

Indian undergraduates to come into touch with as many varieties of Western culture as possible, and amongst the professors at missionary colleges we sometimes get humanists altogether different in stamp and lustre from the professors with equal or higher attainments at the Government institutions. The distinctive features of the third educational agency working in our midst have so far been its faith, imitativeness, and docility. Large and increasing numbers of Indian educationists have worked in the fields of official and missionary agency as subordinates of official and missionary superiors, making it their highest ambition to reproduce to perfection the best qualities of their superiors. Even in institutions nominally independent and indigenous the best masters have formed themselves consciously or unconsciously on some model or models. Really independent Indian endeavour has emerged rather late in our educational history and it is not yet possible for the impartial student to form any opinion about it. Sir Syed Ahmad's High School and College at Aligarh had for its initial aim the provision of a public school and a residential college of the English 'gentleman'-ly type for the Muhammadan youth.[5] Mrs. Besant's Central Hindu College, Benares, also attempted a combination of religious and modern education of the highest type, through the agency of Englishmen

4. See D. J. Fleming: *Schools with a message; Village Education in India* (Report of a missionary commission composed of the Rev. A. G. Fraser, K. T. Paul, and others); accounts of the Salvation Army attempts to reclaim criminal tribes, and similar literature;—to get some idea of the varied and valuable work, in the highest sense educational, which missionaries are doing in India to-day.

5. Sir Syed Ahmad started collecting subscriptions, 1872: he won the enthusiastic support of Sir Salar Jung and the Stracheys almost from the first; the institution began with 20 students in 1875: the Viceroy laid the foundation stone on the 8th January, 1877. After forty three years of a career of expansion Sir Syed Ahmed's Anglo-Oriental College has been transformed in 1920 into the Muhammadan University, Aligarh.

and Indians working together on equal terms, and living all the twentyfour hours in intimate association with the boys and young men in residence. This institution developed by 1915 into the Hindu University, Benares, mainly through the devoted efforts of Pundit Madanmohan Malaviya and the generous support of a large number of Hindu Chiefs and merchant princes. One of its aims is to supply the highest and the most uptodate teaching in every branch of learning; thus a College of Engineering was opened in 1919, and medicine, teaching, agriculture, commerce and other subjects will be provided for in the near future. Institutions like those of the Deccan Education Society, Poona, and the schools and colleges of the Arya Samāj, in more than one province, generally accept the established courses, textbooks, examinations, rules and regulations of the education department and the university. Their aim is to extend education, rather than to create a new type of it; they charge lower fees, obtain what gifts they can from private sources, and although relying principally upon these, have no objection to grants-in-aid.[6] Their one peculiarity is a purely Indian staff, a large number of whom have patriotically pledged themselves to draw from the funds of the Society or the Institution only a living wage and to give in return the best working years of their lives. This, no doubt, makes not only for economy but also for greater devotion on the part of the teacher and greater

---

6. For the Arya Samaj institutions see Lala Lajpatrai: *The A. S.*, pp. 179–210. I have coupled these and the D. E. S. institutions together merely for brevity. Of course there are profound differences also between the two. Perhaps the most important is that the Arya Samaj educationists insist far more on the formation by their students "of sound and energetic habits by a regulated mode of living" (*Op cit* p. 182); in other words, the entire life of the student in these institutions is meant to be a deliberately regulated discipline. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore, began with the revered Lala Hansraj as its first Principal in 1888.

attachment between him and his pupils. But some of the best in this necessarily small band have been impelled by their patriotic feelings to divert their time and energies more or less to social work or journalism or politics. Take the most brilliant individual of the class, the late Mr. G. K. Gokhle, as an example. I do not mean to say that he should not have become a politician at all. My point is that his becoming a politician necessarily prevented him from rising to his full height as an educationist and a man of learning. Research, scholarship, teaching is a jealous mistress and brooks no rival. Perhaps, as the country settles down, the best Indian educationists will themselves realise that education as a profession is fully worthy of the uttermost devotion possible to a man. Living in the busy hum of towns and in the ebb and flow of their swirling currents, they must yet lead their own lives dedicated to their science or sciences and their sudents. The ächäryas (आचार्य) of the Arya Samäj Gurukulas (गुरुकुल) find this counsel easy to accept because they take themselves and their pupils quite out of the world of to-day to live by themselves in a world apart. And the type of education these revivalists seek to create is only a pale imitation of what they *think* was the type that prevailed in the heroic age of Ancient India. They are imitators no less than all the other Indian educationists so far described, their only distinction being that they are also visionaries led astray by their vision. The strength that Young India needs to rise to its full height in the modern world is a strength that can only be won in and through the modern world itself, and not at all by running away from it to primeval forests, musty texts, and the ideals and rituals of days gone by. The only originality so far shown by Indian educationists is in the institutions founded and patiently and reverently being built up by two men of transcendent genius, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Rabindranath Tagore. Both institu-

tions are still in their foundations. And genius, of course, is a law unto itself. What one desiderates for Indian education is that Indian educationists and the *ethos* of the Indian people should begin to play upon it freely and fashion it anew; the best to be found anywhere in the world should be taken, but instead of being merely copied it should be bodied forth in living forms under the Indian sky.

Carey and Marshman reached Serampore in 1799, and began almost at once to start schools, establish a printing press, translate the Bible into the Indian vernaculars, and issue pamphlets and books. Missionary education, English vernacular and religious, was thus inaugurated.[7] Its growth was rapid. By 1815 there were twenty schools in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and a similar number in Chinsura District. The Serampore College was opened in 1818, Dr. A. Duff's[8] institution at Calcutta, the Church of Scotland's General Assembly's Institution, in 1830. J. Carey, Dr. Carey's son, opened schools at Ajmer in 1818, and had to be reproved (1822) for introducing the Bible (Hindi translation) there as a schoolbook. In the meanwhile, parliament had passed the Charter Act of 1813, section 43 of which provided that—

> It shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that a sum not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and any schools, public lectures, or other institutions, for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor General in Council.

---

7. Missionary schools had an ealier start in Madras. The Tanjore Resident, "seconded by the zealous exertions" of the Rev. Mr. Swartz started some schools, to which the Court of Directors made annual grants from 1787.—*H. Sharp*, pp. 3; 45; 194.

8. One of the most influential personalities in the early history of Indian Education: see, for instance, *Sir V. Chirol*, p. 209.

The most important of the regulations related to the observance of strict religious neutrality. The missionaries tried all their authority influence and ingenuity to make even the government institutions places of Christian teaching and to retain subjects like the evidences of Christianity and books like *Pilgrim's Progress* in the examinations, on the results of which scholarships and certificates were awarded and selections for government appointments were made; some of the most distinguished amongst them even argued, without much scruple, that purely secular education would be demoralising to the pupil and a serious political danger to the Company. Some of the more serious-minded amongst the servants of the Company agreed with them to the extent of holding that British rule in India must end in transforming India into a Christian country, or at any rate that it must be pronounced a failure unless that was the ultimate outcome. But even these men were resolved to keep Christian propaganda within the narrowest bounds and to exclude from the government educational institutions everything that Hindu or Moslem prejudice might suspect to have a proselytising tendency. The Bengal Government moved rather slowly at first. A School Book Society and a School Society had come into existence at Calcutta in 1817 and 1819 respectively, and government began to help them from 1821. A Committee of Public Instruction was formed in 1823. Existing institutions were to be supported and strengthened, oriental learning and European science were to be encouraged, and new institutions "for instruction in the learning of the East and of the West together"[9] were to be established as far as possible. H. H. Wilson was the first secretary; a man of inexhaustible energy, who besides his work at the mint, and as secretary of the Asiatic Society, also helped the Hindu College actively as

9. Holt Mackenzie's Note, 17-7-1823 (*H. Sharp*, p. 60).

a teacher. This institution had come into existence in 1817 through the joint efforts of Raja Rammohan Roy, David Hare, and Sir E. H. East the Chief Justice, "to instruct the sons of Hindus in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences," but especially in English.[10] Over a lakh was subscribed to start the institution and Government inspection and aid were accepted from 1824. Another name that must be coupled with Rammohan Roy's in a history of the beginnings of English education in this country is that of Jayanarayan Ghosal of Benares, who made a donation of Rs. 20,000 and certain lands in 1814, and petitioned government to establish from the proceeds a school where English, Persian, Hindustani, and Bengali might be taught. The school was started in 1818, and seven years later the son of the founder gave to it another Rs. 20,000.[11] The Hindus, especially in Calcutta, wanted an education in English and in modern subjects, although it is not likely that many of their leaders would have endorsed Raja Rammohan Roy's condemnation of the traditional Sanskrit learning as entirely useless.[12] The Court of Directors, too, had modified their views. In 1824 they wrote—

"We apprehend that the plan of the institutions (Oriental institutions like the Madrasa, the Benares Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Sanskrit College) was fundamentally erroneous.

The great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning or Muhammadan learning, but useful learning. No doubt Hindu media or Muhammadan media would have been proper to be employed, and Hindu and Muhammadan prejudices would have needed to be consulted,

---

10. This was the declared object of the founders—*H. R. James*, p. 17. It was transformed into the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1855.

11. *Mahmud*, p. 26.

12. See his memorial to Lord Amherst, 11-12-1823. Macaulay in his well-known minute, 2-2-1835, has taken one of his illustrations from this memorial. It is unfortunate that this particular minute of Macaulay's should have obtained a celebrity out of all proportion to its intrinsic merits or historical importance. But Macaulay really did valuable work as Chairman of the Committee, see Trevelyan : *Life and Letters*, ch. 6 (pp. 98, popular edn.)

while everything which was useful in Hindu and Muhammadan literature it would have been proper to retain. In professing, on the other hand, to establish "purely oriental" seminaries, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder, indeed, in which utility was in any way concerned. In the institutions which exist on a particular footing, alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a due regard to existing interests and feelings will dictate ; at the same time that incessant endeavours should be used to supersede what is useless or worse in the present course of study, by what your better knowledge will recommend."[13]

This despatch should have decided the question as to what type of institution Government were to establish, and what subjects of study they were to encourage. But of the Committee of Public Instruction, half the members were more conservative. Modern subjects they would only "engraft" upon oriental learning; they wanted Sanskrit pundits and Muhammadan moulvis to learn modern subjects through the medium of Sanskrit and Arabic translations, and then to teach them to others through Sanskrit and Arabic. They were quite aware that this would mean very slow progress, but they were willing to wait, buoyed up by the conviction, which they held passionately, that theirs was the only right method of bringing about, in the fulness of time, a genuine and a glorious renascence in India.[14] It was against this view

---

13. Despatch of 18-2-1824, condensed (*Mahmud*, p. 30; *H. Sharp*, pp. 11-3).

14. See in *H. Sharp* Prinsep's Note on Macaulay's Minute, and a later Minute by P. on the same subject ; also Meredith Townsend, *Asia and Europe*, pp. 323-329; &c. Bishop Heber describes in his Journal what he saw at the Benares Sanskrit College in 1824, where the pundit illustrating an astronomy lesson by the terrestrial globe said the North Pole was Mount Meru, the tortoise was under the South Pole, &c. This was "engrafting" in actual practice, and the bishop of course wondered why such "rubbish" should be taught at a government institution. How twenty years earlier at the same College the pundits of that age deceived Captain Wilford, a zealous but rather credulous Sanskritist, might be still read at p. 172 of Hegel's Philosophy of History.

that Macaulay wrote his one-sided and rhetorical but opportune minute. The position and reputation of the author made up for what it lacked in knowledge or cogency, taste or judgment, historical breadth or philosophical depth; and Lord W. Bentinck's government decided against the Orientalists and in favour of the Anglicists by their resolution of 7-3-1835, declaring "the great object of the British Government" to be "the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India," but also deciding that no institution of native learning in existence was to be abolished "while the people availed themselves of the advantages it afforded," and that no individual teacher or student was to suffer any loss owing to this change in the educational policy of the State.

In Bombay a Society for promoting the Education of the poor started two schools at the capital and one each at Surat, Broach and Thana in 1815. And soon after the Maratha territories were finally annexed, a Sanskrit College was opened on the 7th October 1821 at Poona, part of the Dakshina Fund of the Peshwas being assigned towards its maintenance. English classes were added from 1825, the institution was thrown open to all classes in 1837, developed into a College in another twenty years, and obtained the name of the Deccan College a little later.[15] The Bombay Native School and School Book Society was constituted in the same year as the Calcutta Committee, and on the retirement of Mountstuart Elphinstone Bombay citizens of all classes collected together a fund which amounted in a few years to over two lakhs, and requested government to accept it as a trust out of the proceeds of which three English professors of European languages arts and sciences were to be employed, to be known as the

15. *Origin of the Deccan College* by B. K. T., in the Deccan College Quarterly, Vol. I.

Elphinstone Professors. The Court of Directors recommended that the project might be enlarged into something like the Hindu College of Calcutta. This was the beginning of the Elphinstone Institution, which grew by 1856 into the Elphinstone College and the Elphinstone High School. Dr. John Wilson's school was started in 1834 and also grew into the Free General Assembly's High School and College a little later. Madras had a Committee of Public Instruction a little later than Calcutta and Bombay. Sir Thomas Munro laid stress upon improving the knowledge and increasing the numbers of teachers, and estimated that the male population of the Presidency would need twenty collectorate schools for Hindu boys and twenty for Muhammadan boys, and three hundred tahsil schools, single teacher institutions, the collectorate school teachers receiving Rs. 15 per month, and the tahsil school teachers Rs. 9 each.[16] This idea of extending primary education through the medium of the vernacular had the sympathy of the Directors as had the similar Bombay plan of having a vernacular school first in each principal town and sudder station, and later on in the *kasbas* and larger villages.[17] But they pointed out to the Madras Government the more immediate need of and the far greater benefits to the people likely to accrue from institutions devoted principally to higher branches of knowledge, that might moreover begin immediately to supply an increasing "body of natives qualified to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration. The measures for native education which have as yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency, have had no tendency to produce such persons."[18] The central school for the training of teachers was accordingly turned into a High School in 1841 and grew later into the Presidency College. Pachaiyappas' institu-

16 *Minute*, 10-3-1826.
17. Despatch, 18-2-1829.
18. Despatch, 29-9-1830.

tion was also started in 1841 out of an old endowment and developed into a college. St. Peter's College at Tanjore goes back historically to Swartz's school at that place mentioned above. And a school started by Mr. Anderson in 1837 developed into the Madras Christian College and the Church of Scotland Missionary Institution.

The comparative backwardness of Bombay and even of Madras did not retard the development of educational policy. The Charter Act of 1833 increased the annual grant of Rs. one lakh to £ one lakh. Act XXIX of 1837 abolished Persian as the court language, Lord Hardinge declared, as noted in an earlier chapter, that in the selection of Natives, under the Charter Act of 1833, for public employment, "preference shall be given according to "degree of merit and attainment," and the Council of Education found so many hundreds pressing for English education at the new institutions and acquiring such high proficiency therein, that the President proposed a central University at Calcutta, "armed with the powers of granting degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering," and endowed with such privileges as were enjoyed by "the recently established University of London."[19] A system of Primary Education had also been created and actually established over an entire province by Mr. Thomason while he was Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. P. from 1843 to 1853.[20]

18. Despatch, 29-9-1830.

19. In his petition to parliament (30-11-1852) Mr. Cameron also asked for a covenanted Education Service and "that one or more establishments may be created at which the native youth of India may receive in England, without prejudice to their caste or religious feelings, such a secular education as may qualify them for admission into the Civil and Medical services of the East India Company" (*Mahmud*, p 82). If the second suggestion had been adopted, and if the Indian College or Colleges in England had succeeded in regularly supplying a number of Indians to the civil and other services from the beginning, this single factor might have completely altered the whole history of British India during the last seventy years.

20. Lord Dalhousie stated in 1856 that these N. W. P. schools then numbered 3669—A Mills: *India in 1858*, p. 169. The idea of a land cess to finance primary education originated with Thomason. For a brief account of these schools see A. Howell: *Ed. in Br. India prior to 1854 and in 1870-1*, pp. 48-9.

Thus the ground was prepared by half a century of experiments failures and advances, and the hour had come for consolidating the results, and tying up the types and ideas of proved utility into a graduated system. This was accomplished by Sir Charles Wood's despatch of the nineteenth July, 1854. The Committees and Councils of education were to be replaced by an Education Department at each presidency under a single head. Universities were to be established for each of the presidencies. Government Colleges, High Schools, Middle Schools and Primary Schools were to be systematically increased. The vernaculars were to be the media of instruction in the primary and lower branches. Scholarships were to be multiplied and spread over the entire field in such a manner as to enable talent to ascend the ladder of education up to the highest institutions. Central training colleges were to provide trained teachers to institutions of every grade. The institutions of private persons or bodies, including missionaries, were to receive grants-in-aid, provided that they were under efficient management, gave a good secular education, charged fees, however small, and accepted Government inspection. Female education, recently started by Lord Dalhousie at Calcutta, was to receive "the frank and cordial support of Government as it would impart a far greater proportional impulse to the educational and moral tone of the people than the education of men."[21] And, finally, the spread of education was to be pushed on by government officers in every district taking an active and continuous interest in the institutions within their charge.

Syed Mahmud: History of English Education in India, chs 1—17.

H. Sharp: Selections from Educational Records, Pt. I.

H. R. James: Education and Statesmanship in India, chs 1—6.

J. Ramsay Macdonald: Government of India, ch. 13.

21. *Gazetteer* IV p 431.

§ 59. *Education, 1854 to 1919.* The history of Indian Education from 1854 onwards need not be noticed in detail. It took the government and non-missionary agencies some years to overtake and leave behind the missionary institutions in the number of students they educated; but the missionaries have all along followed the policy of breaking new ground, they have led the way in virgin areas and unworked layers of the population and new types of educational endeavour, so that the mere statistics cannot do justice to the character and magnitude of their service. Many of the new individuals they educated and humanised were not merely so many units added to the total; they were new candles lit in masses of darkness which light had never before invaded. The education departments each under a Director of Public Instruction with Professors of Colleges, Head Masters of High Schools, Inspectors of schools, and subordinates, were organised all over British India in about twelve years. The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were constituted in 1857,[1] Colleges were opened at Dehli and Lahore in 1864, an Anjuman-i-Punjab was formed the next year, and the Punjab University was incorporated by Act XIX of 1882 (October 5th), which recognised study and examination in certain branches through the medium of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, and granted to such students suitable degrees corresponding to the B. A. and M. A. of the ordinary courses, in which study and examination were through English, as in the older universities. The Allahabad University followed five years later (September 23rd, Act XVIII of 1887). The advance in primary education was very slow at first. The despatch of 1859 recognised that private effort was not likely to do much in this section of the field, and a cess on the land to be collected along with the land-revenue and expended on primary schools in the locality, was recommended.[2]

1. Acts II (Calcutta, January 24th), XII (July 18th, Bombay), and XXVII (September 9th, Madras) of 1857.
2. Moral and Material Progress Report, 1882-3, p 318.

Acts authorising such land cesses in aid of primary education were in consequence passed during the sixties, and from the seventies onwards with the growth of the municipalities and district boards, the provision of primary institutions in town and village was one of the important functions handed over to them. The number of pupils in these schools increased from two lakhs in 1860 to five and one-sixth lakhs in 1870 and to over twentyone lakhs and a half in 1881. Out of these as well as all later primary schools figures a serious deduction has unfortunately always to be made, for seventyfive per cent or more are always in the two lowest classes who do not go higher at all, and at least one half of these relapse into illiteracy soon after leaving the schools to which they never took very kindly even while there.[3] Two other factors have also to be borne in mind in order that this increase, such as it was, can be viewed in a proper perspective; the first is the growth of the population, and the second is the rapid decline and almost entire destruction of the indigenous schools, tols, makhtabs, &c., which had been in existence in numbers upto 1860 and were fast disappearing by 1880. The progress in secondary education was more substantial. The numbers attending these institutions grew from twenty-three thousand in 1860 to two lakhs and six thousand in 1870, and sixteen thousand were added to the total by 1880. Nor should it be supposed that here too the wastage was high. Wastage there always is and always will be in every system of education, but the boys—or rather men[4]—who left at vari-

3. Seventh Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1912-17), p 122; "a large percentage of parents value the school mainly as a creche..."—*Diarchy*, p. 298; &c.

4. The average of age in the various high school classes was high in the beginning and fell only slowly. Even upto 1880-5 there were men of over thirty joining the Entrance Class of High Schools; men who had left off school and worked in some department until they could get a year's leave to try and pass the Entrance Examination, so that they could rejoin with improved prospects.

ous stages without finishing the course and passing through the gateway of the entrance examination into colleges, also proved themselves in later life fairly able to perform the work they found to their hand in the educational, judicial, revenue, public works, post, railways and other departments, or as lawyers, or in various other walks of life. There was a growing demand for intelligent reliable and plodding men with some knowledge of English which they could improve according to their opportunities, and many of those who left their school course unfinished did so because they happened to see openings which they were glad to seize. We must not judge of the period upto 1880 by what we have seen in the later decades. Even more valuable was the progress in Collegiate Education. From 1857 to 1881 the universities passed out 3,284 B. A.'s and 536 M. A.'s[5] Calcutta led, Madras had shot ahead of Bombay, and the other provinces were left far behind. The quality too was far from uniform. The Calcutta and Madras Colleges had already begun to suffer from the evil of congestion, nor does it appear that they had succeeded in securing such a large proportion of vivifying personalities on their staff in succession as had the Bombay Colleges. But whatever the relative differences between the provinces and the universities, differences difficult to estimate, these graduates as a whole rendered invaluable services to the country during their generation. The advance in vernacular literatures and Indian journalism, the initiation of social reform and the creation of an intellectual atmosphere in which integrity and a sense of public duty were assigned a higher place than in the degraded traditions inherited from the downfall of the Mogul Empire, the habit of collective political action on constitutional lines, the creation and development of All-India conferences, in one word, much of what we mean by the modern progress of India

5. Moral and Mat. Progress Report, 1882-3, p 329.

during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was the handiwork of this small body of men. The ideals seen from afar by Raja Rammohan Roy's generation, this second generation of Indian patriots brought by their exertions and sacrifices within the range of practical endeavour, and they were in turn the begetters of the third generation of nationalists, irreconcileables, and anarchists.

At the beginning of the next twentyfive years of our educational history stands the Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon, with Sir W. W. Hunter as president. The recommendations of the Commission have been variously judged. We now see that their contemporaries expected too much from them, that it was a mistake to appoint a large ostentatious commission whose labours and inquiries were only limited to a part of the entire field of education, and that their recommendations, such as they were, were not fully carried out anywhere, or uniformly in all the provinces. They saw the congestion already beginning in colleges and high schools. They saw that high school education had not sufficiently advanced in the last decade. They could not help noticing that the quality too was falling off. Nor were the funds available for education unlimited. In fact, the fat years were gone, the lean years were upon us, the army needed additions, the services needed better pay and larger numbers, and the fall in silver meant a drain growing at an enormous rate. Any increase in the education budget at a rate higher than in the past was quite out of the question. What then was the best possible distribution of the funds likely to be available? This was the further limitation, not set down in so many words but not the less clearly recognised, of the Commission's inquiry. Nor was this all. The minds of the ruling aristocracy who alone were responsible for India and who held India in the hollow of their hands, were also made up on two other fundamentals. The first was that primary education must be extended much more

quickly. What they felt most keenly was that the poor beast of an agriculturist must be made a man of somehow, that he must be saved from the wily moneylender and not allowed to fall into the hands of the not less wily lawyer. Indians might not relish this way of putting it, but the elevation of the ryot is undoubtedly a worthy object, and it is also obvious that not much can be accomplished in this direction without a proper system of primary education spread all over the land as quickly as possible, by means of teachers, male and female, properly trained for their difficult job of winning the maximum of results in the minimum of time. The other fundamental as to which the ruling aristocracy were also unanimous was that the colleges and high schools already in existence needed a much larger leaven of Englishmen, and moreover the Englishmen already there had reasons to be dissatisfied with their pay and status, so that every Englishman in the department was going to cost much more than in the past.[6] Thus the changes in policy resulting from the

6. The problem was not confined to the education department. The Civil Service had the same difficulty with all the other departments also. A small aristocracy, an exclusive caste, must have perfect equality amongst its own members; but on the other hand an administrative system must have a hierarchy of departments and further gradations of status and emoluments within each department. It is on this rock that aristocracies, however strong and well-knit, have always split. They have always fought hard, fought inch by inch, and delayed the day of their extinction by every conceivable device. Exchange compensation allowance, and a rearrangement of the departments into three grades instead of two—imperial, provincial, and subordinate, instead of superior and inferior—were the devices adopted, though it must be admitted to their credit, with great reluctance. But this did not solve the problem of placating the Englishman outside the charmed circle of the civil service, and it created the worse problem of placing the Indian, however deserving, lower than every Englishman. Indians in the superior posts went on increasing; their qualifications went on improving. Indians with English University qualifications went on multiplying. These last the Englishmen would not have as their equals in the imperial services, they themselves did not care to be in the provincial services and be the inferiors of many Englishmen who were not their equals in qualifications, and thus the system broke down at length. The Islington Commission and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report registered this breakdown and made suggestions for the future, more or less liberal, which are in the course of being carried out.—For the education department in particular see the discussion in *Sir V. Chirol*, p. 233 and *H. R. James*, pp. 115–7. It is curious to note how both authors see the impossibility of equalising the status and emoluments of professors and civilians, and yet seek some undiscoverable method by which they could nevertheless be equalised. The professor worth his salt has his own status in literature, in learning, in the estimate of his students, and in the joyful absorption of congenial pursuits. The professor, on the other hand, who falls between the two stools of the professorial 'chair' and 'society,' has simply missed his vocation, and whatever his pay has no status whatsoever.

Commission and their Report can be summed up very briefly. (1) Government undertook to extend primary education as quickly as possible and to treat it as having the first claim upon such resources as were available for education. (2) Such Government high schools and colleges as were already in existence were to be maintained with improved staff and equipment as model institutions. (3) But the extension of these superior grades of education was to be left more and more to private enterprise. It was even hoped that self-help would develop amongst the people to such an extent that some of the government institutions might themselves come to be handed over to private management, at least in some localities, without any loss to education. (4) Government inspection and advice were to continue, and self-help amongst the people in educational matters was to be fostered by more liberal grants-in-aid, on principles reducing government interference and influence to a minimum. It followed that the efficiency of these institutions and the amount of their grant were to be measured by independent standards, and this necessarily led to a system of payment by results. (5) Lastly, the increasing congestion in colleges was sought to be remedied by a new examination at the end of the high school course, in which there were some subjects of practical rather than academical value. It was also felt that university education was too high an aim for the great majority of high school boys, that too many academics were not a gain to the country either, and that the high schools should themselves fit the mass of average students for life[7] rather than for at least four years more in the pursuit of a degree. It was argued that the colleges and high schools would themselves gain considerably by

7. The discussion as to the moral value of the school, how it was to be improved and intensified, &c., thus began in all its ramifications at the Commission, they reported upon it at length, and it has gone on and on and on ever since: no reason, too, why it ever should come to an end.

being relieved in this manner of crowds who were there merely as the helpless victims of a faulty system, which provided no alternative courses either for training the faculties or for bettering one's status and prospects in life. These views and aims were perfectly sound, and if a system of agricultural, technical and commercial education had been evolved providing alternatives suited to local requirements for the last two or three years of the high school course, after a period of struggle which every new departure has necessarily to face until people see the results for themselves and appreciate their value, the successful types of such institutions could have been spread wherever wanted, and private enterprise would have supplemented state action by creating similar institutions with further local adaptations. Moreover, if such institutions had come into existence in the eighties, the following decades of increasing economic stringency and unrest were just the period during which they could have grown to their full stature, and our entire system of education could have been purged of its over-literary and unpractical character, a defect of which the seriousness is to be judged in proportion to the poverty and educational traditions of a country. But the opportunity was missed. Only a new examination was instituted; no proper arrangements were made for a long time even to prepare the students for the new subjects; and the creation of new types of high schools as alternatives to the literary type first in the field, is a problem no easier of solution to-day than when it should first have been tackled.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the students in primary schools increased from nearly twentytwo lakhs in 1881 to a little over thirtytwo lakhs in 1901; out of these the students in the upper division or the last two classes of the schools were only four and six lakhs respectively. The number of students in public secondary schools increased from 222000 to a little under

623000; that in Arts, Oriental, and Professional Colleges from a little under 7600 to over thrice the number or 23000; and the total public expenditure on education rose from a little under Rs. 1·9 crores in 1881 to a little over Rs. 4 crores in the latter year. The advance in primary education was not at all satisfactory. The rate of increase improved only slightly during the next decade, and it was with the object of bringing public opinion to bear upon government and thus forcing the pace rather than with any hope of immediate success that G. K. Gokhle proposed in 1910 to the recently reformed Imperial Legislative Council that a Commission be appointed to frame a definite scheme for making a beginning in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory in British India. And he followed this up the next year by his Elementary Education Bill. Mr. Orange had remarked in his Fifth Quinquennial Review (1902–1906) that on the assumption that there were no increase in the population, "even at the rate of increase that had taken place in the last five years, several generations would elapse before all the boys of school-age were in school." Gokhle quoted this and the experience of every country that ignorance and illiteracy it was altogether impossible to remove without compulsion, and he also cited the recommendation of the Hunter Commission that "an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province." He calculated, on the basis of a four years' course, that about one-fourth of the boys of school-age were in school already, and as the cost was over a crore and one-third, the total cost of bringing every boy into school would be approximately Rs. five crores and a half. Making another calculation at the rate of Rs. five per boy, he showed on the census figures for 1911, that with every

one of the 12½ million boys of school-age at school, the cost could not exceed Rs. six crores and a quarter. But he wanted to spread the advance over a number of years and it was an integral part of his scheme that a third of the burden was to be borne, as in Scotland, by local bodies. To make a beginning at once in selected areas, i. e. areas already having one-third or more of the boys of school-age at school—the proportion to be fixed by the Government of India; to leave the initiative to the local bodies; and to arm the local government with the power of restraining such of them as were over-zealous;-these were the fundamental ideas of Gokhle's scheme.[8] The discussion thus raised and the definite demand thus made, had the rare merit, like some other demands of Gokhle's, of being in the nick of time. The resolution he proposed was followed by the elevation of Education into a principal charge for a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; the introduction of his Bill was followed by H. I. M. George V's visit to India, and in the Royal grants announced at the Dehli Durbar the pride of place was accorded to primary education:

"Humbly and dutifully submissive to His Most Gracious Majesty's will and pleasure, the Government of India have resolved, with the approval of His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State, to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Indian Empire, and have decided in recognition of a very commendable demand to set themselves to making education in India as accessible and wide as possible. With this purpose they propose to devote at once fifty lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education, and it is the firm intention of Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale."[9]

---

8. *Speeches* pp. 699-804.

The improvement in teachers, their pay and training, in schools, and in the number of institutions and of students, advanced at a brisker pace with the steady expansion of the budget provision for primary education. Gokhle had taken the rate of increase in the number of boys and girls at school at 92000 per year for the first ten years of the century, and at 120,000 boys per year for the latter half of the period.[10] The accelerated increase during the seven years before the Great War was at the rate of 192,000 per year;[11] and the acceleration has been fairly maintained since, though not uniformly in all provinces. Most important of all, one province after another has been making primary education for boys compulsory by legislation, mainly on the lines chalked out in such a masterly manner by Gokhle's forethought. An argument in favour of compulsion that no one thought of during the discussions sketched above is now receiving its due weight: the bulk of the pupils never advance beyond the lower primary stage, and naturally relapse into illiteracy soon after leaving school; the only way to make their literacy permanent is to keep them at school, by legislation, for at least four years, otherwise all the effort expended upon them is as good as lost to the country. The Primary Education Acts in Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal, U. P., and Behar and Orissa came into effect between February 1918 and February 1919; the C. P. and Madras Acts are more recent. The Bombay and U. P. Acts apply to municipalities only, while the others apply to district boards also.[12] The main diffi-

9. *Ilbert*, p 468. Gokhle had argued that his proposals only meant a continuous annual addition of 40 lakhs (*Speeches* p 774). The Government had to do better than that since they had argued—better teachers, better schools, better type of education first, then compulsion; Rs. 5 per head, moreover, a serious underestimate; it would be nearer Rs. 10 than Rs. 5; &c.

10. *Speeches*, pp 764 and 803.

11. *Indian Education in 1915-16* (Bureau of Education Annual Publication), p 15.

12. *India Education in 1919-20*, pp. 11-13; *India in 1920*, pp. 164-170. The Punjab, Behar and Orissa and Bengal Acts apply only to boys

culties to a rapid advance appear to be three. I The financial difficulty. It is not necessary to add anything on this point to what has been said already. II Really competent teachers for boys' schools, girls' schools, and for whatever devices might be employed for adult education. What emoluments they should be given so that men and women of the right stamp would be attracted in sufficient numbers and make the occupation a labour of love for life, is a part of the first or the financial difficulty. But what large numbers are needed and how serious the deficit is at present, may be seen from the following brief statement about U. P. :—

Vernacular Boy's Schools : Demand.—The teachers numbered (1917) 24,000; 11,000 trained. Wastage due to death, retirement etc., annually 1400. To provide for expansion, 1000 new teachers would be annually required. The annual demand thus =2400.

Supply.—At present 300 from Normal Schools and 1630 from Training Classes.

Vernacular Girls' Schools: Demand.—The teachers numbered (1917) 1,896; 240 trained. Wastage higher than in the case of men. To replace wastage, 190 would be annually required.

Supply.—At present total enrolment in training classes, 150; the number who passed the final (second year's) examination, 35 only[13].

III The remaining difficulty is the creation of a really suitable type of school and curriculum for village populations. It almost looks as if we might not succeed if we make educating the boy and the girl of school-age the main line of advance. Adult education, night-schools, festival and *mela* schools and demonstrations and lectures, periodical schools with concentrated work for six to nine weeks during the seasons of slack work, vocational schools with the three R's thrown in, wherever tried with proper equipment and by competent energetic and zealous agents, have not only scored an immediate success, but have also shown capabilities far in excess of the concrete results actually attained. And they yield this further gain also—every adult man and woman thus educated

13. *Dyarchy*, p. 313 condensed.

would be with us and not against us in our efforts to educate his and her children. The best of them might moreover help the local primary schools as volunteers, in selected cases after a course of intensive training; and the variations we want to introduce into the city type of primary school in order to adapt it better to village conditions, can only be gradually worked out in this manner, by united and co-operative national efforts. As long as we persist instead in trying to impose them from above by the fiat of an all-wise department, education cannot enter into and transform the life of the masses, even though the proportion of literacy might go on improving.

To pass on to secondary and collegiate education. The increase in government expenditure on these heads during the last two decades of the last century was mostly on the staff, especially the English staff, the number and emoluments of the Indian staff were also improved to some extent from 1896 onwards, and on stone and mortar, i. e., buildings. I may here insert an anecdote. When Lord Harris was retiring (1895), his friends and admirers had a meeting in Bombay, where laudatory speeches were made, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar was one of the orators, and he showed statistically that the Bombay Government had done more for education under Lord Harris than under his immediate predesessor, Lord Reay. I asked a prominent educationist, an Englishman, to rede me the riddle. He said at once, "Don't you know? Stone and mortar! Sites and playgrounds and buildings!" And he recited in chronological order Lord Harris' principal grants to various institutions, with the money-value of each.

With the policy of encouraging private enterprize recommended by the Hunter Commission, the increase in the numbers of the students meant growing congestion in the government institutions, and a multiplication of private institutions, amongst which proprietary high

schools and colleges without any independent endowments, seeking only to make a profit out of fee-receipts, steadily increased, especially in the larger cities. The youths attending these institutions, flocking into the central cities from the mofussil, lived anyhow in surroundings highly injurious to health and habits.[14] The Government or the education department had nothing to do with institutions which did not want grants; the University Senates had no powers of or machinery for inspection; and moreover, they too grew more and more unwieldy, unbusinesslike, unacademical. The evils grew fastest and manifested their worst aspects in Bengal,[15] but there is no doubt whatever that the quality of the education suffered, and the product turned out was distinctly inferior, intellectually and morally, in Madras and Bombay also. Crude ideas, shallowness of mind, ill-regulated characters, and 'failed B. A.'s' who could get no employment simply because they really were "unemployable"[16] were not the monopoly of Calcutta alone, though of course the evil there was of longer growth and far larger proportions. By 1902 there were nearly 1400 private institutions in Bengal, high schools and middle schools struggling to reach the coveted status of high schools, more than a third of the number receiving no grant from government. The salaries of the teachers ranged from Rs. 5 to Rs. 78, nor could their regular payment be always depended on. The number of college students in Bengal rose from 3,827 in 1882 to 8150 in 1902, and government institutions contributed less than a fourth of the latter total, while un-aided institutions were responsible for over 4500. Any improvement of the system necessarily required a certain amount of pulling down, and this Indian opinion resented.

14. See, for instance, Dr. Garfield Williams' account cited in *Indian Unrest* at pp 217-219.

15. Sir M. Sadler (Calcutta University) Commission *Report*, ch 3 §§ 38-61.

16. *Indian Unrest*, p 225.

Nor did Lord Curzon realize—his very nature made it impossible for him to see—that to strive for a minimum of friction, heat and opposition, was in itself one of the highest aims of statesmanship. The Indian Universities Commission, 1902, inspired to some extent by the reconstruction of the University of London in 1898, advised that Indian universities be made teaching bodies, their senates and syndicates be improved and strengthened, principals and professors be given greater weight in their counsels, that better equipment, staff, buildings, hostels and funds be insisted upon before any new institution was affiliated, and that affiliated institutions be inspected from time to time, and the level of efficiency throughout the jurisdiction of the university be raised in that manner, as also by the government strengthening its own model colleges, and the university improving its courses and its examinations. The Indian Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904, March 24th) followed, the rules and regulations of the universities were recast during the next two years, and government granted Rs. five lakhs per year for five years for the improvement of colleges and universities. Larger grants followed, private munificence nobly seconded public efforts, and the fears widely entertained during the heat of the discussions from 1901 to 1905 that the sacrifice in quantity was certain the gain in quality very doubtful, were soon dissipated. The number of students in Arts and professional colleges increased from over twentyfive thousand (including less than three hundred women) in 1906, to nearly sixtysix thousand (including over twelve hundred women) in 1919. New universities came into existence at Mysore (1916), Patna (1917), and Dacca (1920), the Hindu University, Benares (1915), and the Moslem University, Aligarh (1920), have been already mentioned, and universities at Rangoon, Nagpur, Lucknow and Dehli are also certain to be incorporated in the near future. Looking at the subject as a whole, Indian educa-

tion to-day needs rapid advances in the following directions. I The education of girls and women. Indian womanhood is not only uneducated, it is still living, so to say, in the Middle Ages. The higher deathrate of women within the child-bearing age-limits is itself an evil, the gravity of which cannot be exaggerated. Indian culture is dying, Indian family life is disintegrating, in and through the untimely death of mothers in cities and villages all over the land. Whatever other remedies are necessary and practicable, education is the one panacea, since the effectiveness of all the other remedies will depend upon the intelligent co-operation of the women themselves. II The education of Muhammadans. The backwardness of Muhammadans in education upto about 1870 has been noticed and to some extent accounted for in the last section. "Pride of race, a memory of bygone superiority, religious fears, and a not unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam,"[17] are the causes mentioned by Syed Mahmud. To these should be added the Mutiny and its after-math. In 1871 the percentage of Muhammadans to the total numbers at school and college was 14·5. It did not come up to 23·5—the percentage of Muhammadans in the total population of British India—upto 1917. Their backwardness in higher education has had very serious consequences indeed, not only to themselves, but to Indian progress as a whole. Rammohun Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekanand, Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir P. C. Roy, Dr. Brijendra Nath Seal, Sarat Chandra Das, Aurobind Ghosh the mystic, Pundit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M. K. Gandhi— the spirit of rebel-

17. P. 148. What the attitude of at least a section of the leading Muhammadans was towards the British Government even upto 1883'-4 might be gathered from W. S. Blunt: *India under Ripon*, although the warm nature of the writer compels one to infer a certain amount of unconscious exaggeration.

lion incarnate, spiritually hurling the individual conscience at the heart of the modern state, asking ruler and ruled alike to repent and expiate:—these are all Hindu names; where are the corresponding names of Muhammadans who have won a European reputation? Or, confining ourselves to Indian reputations, have the Muhammadans borne one-fifth of the burden of advance in politics and journalism, religious purification and social reform, literature education and science, industry and trade, which it is their right to claim and their privilege to undertake? What is their position in the learned professions, or even in government and semi-government employment, in spite of every effort on the part of those in authority to give them preferential treatment? What is their position even in Muhammadan Native States? Syed Mahmud calculated that from 1858 to 1893 the Hindu and Muhammadan graduates numbered in Arts—9715 and 399, in law—3537 and 110, in medicine—1239 and 34, and in engineering—590 and 3, total 15,081 and 546 respectively.[18] The Muhammadans have considerably improved their relative position in higher education since, but they still have a long distance to make up. Of the total number of nearly 66,000 students in Arts and professional colleges in 1919, only 7345 were Muhammadans,[19] or only one-ninth, whereas they ought to have come up to one-fifth. III Far more provision is necessary than is as yet available for higher education in Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, and the applied branches of science which yield experts for industries and mining. IV Such facilities for higher education as have so far been created fall short of the highest stages. For every further advance we have to import "experts" from outside India. One assumption underlying all our institutions and endeavours appears to

18. P. 185. The author studies the subject exhaustively, giving elaborate tables and diagrams.

19. *Indian Education in 1919-20.*

be that "Indian" necessarily means "secondrate." A selfsufficing system of education right up to the highest stages ought to be our aim. Foreigners would now and then have to be imported, no doubt; but we too should learn to stand upon our own legs and import them, as France or America might import them, for very exceptional purposes and limited periods, and such men only as have won a more than local reputation. V Our whole system of education is too English, too imitatively, too slavishly English. English degrees are prized higher, far higher, than they are really worth; English traditions, English conventions have here an exchange value higher even than in England, or the Colonies. India will never rise to her proper place in the scale of nations and in world-thought until we pass on from English to European civilization, until leaving Oxford and Cambridge behind, we get into living touch with other great centres of European thought also. France and Germany seem as though designed, "whether by nature or by the unconscious hand of political history, to be half-willing half-reluctant complements to each other and to England. English common sense, French lucidity, German idealism; English liberty, French equality, German organisation; English breadth, French exactitude, German detail"; [20] now that we have Indian Ministers of Education, one hopes that in Indian education and Indian university life these various rays will be blended together by Indian selection. VI Perhaps the most urgent educational problem today is the reform of the High School. The literary type of high school has proved incapable of sustaining its own burden. The average boy it sends on to the university is found below the mark in knowledge of English, in general knowledge, and for the freer undergraduate life to which he is

20 *Unity of Western Civilization* (ed. F. S. Marvin), p 170. The course of lectures, be it noted, was delivered in August 1915, i. e. after the Great War had broken out.

introduced at college; and the efficiency of the college and the university suffers. And, as has been already remarked, high schools dealing with agricultural, technical, industrial, and practical subjects have to be created, exceeding in numbers the literary high schools already in existence and taking away from them more than half their students. It is only as we succeed in solving the problem at this stage, that we shall be able to take arts and crafts lower down to the primary stage at one end, and higher up to the university stage at the other end. VII The place of the vernacular and of Indian culture subjects in our system of education is exciting more and more comment and heated partisanship. It is the inevitable consequence of the growth of nationalism. Tell the Maratha that his *modi* (मोडी) script is an example of cumulative degradation or devolution; he will not listen. You might as well try to explain the matter to a tree. Tell him that the neighbouring Gujrati (गुजराती) script is an example of cumulative improvement or evolution, and he will be interested. But ask him to exchange the degraded *modi* and the petrified Devanāgari (देवनागरी) for the living and beautiful Gujrati script, and he will take you for a lunatic. That is nationalism. One of the great difficulties in the upward march of India is that the language, literature and script claiming by birth the largest number of adherents in North India, are so hopelessly inferior to the languages, literatures, and scripts surrounding them.[21] Neither

21. It is quite legitimate to seek to extend the use of Hindi—Urdu merely as a *boli* (बोली) for ordinary purposes of commercial and other intercourse. But to teach it to boys and girls in the non-Hindi provinces in schools where every hour of the time-table is so important, is to deprive the vernacular or English of so much valuable time. Hindi and Urdu again differ from each other in more than the script. The U. P. after a long controversy have had to give up the use of common readers in schools, printed in Devanagari script for the Hindu children and Urdu script for the Muhammadan; since 1914, such readers are used only upto the vernacular standard III. See the whole question fully discussed in *Dyarchy*, pp 308-311, 323-5.

Bengali, nor Marathi, nor Gujrati will yield to Hindi. Nor will the Dravidian languages of the South to any language, literature, and script of the North. Nor will the Muhammadan yield his Urdu or hotchpotch script, language and literature to one of Hindu origin and associations. The lesson Indian nationalists have to learn is that nationalism logically and fanatically followed can only break up India. Nationalism, moreover, has no solution for key areas like the premier cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, Karachi, Dehli, Ajmer, and Benares; places where the populations in their lakhs are and always will be inextricably mixed up. Nationalism as such has no solution either for the frontier. Indian patriotism has to transcend nationalism or it cannot build up or sustain a United India. Uniform education, through the medium of the English language in its higher stages, is more important than a nationalist education, at least during the period of transition. Modern education is more important than an Indian education, at least during the period of transition. It is to be hoped that Indian nationalisms will prove themselves sane enough to realise the inestimable value of the moral bond that a uniform modern education all over India can furnish, making for unity and harmonious growth.

Syed Mahmud: History of English Education in India.

H. R. James: Education and Statemanship in India.

Sir V. Chirol: Indian Unrest, chs 17–21.

Quinquennial Reviews of the Progress of Education in India (Sir A Croft, 1881–6; A. M. Nash, '87–'91: J. S. Cotton, '92–'96; R. Nathan, 1897–1901; H. W. Orange, 1902–'06; H. Sharp, the last two).

Indian Education, a brief annual narrative from 1913; there was no issue for 1916–17.

§ 60. *Nationalists, Irreconcilables, Anarchists.* While railways reduced distances, lessened the time and trouble of travelling, and making it quite an ordinary thing for the average man to go by himself frequently from one part of India to another, broke down geographical barriers, and unified the country in a physical sense, the uniform education in high and higher institutions gave an intellectual and spiritual unity to the higher classes throughout the country in a few decades. A common medium of intercourse, common ideas and tastes and mental habits, a widening outlook, an emancipation of the mind, a release of the will, an elevation of aspirations, were produced, and hundreds of fresh young minds scattered all over a vast area began nevertheless to respond to the novel influence in ways the essential uniformity of which was wonderful to behold. The first effect of the shock almost everywhere was denationalisation. The child of cast-iron custom threw off his fetters and revelled in his new-found liberty, overstepping the bounds which separate true beneficial liberty from pernicious license. But this was soon followed by a more reflective stage. Chandra Shekhar Deb asked Rammohan Roy, "one Sunday evening as they were returning home from prayers: 'Diwanji, we now go to a house of worship where a foreigner officiates. Should we not have a place where we might meet and worship God in our own way?'" [1] Thus was the Brahmo Samaj born. Michael Madhusudan Datta wrote his first poems in English; but deeper instincts prevailed, and the prodigal son returned to the Mother-Tongue: a history that has repeated itself since in quite a number of cases. It should also be remembered that the world as a whole was shrinking up as well as India and that events in any part of the world and thought-currents starting anywhere produced their effects more quickly and more fully in many countries and in more than one continent than in any previous

1. Sir R. Lethbridge: *Life of Ramtanu Lahiri*, p 71.

century. The educated classes in India participated in this world-wide awakening. It was not our government alone which borrowed currency ideas from one European country or press laws from another. Our younger irreconcilables, too, got into touch with the literature of Italian secret societies, Russian anarchists, Hungarian obstructionists, and Egyptian Kemalists. That, however, was much later. To understand the beginnings of nationalism in India we have to grasp first of all two leading features of the time. The ninteenth century in European history is the century of nationalism. It is also the century in which European scholars studied Sanskrit, created the sciences of comparative philology, comparative mythology, and comparative religion, and elevated the Indo-Aryan race and their sacred prehistoric tongue to the same high pedestal as the ancient Greek and Latin. Perhaps the leading dates to remember in this movement of world-thought are—Sir Williams Jones settled the date of Chandragupta in 1793; Max Muller published the first volume of the Rig Veda in 1849 and the first volumes of the Sacred Books of the East in 1879; and at the first world-parliament of religions at Chicago in 1895, Swami Vivekananda asserted the claim of the Indian Sage to be the religious Guru (गुरु) of humanity. What had long been a household saying known throughout Hindu-sthan that while there were many incarnations of the Deity all except one were partial manifestations, one alone was Perfection, he applied there to all historical religions, claiming that the Indian Vedanta was the only perfect manifestation of the spirit of humanity in its quest of the Holy Grail. It was a claim no Indian had advanced outside India for fourteen hundred years or more; yet the spiritual elevation of the individual who thus put it forth won intuitive conviction in a few, making them his disciples in faith. The birth of the Arya Samaj (1877) and of Theosophy (1878) should also be noted as events falling in the same class.

Nationalism as an active principle in the communal consciousness implies a background in religious faith and a sense of dignity and selfrespect. How these arose we have just seen. But nationalism manifests itself principally in political activity such as constitutional agitation, nonviolent but irreconcilable opposition, immoral murder and conspiracy, rebellion, and war. Dadabhai Naoroji was, by common consent, the father of political agitation in India. To appeal from the facts of the administration to the principles embodied in parliamentary legislation, from officialdom in India to the English public and its innate sense of justice, from the autocracy here to the spirit of liberty and progress inherent in English history, to define the grievances, to petition, to establish political associations and train them up in creating a public opinion here and in carrying its moderate and reasoned demands through the regular channels to the highest court of appeal, to start a discussion on public grounds and to keep it up as a public activity, that was the sphere of public service to which he gave with his whole heart animated by perfect faith, more years of continuous persevering labour than any one else of his generation. He was a pioneer, and no pioneer can be judged in history merely by results. Or, rather, the following he wins, the disciples he makes, the spirit he breathes into the movement, are the most valuable of a pioneer's achievements. And his own character, the purity and simplicity of his life, his moderation and chivalry in controversy, his transparent faith, and his sweet reasonableness gained a serious hearing for him even from inveterate opponents.

By 1875 political progress began to be perceptible even outside the three capitals and places like Poona. The Indian Association, Calcutta, was established in 1876 and this body sent Mr. Surendranath Banerji on a politi cal lecturing tour, one year to the north upto Rawalpindi, another year to Madras and Bombay. The Imperial

assemblage at Dehli in 1877 was probably the first occasion when prominent politically-minded people from all places met one another in such numbers. But India is a vast country and was far less homogeneous then, and matters would have ripened rather slowly but for the Ilbert Bill, the determined and most violent opposition to it by the Anglo-Indian community, and the humiliation they succeeded in inflicting upon Indians by that means. Even such an object-lesson was not indeed sufficient to open the eyes of the older men in the legislative council itself. Raja Shiva Prasad, Kristo Das Pal, and Sir Syed Ahmed agreed on the other hand in professing their confidence that their own communities, with the good breeding and sense of propriety innate in the Oriental, would never so demean themselves. But the younger leaders of the Indian Association judged differently. The terms of the concordat between the government and the Anglo-Indians were known by Saturday the 22nd December 1883. The Indian Association immediately called a National Conference to which a number of Bengal towns sent up delegates. This precursor of our 'provincial' conferences met for three days before the end of the month, and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose the Secretary called it the first step towards a national parliament. Bombay and Madras were also roused by the agitation, the Madras Mahajan Sabha was established in 1884, the Bombay Presidency Association in January 1885, and a desire for an All-India gathering was felt simultaneously in all the three presidencies. A public All-India gathering of leading representatives at regular intervals had also presented itself to A. O. Hume as desirable for directing and stimulating the progress of the country as a whole. He had retired in 1882 from the high post of Secretary to Government, but had settled at Simla the better to pursue his favourite hobbies, and he wished to devote himself as much as possible to foster public life in India and especially to improve the condi-

tion of the ryot. Thirtythree years' experience as a Civilian had convinced him that "the Pax Britannica had failed to solve the economic problem and that to leaven the administration more and more with Indians and to dig 'an overt and constitutional channel for the discharge of the increasing ferment' were the only remedies"[2] He was a true humanitarian and his catholic religious nature sympathised with positivism at one pole and theosophy at the other exremityofth. thougt His position, influence, experience, shrewdness, and driving power were of inestimable value to Indian nationalism at this stage, and the instinct of contemporaries did not err in naming him the Father of the Congress. He established the Indian National Union in March 1885 "to enable the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other, and to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the coming year." In pursuance of these objects it was arranged to hold the first All-India conference in the christmas holidays, another circular was issued affirming "unswerving loyalty to the British Crown"[3] as the keynote of the Union, and then he informally sounded Lord Dufferin about the forward move that had been decided upon, and later went to England also on a brief visit to explain matters and bespeak sympathy in parliamentary, India Office, and journalistic circles. Hume himself and his friends like Cotton, Wedderburn, and Raghunath Rāv of Madras were as keenly alive to

---

2. Sir V. Lovett : *Indian Nationalist Movement*, p. 34.

3. The loyalty of all India in 1885 was warm and demonstrative. In the last days of March had occurred the Panjdeh incident while Amir Abdur Rahman and Lord Dufferin had been interchanging views at Rawalpindi, "The danger ", said Sir Alfred Lyell, "made the Indian people very loyal. They are in great dread" that anything might happen; "if we got an upset, and they are all afraid of each other. . . ."—*Sir V. Lovett*, p. 34. Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Northbrook in the same sense.—Sir A. Lyell : *Life of Dufferin*, ch. 11.

the need for social as for political progress, but after the interview with Lord Dufferin, who emphasized the want of a "responsible organisation through which government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public opinion," something like the parliamentary opposition under the English constitution, it was finally determined to limit the gathering as such to political questions. The first Indian National Congress met at Bombay on the 28th December in the hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal institution, which was then a Sanskrit Pathshala, it met annually thereafter, going the round of the provinces in succession, soon established itself as the central body giving responsible expression to the deliberate views of Indian nationalists on questions relating to the political interests of the people, and maintained its authority until Indian nationalism itself split into two.

Constitutional nationalists stood forth as an organised party from 1885, possessing undoubted influence all over the country, although opinions might vary as to the quality, range, and depth of their influence at any time and place. The party produced a series of respected leaders in every province, who entered the legislative councils from 1893, it was mainly from their ranks that Indian members of the executive councils were chosen from 1909 onwards, and of the first ministers appointed under the Act of 1919, all who inspire confidence because of their past record as public men, have had their training under the flag of constitutionalists. In these ranks of Indian nationalists as a whole, a small band of nationalists irreconcilably opposed to British domination in India might be said to have become clearly distinguishable from September 1897 when B. G. Tilak was sentenced for sedition. And they might be taken to have become irreconcilably opposed not only to British domination but also to constitutional nationalists from the moment that a Maratha shoe was pitch at the

dais in the French Garden, Surat,[4] hitting Surendra Nath Banerji or Pherozeshah Mehta or both on the 27th December 1907. The two sections came together, it is true, on congress platforms at a subsequent date, but the alliance had little warmth and was of short duration. The fact is that the two types differ from each other by temperament. If constitutional agitation goes on for a period without producing ostensible result, the younger men at least begin to lose patience and faith, and if the period of suspensei prolonged still further, there can be only one end. This is especially the case if the power in possession from whom reforms are sought happens to be a foreign state; and the greater the gulf between ruler and subject, the greater the chances of nationalism becoming irreconcilable. What the poet has said about love applies with greater force to such political situations. In the minds of the subjects of a "bureaucracy, despotic, alien, and absentee, worse even than the Russian,"[5]

> Faith and unfaith can never be equal powers :
> Unfaith in aught is want of faith in all.

Under what circumstances, however, is simple trustfulness, or its opposite, a blind distrust, quite justifiable either in the autocracy, or in the subject masses, or in that *tertium quid*, our own impatient reforming selves? No one need answer such a question except for himself, for no one is going to act upon another's answer about it on any account. Looking at the matter in a slightly pifferent way, each party charged the other with trusting the ruler too much and the people too little, or *vice versa* trusting the people too much and the ruler too little.

---

4. On the occasion of the 23rd I. N. Congress which could not mee at all that year, being thus broken up in humiliating disorder within a few minutes of the election of the President.

5. The words in inverted commas fairly render what Tilak himself told H. W. Nevinson, even when his object was to convince N. that there was little difference except in methods between his party and the 'moderates'. *New Spirit*, pp. 71-77.

Each party charged the other with overlooking the natural primary effects of its own actions and the equally natural further effects flowing out of the primary consequences. Nor, again, could either party quite see the other's patriotism, courage, statesmanship, sacrifices, and sufferings. As said above the differences between the two were temperamental, and it was not at all in the power of argumentation, or mutual sympathisers, or round table conferences to remove them.

The irreconcilables came later on the scene than the constitutionalists, but when once established in the country as a living type, they grew faster. There were several reasons for this. The parliamentary machine proved unbearably dilatory. What a statesman of Lord Dufferin's standing had earnestly recommended in 1886 and 1888 [6] could not be granted until 1893 and 1896, and the disallowance of direct representation though making little difference in effect, deprived the gift of all its grace. Secondly, the number of Indians going to England for higher studies had been increasing fast, these England-returned young men naturally had an influence in moulding Indian political thought out of all proportion to their numbers, and their discontent was as keen as their impatience was great for higher posts for themselves and freer institutions for the country. A third and much larger body of irreconcilables, with feelings rising to definite hostility, was regularly manufactured by British Colonies like South Africa. The root of the poison is their All-

---

6. Lyell: *Life*, ch 13. The first minute recorded his own views, the second those of the Governor General in Council. Representation, at least for the provincial legislatures was recommended. As to throwing more of the higher appointments open to Indians, the concessions drawn up by the Aitchison Commission were thought too liberal by the Secretary of State and were whittled down, nor were they acted upon till 1896.

White policy[7]. And the virulence of the poison is heightened by the methods they employ in carrying out that policy. For long decades Indian coolies pedlars and traders were mere coolies pedlars and traders, devoid of a political sense. Sufference was the badge of their tribe. Their inherited attitude towards constituted authority was meekness and resignation until soul and body could not stand more and parted company. Their heart and imagination were caught hold of even while they were mere children, and the entire wealth of their nature was gradually gently but persistently and most effectively directed through all the senses and by means of every faculty towards—God! That is Hindu religion; that has been the main strand of Indian culture through the ages. Then the nineteenth century dawned. The modern school, the hospital, the railway station, cities like Bombay, sprang up. The outer world rushed in upon India. The ocean breeze blew, saline and stimulating, and new life stirred the primeval forest. The building up of a secular civilization began. Nationalism was born. The cooli, the pedlar, the trader were no longer the same individuals as their fathers or even as their elder brothers. Constitutionalism was tried for a space. A South African India Congress met at Durban and other places. There were deputations to England and monster petitions. Did it do any good? None. On the contrary, the situation grew steadily worse. For the same spirit of nationalism that was transforming the Indian had in the meanwhile developed in those lands the All-White policy as the only possible ideal to claim the whole-hearted allegiance of the white settlers there, who monopolised all political and military power, and had no scruples at all about using

7. The Union of South Africa has a population of nearly 6 millions only a million and a quarter being Whites. In Rhodhesia there are only 30000 Whites in a population of a million and three-quarters. The Union means a territory of 473000 and Rhodhesia, 439000 sq. miles.

it to give progressive substantiation to their ideal. That all power is a trust and worthy of respect as an emanation of the Divine only in so far as it is honestly used as a trust, is a doctrine these colonists, still in their wild and arrogant youth, do not seem even to have heard of. Thus it is that flint has struck steel, and the red spark of racial hate has been ignited.

B. G. Tilak and others became irreconcilables through the native process of their own minds. Their acts and newspapers, their successes and misfortunes spread their politics and won them adherents to a certain extent. But it should not be forgotten as it often is that the whole body of irreconcilables in India did not spring up from this single root. As we have just seen, the England-returned and especially the Indians returning from the colonies with their bitter experiences, supplied large numbers of independent recruits to the party. And, to complete our analysis, it must be added that the party gained still another contingent through the repressive measures of the state. To suffer worldly ruin, severe punishment, indignity still more difficult to bear, to be told on the top of it all that it was done for the good of the state, and yet to bear no ill-will in return, is not given to ordinary mortals. Most of these men, and many others influenced by them, must go to swell the ranks of the irreconcilables. This should not be taken to mean that all repression is wrong. Repression when necessary is right. To shrink from repression even when necessary is wrong. Murderers must be punished according to the law. Conspiracies and treasonable associations must not only be broken up but also prevented from springing up as far as possible. Bold *budmashes* seeking to terrorise policemen and judges and establish a reign of fear in villages and districts must be hunted down almost like beasts of prey. The spread of topsy-turvy sentiment and doctrine must be restrained just like the dissemination of obscenity,

These and similar powers of the state, however, rest principally upon the willing and hearty consensus of the vast majority of intelligent subjects. And such a consensus behind it is what a foreign autocracy generally lacks, especially after nationalism has become widespread among its subjects. 'Force rules the world', said a great French thinker, 'only until Right is ready to undertake the duty'. Autocracy is tolerated only until a community develops political consciousness. An autocracy should take the spread amongst its subjects of an active spirit of nationalism[8] as a notice to submit to a radical transformation of its nature. A foreign autocracy should do so not less but all the more promptly, since it has fewer bonds of sympathy and understanding with the population. To do otherwise is not statemanship.

To pass on to the genesis of the third variety of nationalists. Lord Elgin's viceroyalty was a period of war, widespread famine, and plague—indescribably terrible then in its first outburst. Economic unrest had spread far and wide. The continuous fall in silver had placed the state finances in danger, and among the remedies applied was an excise duty upon cotton goods woven in Indian mills,[9] at the dictation and in the interests of the English cotton industry. Lord Curzon's viceroyalty succeeded, a period during which anti-government feeling

8. Whether this is really the case at a particular time in any community is a question of fact, to be carefully and impartially gone into by competent men strictly as a question of fact, and by the application of tests capable of yielding measurable results. Assertions on the subject, demagogic and journalistic, ought not to count at all. And it is a complex question about which even amongst competent judges with all the evidence before them, there would be plenty of room for an honest difference of opinion.

9. R. C. Dutta calls the Cotton Duties Act, 1896, "an instance of fiscal injustice unexampled in any civilised country in modern times." *Victorian Age*, pp. 538–44, see pp. 292–93 *ante*. Has any one ever told Lancashire, I wonder, that the policy it has pursued has contributed its bit towards breeding irreconcilables and potential anarchists in India?

attained a volume a breadth and a height unheard of in India experience. In Bengal in particular all classes combined together in a passionate opposition to the Curzonian partition. The mother-country—the geographical surface—became for the first time in Bengali thought the material sheath of Kāli (काली) the Mother, Bankim Chandra's rugged song in the *Ananda Math* (आनन्द मठ) was discovered to have mystical charms and transcendent beauties, and Bande Mātaram (वन्दे मातरम्), the refrain,[10] was soon on Bengali lips, young and old, in every tone and key, at all hours of the day and night. As ill-luck would have it, it so happened that there was a small number of Indians—a few men and at least one woman—who had long been planning and plotting to tempt Indians away from honour and manliness and all that we generally hold most dear and sacred. So far they had been beating the air. But now they saw their opportunity and seized it. The Curzonian partition was promulgated on the 19th July 1905[11] that most unpopular measure on the top of a long succession of unpopular measures and galling utterances. The India Home Rule Society was started in London in January 1905, the *Indian Sociologist* began to appear, lectureships and travelling scholarships were founded to draw promising youths from India to England, and the *India House* in London was in full working order by 1906. The wily spiders spread the net, enticed the flies inside, injected the necessary poison into them, and confidently left the rest to the workings of adolescent human nature. If any one wants an example of true blue diabolicality in Indian

10 The most musical rendering of the song I ever heard was from two Bengalis singing it together on a memorable day a little before sunrise at the French Garden, Surat, in the *pandal* of the Congress, that only a few hours later, was given the sack—or the shoe rather!—by the Maharashtra delegates from Bombay, C P., and Berar. I suppose it was the hour and the place which blended the liquid cadence, for my ear, into notes of a never-to-be-forgotten harmony.

11 L. Fraser: *India under Curzon*, p. 382.

history, here is one. From the point of view of the objects aimed at, examine the choice of time, the choice of place, the means, the methods, how little was the trouble, after all, to the arch-plotters themselves, and yet, how thundering the results. The *Jugantar* began to appear soon after the *Indian Sociologist*, and the Maniktola home was started about a year after the *India House*. The Muzaffarpur outrage was committed on the 30th April 1908 and the first capture of a band of anarchists took place on the 2nd May. Other bands came into existence in various places and committed other crimes. The story need not be given here even in outline. But it ought to be known far more widely and far better than it is. Its significance need not be exaggerated; but it should not be underestimated either. The tabular statements and charts in the Sedition Committee Report (1918) show the main facts at a glance.

W. S. Blunt: India under Ripon.
Sir W. Wedderburn: A. O. Hume.
A. C. Muzumdar: Indian National Evolution.
Tilak-v.—Chirol and another, 2 vols.
Sedition Committee Report 1918.

§ 61 *Demands, Administrative to Radical.* The political rights demanded and the changes in the constitution desired went on increasing as the spirit of nationality inspired larger numbers and grew in intensity and earnestness. It must be noted at once that in this respect the anarchists contributed nothing to the development of political thought in India. They were purely negative and destructive. Drawing their inspiration so largely from the extreme offshoots of European socialism, and from some of the master-minds (like Mazzini and Kossuth) of the oppressed nationalities of Europe, they yet omitted to adumbrate for India, even in the sketchiest manner, anything corresponding to those visions of the future, in which the literature of socialism and nationalism abounds. All they had to say to English rule and Englishmen in

India was limited to the single word—Begone! Their sole precept to the Indian was—Kill! All they sought to bring about was the violent death of the Present by assassination, butchery, and terrorism. What the Future would be after such ending of the Present, these outlaws never cared.[1] That, however, was not the case with the other nationalists. They knew the backwardness and heterogeneity of the Indian population, they were fully aware of the might and resources of the Empire and of their own government, they were sincerely convinced that it was doing good work in India which no other agency could undertake, they were scrupulously careful not to suggest anything that might be interpreted as dangerous or as a leap into the dark. They were, if anything, obsessed with a sense of the enormous responsibilities facing them. They proceeded most cautiously and deliberately, suggesting administrative, fiscal, legal, and constitutional reforms, not in vague generalities but in the shape of detailed and concrete proposals, and if they erred at all, it was an error on the safe side, expecting too much from inquiries and commissions and sweet resonableness trusting with a faith touching to behold, to the manifest justice of their cause. It was only after years of pegging away in this manner at their self-imposed task that they were convinced of the futility of this method of piecemeal reforms and advanced to bolder strategy. Should they not have done so from the first? It seems to me that the better informed view would justify the course they actually adopted, holding that they could at the time and with their resources have adopted no other. A demand for Reform rather than reforms, for radical change instead of administrative improvements, would almost certainly

1. Perhaps this one trait is sufficient by itself to show how raw and irresponsible Indian anarchism was even when some of its crimes revealed such baffling capacity for subterranean plotting.

have started repression by the executive at an earlier date, and the capacity to face repression like men and yet keep the flag flying is a plant of slow growth. What the condition of India really was when the Indian National Congress was launched should always be borne in mind. To mention only one or two characteristic little facts. In those days every one who passed the Collector's bungalow, stopped a minute, doffed his shoes, made a salaam—to the spirit of the place!—and only then resumed his shoes and proceeded on his way. In those days a memsahib had still merely to order her khansama to take a man along with him to the magistrate, the man might be a servant, or a pedlar, or a beggar, or a passer-by, and the magistrate would instantly have administered to the poor fellow a few cuts of the whip—to maintain the Rāj and its prestige! In those days[2]—but enough. One of the greatest difficulties a historian of modern India has to face is the rapidity with which "those days" have been changing, decade by decade ever since 1818.

Those days passed. The Congress itself contributed not a little to a wide diffusion of political consciousness, and to the creation of hundreds of men, year by year, who began looking into political matters much more closely, until it became a habit, convictions were formed and circulated, and a public opinion arose resting upon a wider and more solid consensus than before. The men who launched the Congress gave place to their successors. And the disappointing Indian Councils Act, 1892, the refusal of the executive to give effect to H. Paul's resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations passed by the Commons in 1893, and the imposition of the excise on cotton goods manufactured by Indian mills in 1896, created a change of attitude in India towards British rule; a change further

2. For an example of how a pensioner retiring from a high position incurring the displeasure of local officials, was ruined by them in those days, see W. S. Blunt: *India under Ripon*, p. 43.

accentuated by the repression that followed. The influence of three extraneous thought currents has also to be taken into consideration. The Jingoism of middle class English thought starting from about 1875 continued, as has been mentioned in an earlier chapter, upto the outbreak of the war against the Boers in South Africa. The increasing determination of the colonists to reduce the Indians settled in their midst to the position of depressed classes by hook or by crook, to prevent further immigration, and to de-naturalise, so to say, and even to expatriate those who had already won a secure position as property owners and as citizens, by drastic legislation administered still more drastically, has also been commented upon. M. K. Gandhi's non-violent but adamantine opposition to one of the most iniquitous manifestations of this policy, naturally attracted the attention of the whole civilised world, as a phenomenon quite as remarkable in its way as the wonderfully rapid modernisation of Japan, especially with respect to the efficiency of her army and navy, and still more naturally excited high and bitter feeling in India itself. And, lastly, there were the world effects on the mentality of all non-European countries from China to Morocco, countries subjugated and exploited more or less by European powers and threatened with still further progressive degradation, effects necessarily produced by the resounding victories of Japan on sea and land in her war of defence against the unscrupulous and unlimited aggression of Russia. It is perfectly true that the war was like a contest between an elephant and a leopard. The elephant could not put forth all his force and weight into a blow until he had first receded a few steps to start again and develop the necessary momentum. The retreat, too, was effected methodically and without serious loss. And he was at length ready for his start, with the long railway line behind him in proper trim, and an army of over nine lakhs ready at the front, with all the stores

and reinforcements necessary to feed it also ready to reach the front in a regular flow. It is no less true that Japan was already at her last gasp at least financially. But in the meanwhile she had reduced Port Arthur by prodigies of valour, her armies had gone on advancing mile by mile, and when the Russian fleet reached the scene of operations it was sent to the bottom of the Yellow Sea in a twinkling. Hence, although Russia gave no indemnity and lost no territory, the peace was quite naturally looked upon all over the world as an unequivocal victory for Japan, and especially by all non-European countries.

Lord Curzon left India in November. The partition was given effect to in October 1905, the liberals came into power with John Morley as Secretary of State for India in December, and at the Congress held at Benares at the end of the month, G. K. Gokhle as president observed—

"The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interest of the Indians themselves, and that, in course of time, a form of government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire." [3]

To appreciate the nature of the advance, we have only to contrast the above with the objects of the Congress as we find them in the Rules of the Congress Constitution, adopted at the fifteenth sessions (1899):—

---

3. *Speeches*, p. 829. Gokhle had been in England earlier during the year and the announcement of this as the 'goal' was deliberately decided upon in consultation with the elder congress leaders in England and also, probably, in India. See Dadabhai Naoroji's message to the Benares Congress, especially the following passages :—"We are now on the eve of our arriving of age, and we have to make a new start forward.... The work of the Congress in India and England has developed a clear and most urgent aim, viz. self-government like that of the Colonies, in the way most suitable to the peculiar circumstances of India.... The tide is with us. All Asia is waking up. The Isles of the East (Japan) have made the start."

"The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interests and the well-being of the people of the Indian Empire." [3]

And to do full justice to the Congress leaders, their motives and their calculations, in deciding upon this bold step at this juncture, we might look at a historical analogy. "Shivaji and his ministers," says the historian,—

"had long felt the practical disadvantages of his not being a crowned king...Theoretically, Shivaji's position was that of a subjeet; to the Mogul Emperor he was a mere zamindar; to Adil Shah he was the rebel son of a jagirdar...He could sign no treaty, grant no land with legal validity, his conquests could not become his lawful property...The people under his sway could not be free from their allegiance to the former sovereign, nor could he claim their loyalty and devotion...His rise had created much jealousy among the other Maratha sardars who refused to adhere to him as his servants...There was also, in the higher minds, the desire to see the Hindu race elevated to the full stature of political growth by the formal assertion of his position as an indepen" dent king. They longed for the Hindu *Swarajya* (स्वराज्य) and that implied a Hindu *chhatrapati* छत्रपति."[4]

Lastly, Shivaji and his ministers also chose the moment of coronation with the greatest circumspection. With all this in mind, turn now to the present day. Indians were being defrauded of their rights in the colonies; and the determination was avowed and was being given effect to of reducing them to the status of helots and pariahs. The argument put forward was, how could Indians claim to be citizens in those lands when they were merely subjects of an autocracy in their own? Secondly, public opinion in India, however strong and unani mous, could not get the Government of India to move in the matter as

---

3. Of course in the rapidly growing volume of Congress oratory, there were passages here and there of earlier dates pointing to this goal, e. g. Surendra Nath Bannerji's speech as president at Poona, 1895. But these were at those earlier dates, little more than flowers of rhetoric. With Gokhle began from 1905 the claim that this was the minimum, that this much at least was indubitably due to India in her own right.

4. J. Sarkar; *Shivaji*, ch 9 § 1 condensed.

the champion of Indians. The Government of India took no mandates from the people, its sole duty was obedience to the British Ministry and parliament. Thirdly, the Civil Service here, who under any rational and civilised form of government, ought to be mere servants, lorded it over the people with a high hand, and Lord Curzon's government asserted their continued adherence to the principles the Stracheys and the Stephens had proclaimed a generation earlier, the only difference being that they were now even more vehement and exclusive about it than their predecessors. "To me", said his rhetorical lordship, "the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom." To have allowed these vainglorious and unjust claims of the colonist and the civilian to become permanent facts, would have meant the death of India. They had to be fought tooth and nail. And just then hope dawned on the horizon. The Curzonian regime came to an end, the Jingo regime, too, came to an end in England, the liberals came into power with an overwhelming majority, and John Morley became the Secretary of State for India. Now or never, thought the Congress leaders. They proclaimed their goal, and sent Gokhle to England as their delegate. The following Congress at Calcutta clenched the matter. Dadabhai Naoroji as president spoke principally of "self-government or swarajya for India, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies," and the congress resolved that

"The system of government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies should be extended to India, and urged that as steps leading to it, (a) simultaneous examinations for all higher appointments in India as well as in England, (b) the adequate representation of Indians in the India Council and in the executive councils of the Viceroy and Governors, (c) an expansion of the legislatures with the addition of a large number of truly effective representatives of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration, and (d) the freedom of local and municipal bodies from official control with an increase of their powers, should be introduced immediately."

Dadabhai Naoroji also appealed for union between Hindus and Muhammadans. Education had been advancing amongst the latter and the younger men were becoming nationalists in increasing numbers. At some of the Congresses held in the U. P. the Muhammadan delegates were more than a third of the total. And Muhammadan journalism as it grew up leaned more and more to the policy and methods of the Hindu nationalist organs. This tendency was already causing some disquiet to the older generation of Muhammadan leaders, who still clung to the policy initiated by Sir Syed Ahmed of keeping the community a distinct and organised force as between the rulers and the Hindus. They wanted to do something that might recast the above policy in such a way as to bring it uptodate and enable it to continue its hold upon their brethren as in the past. English liberalism, moreover, had never been able to cast its spell over Muhammadan thought to any extent. To them its philosophy was anti-religious and socially anarchical and its world-politics anti-Turk i. e. anti-Muhammadan. Hence, although its humanitarian democratic pacific and progressive character appealed to the best minds among them, the community as a whole entertained towards it a feeling of distrust amounting to fear. Thus, when the Indian National Congress set before itself the goal of acquiring for India a form of self-government within the empire analogous to that of the British colonies, they thought that this would mean a predominantly Hindu government, unless they acted at once to safeguard their own special rights and position. And as they realised how strong the new Liberal ministry was and how powerful and influential were the radical and labour contingents in the new house of commons, they foresaw that the next Viceroy would in all probability be a doctrinaire Liberal, a modernised edition of Lord Ripon without his piety and with greater driving power, and they decided to act at once so as to

win over the Government of India at least to their side, while Lord Minto was still at the helm. Thus arose the historical Muhammadan deputation with H. H. the Aga-Khan at its head, which waited upon the Viceroy on the 1st October 1906, showed how the legislatures, municipalities and local boards had not till then afforded to their community a representation, either by election or by nomination, in proportion to its numbers or political and historical importance, and urged that no system of representation, however devised, would do so, unless a certain number of seats were specially assigned to them on each elected body, and communal electorates formed to return that number.[5] The Government of India admitted the facts, accepted their claims, and assured them of their support. Such was the origin of communal representation for Muhammadans in the regulations under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, and under the Government of India Act, 1919, the application of the principle had to be extended to some other communities also, in spite of the very strong objections to it noted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.[6]

The Muhammadans also created an all-India political organisation of their community, which began to meet annually from 1906 under the name of the Moslem League.[7] And, just like the Indian National Congress, it soon had a branch of it or committee in England. For some years their energies were mainly directed towards educational advancement, and during this first phase of its history the

---

5 See the Address, H. H. the Aga Khan's speech, Lord Minto's speech in reply, the Govt. of India's despatch to the S. S., No. 21, 1-10-1908, paras 18-21 (*Mukharji* I pp. 283-7), &c. Morley strongly disapproved, but had to accept it as an integral part of the reform scheme. *Recollections*, II 315, 325, &c.

6 Paras 227-32.

7. For a very brief account of earlier Muhammadan gatherings and associations, see Ramsay Macdonald : *Awakening of India*, p 176.

movement received considerable support and encouragement from officials and the Government. But one of the first demands thus developed was for the elevation of the Aligarh College into a Moslem University, and by 1912 the differences between the Government and the Muhammadans in the views each held on the subject of the proper constitution of such a university became acute. The project had to be dropped for the moment, with the consequence that the members of the league found themselves really forming three distinct sections, a right, a centre, and a left, of which the central group, by far the most numerous and influential, began to lean more and more towards the Indian National Congress. That body had welcomed Lord Morley's proposals with "deep and general satisfaction" in 1908 as a "large and liberal instalment of reform," [8] but had discovered reason to change its opinion as soon as the regulations under the Act were published. Sir William Wedderburn came out from England to preside over the next Congress at Allahabad, and brought about, immediately after, a "conciliation conference" between Hindu and Muhammadan leaders, where the initial steps were taken to induce a gradual rapproachment between the two communities all over India. In order that such a conference could be held at all, H. H the Aga Khan had abridged the sessions of the Moslem League at Nagpur and brought over about forty leading Muhammadans with himself to Allahabad.[9] The conversion of the League to Congress ideals was quickened by Asian and European events such as the misfortunes of

---

8. II Resoltn. of the Madras Congress, 1908; IV—VII Resns. of the Lahore Congress, and the speech of the President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 1909. See also a brief discussion of the matter—*Report I. C. R.*, paras 90-101.

9. For the captions originally proposed for discussion and amicable settlement, see the newspaper *India*, February 3, 1911.

Persia and Turkey. From 1915 [10] onwards the League began to assemble at the same place as the Congress and to fraternise with it, and at the Congress and League sessions of 1916 at Lucknow the question of the proportional representation of Hindus and Muhammadans on elected bodies in every province and in the central government was settled once for all by mutual agreement.[11]

Mrs. Annie Besant: How India wrought for Freedom.

Sir V. Lovett: History of the Indian Nationalist Movement.

§ *62* *The Great War* had in the meanwhile broken out on August 4th, 1914. India saw at once that it was no ordinary war, but a struggle for life and death against a determined foe of marvellous strength, where honour and freedom were at stake. Lord Hardinge consulted leaders all over India, and convinced that raja and ryot, Hindu and Moslem, were alike heirs to an ancient culture that scorned the very idea of seizing the moment of England's peril for India's advantage, and that the one regret of every educated young man was that he had no military training,[1] sent away immediately to the various fronts as many English and Indian soldiers, with as much of the

---

10. The League did not meet at all in 1914.

11. The proportion of elected Muhammadan to elected Indian members was to be :—the Punjab, one-half; Bengal, 40%; Bombay, one-third; U. P., 30%; Behar, 25%; Madras and C. P., 15%; and it was also agreed that Muhammadan voters were to vote only through their special electorates.

1 See Bhupendra Nath Basu's address as Congress president, 1914; his pamphlet "Why India is heart and soul with England?"; the verses—good evidence even when indifferent as verses—of many writers, from William Watson and Nawab Nizamat Jung Bahadur downwards, some of which will be found in the numbers of the newspaper *India* from September 1914 to the end of the War; the relevant resolutions of the legislatures and of the Congress and the League from 1914 onwards; the proceedings of the meetings and conferences convened for special war efforts, &c.

artillery, arms and ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, as could possibly be spared. This help of inestimable value was rendered doubly valuable by being rendered in the nick of time, and it was followed up throughout the war by coolies, non-combatants of all grades, grain and various supplies, as well as soldiers being steadily forwarded wherever wanted in generous quantities at a considerable sacrifice direct and indirect to India herself. The full tale of all that India did and suffered for the Empire during and because of the War can never be told. When in the next generation some painstaking German historian writes the story of the War in detail, it is not at all unlikely that he might attribute his country's defeat mainly to the fact that England and her allies had the unlimited man-power and resources of India to draw upon. Even if we confine ourselves to the single item of the number of Indians who enlisted and went to the front to do their bit, we find that the total goes up to nearly seventeen lakhs, out of whom over sixty thousand were killed, eleven thousand became prisoners, seventy thousand were wounded, and eleven won the Victoria Cross. For the first few weeks England paused with bated breath to see how India would act at this crisis of her fate; knowing that the foe must have left no subterranean tricks untried to create complications, confusion and revolt amongst these ignorant, suffering and alien masses. When, however, all doubt on the subject vanished, her joy and gratitude found expression in a unanimous shout,—"well done, worthy comrade!" How long this mood lasted it is impossible to say. Whether it ever affected the men who ruled the British army from Lord Kitchener downwards, it is impossible to say for certain. What is certain is that even if the heads of the army in India itself gave way to the generous impulse at all, it was only for a moment. They reverted pretty quickly to their settled policy of keeping India, the real India, as unarmed, untrained, and

unfit in a military sense as ever. As Colonel Wedgewood says,

"Military bosses saw to it that those who could have come, voluntarily and knowing the issue, were not allowed to bear arms. Most of those who came were pressed, and the less said about it the better. They knew how to die; but they did not die for India or for a free Commonwealth. With them it was Fate, and they met Fate with serene eyes, as Indians have for five thousand years. What could not India have done as a race of freemen! We pulled through without the real India."[2]

Distrust like this at such a juncture who could fail to read? Who could fail to feel it as a stigma altogether undeserved? And two other factors have also to be noted. The struggle proved to be of such a character that the Allied Powers were obliged to represent it as a struggle for the preservation of freedom and civilisation all over the world; they spoke as the disinterested and dedicated champions of right, freedom, and culture, promised in the most solemn manner that they would at the peace respect the sacred right of self-determination inherent in every nation, at least every progressive nation, even the weakest and the smallest, and went so far as to proclaim that even the most backward and uncivilised people, when handed over to any one of them in the redistribution of the world, would be ruled scrupulously in their own genuine interests, as a trust from humanity, and periodical accounts would be rendered to some impartial international authority like a League of Nations. The resources of modern organisation were strained to the uttermost to spread this propaganda throughout the world. The founders of new faiths have invariably said, "Come to me, all and each, that might be in distress, bodily or mental. Come to me, I bring nectar from the skies: partake of it and be healed." These Allied Pow-

2. *Future of the Indo-British Commonwealth*, p 18.

ers similarly assumed the prophetic role, and said to the nations, "Come to us, help us only to chain this 'drunken demon' who is out to smash up the world; can't you see we have undertaken the job for the good of the world; as soon as we have accomplished it, every one of you will have the freedom your heart desires; come to us." And the exceptional distinction of the years of storm and stress through which the world has passed is just this, that the young middle-class citizen of the civilised world before whom this vision of a new order was spread, honestly believed in it, flocked to the flag of humanity and freedom in hundreds of thousands, and the war was won. It was for this that the young voter of modern democracies rushed to arms, it was for this that one out of every ten who did so laid down his life. There is no parallel in recorded history to a human sacrifice (यज्ञ) on such a scale. There must spring up from it more political freedom in the world than ever before, or else all human life and history is vanity of vanities. But political freedom, of course, is only for those who can rear it and nourish it and guard it for themselves.

The other factor was the new claim advanced by the Colonies to share the direction and control of the foreign policy of the Empire along with England as equal partners. Like the rest of the world they had seen as soon as the war broke out that it was a life and death struggle, and like every other part of the Empire they rushed to arms and strove to throw all their weight into the contest. But they pointed out at the same time that the foreign policy of a state and such decisions of peace and war and alliances as it involved were without exception the most momentous decisions a state could be called upon to face, and their political freedom and status were seriously in defect until England took them into her counsels and deliberations on these matters as sister nations. The

sovereign executive and legislature of the Empire which took these decisions were to be responsible to them no less than to the people of the United Kingdom, otherwise their political freedom, however complete in their own internal affairs, was an organism of a lower order altogether, standing to the absolute self-existent (स्वयंभू) freedom of the full-grown state as does a mere man to a god (देव). English opinion had to a slight extent been prepared for such a demand for a more closely knit organisation of the Empire from the time of Queen Victoria's Jubilee onwards, through periodical conferences between English and colonial statesmen.[3] Vague ideas which had thus been in a process of haphazard growth, the emotional shock of the Great War nourished into a sudden vigour, the colonial demand was warmly welcomed on all hands, a reorganisation of the constitution of the Empire leapt into prominence as an urgent problem to be handled as soon as the war was won, and English statesmen of the first rank, including Bonar Law, the colonial secretary, advised the Colonies in a public speech "to strike the iron while it was redhot." The only definite scheme in the field for such reorganisation was the one, published in 1916, by Mr. Lionel Curtis, one of the originators and leaders of the Round Table students, a small but active body of men assembled in groups in university centres and other places in all the colonies and in England, who had

---

3. Seelay's *Expansion of England* appeared and the Imperial Federation League was formed, 1883. The first Colonial Conference was held, 1887; the second, 1894; the third 1902; the next was the first "Imperial" Conference, 1907. The second, 1911, had the diplomatic and foreign situation (the Agadir incident) fully expounded by the Foreign Secretary of State in a secret session. These have been followed by the Imperial War Conferences and Cabinet meetings during the Great War, the Imperial Peace Conference, and the Imperial Conference this year. For a very brief account, see in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1921, J. A. R. Marriott: *Organisation of the Empire.*

for several years been examining this very problem in all its complexities.[4] Mr. Curtis's scheme was that imperial affairs should be separated from domestic, and while the latter were to be dealt with-as in each of the Dominions-by an executive and legislature responsible only to the United Kingdom, for the former a new Imperial executive and legislature must be created responsible to the five sister nations, the United Kingdom and the four self-governing colonies. This meant, however, that all the other parts of the Empire which had hitherto been subject to the United Kingdom alone, would, on the formation of this new supreme government for the empire, be subject to it instead. And it is not at all surprising that India, with the treatment it had received from the colonists, and the opinion it had formed about them, should protest against such a change in unmeasured terms.[5] It is due to Mr. Curtis to add that he himself was fully conscious of the unique position of India

---

4. On the grant of responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, Closer Union societies were formed in South Africa, 1906-7. On the accomplishment of the Union of South Africa, these were converted into Round Table societies, similar societies were formed in Canada, New Zealand, England, Australia, and Newfoundland, 1909-10, the problem of the reorganisation of the Empire was the subject they set before themselves to study co-operatively, and the quarterly organ, the *Round Table*, was started. Mr. Curtis published the *Problem of the Commonwealth* and the *Commonwealth of Nations*, 1916. He came to India in October.—*Dyarchy*, pp 38-90.

5. For instance here are a few sentences from the pen of a leader noted for the mildness of his nature and the habit he has cultivated of weighing every word. "The responsibility of ruling India will be accepted, Mr. Curtis assures us, as a high spiritual task; viz that of 'preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves'...This is the new humiliation that stares us in the face, if we do not make it clear betimes that we will not tolerate the pretensions of the Dominions...Patience is a difficult virtue to exercise when a certain set of people brand you as an inferior race, exclude you ruthlessly from their territory, and then coolly offer to administer your affairs and exploit your resources, adding at the same time that it is all for the purpose of teaching you how to govern yourselves." V. S. Srinivas Sastri: *Self Government for India under the British Flag* (1916), p 7.

in the Empire, soon after the publication of his book he came over here in person to study the problem of the commonwealth in its Indian aspect in all its complexities, and he lost little time in recasting his supreme Imperial organ of government so as to include India also within it as a responsible partner. The imperial legislature he now advocated was to be bi-cameral, representatives of the Indian Native States were to be members of the upper house, those of British India were to be members of the lower, and the imperial executive was to be drawn from both the houses.[6] But the fat was already in the fire, and not a few of our influential public men and journals lost their balance to such an extent as to imagine they had nothing more patriotic to do than to fan it into flame. Even the best-informed Indians wavered for a time and were full of anxiety. It was natural at such a crisis to forget how extremely deliberate England has invariably been in adopting fundamental changes in her constitution. Hardly any one knew till long after that whatever influence the Round Table organisation possessed would be exhausted with the initiation of a bill at the next Imperial Convention at the end of the War, or that that body itself was not at all unanimous about Mr. Curtis's scheme.[7] Nor could it then be foreseen that the whole influence of General Smuts and South Africa would, as the event has proved, be steadily and decisively cast into the opposite scale. Public excitement rose higher and was participated in by larger numbers during 1916 and 1917 than ever before, and all parties and sections of political opinion joined together to demand real and full self-government for India at the earliest possible moment, particularly in order that we might not become subject to a government in which the Colonies had a share. All the three factors thus briefly indicated have to be borne in mind to understand the policy pursued by the Indian

6 *Dyarchy*, p. 87.
7 *Dyarchy*, p. 45.

National Congress and the Moslem League on the one hand and the pressure thus brought to bear upon the policy of the Government of India on the other, during the fateful years ushered in by the German violation of Belgian neutrality at the beginning of August 1914.

The Moslem League and the Indian National Congress began to fraternise, as has been noted above, from their Bombay sessions, 1915. The president of the latter, Sir S. P. (later Lord) Sinha laid stress in his address on two cardinal demands. He quoted J. Chailley's observation that the motto of Elphinstone, Malcolm, and others was "India for the Indians," or the gradual preparation of India by suitable institutions and the increasing substitution of Indian for English agency for the gift of entire autonomy to the Indians, "but that is not the aim of England now. She ruled India and intends to go on ruling it...She will keep the command and direction of the vessel, and her government will remain as despotic as circumstances will permit."[8] And he urged that there ought to be an authentic and definite proclamation on the subject that could not possibly be evaded or misunderstood. And in the second place he specified the question of commissions for Indians in the army and of military training for the people as having become increasingly urgent, denying that there could be any true sense of citizenship under a system that did not place the responsibility of defending the country upon the people themselves. The only other event of 1915 that needed mention here was the Hon. Mr. Shafi's resolution in the imperial legislature on September 8th, asking for the direct representation of India at the next Imperial Conference. The demand received support from many quarters, English public opinion being still influenced by the warm feelings of gratitude naturally excited by the magnificent response of India and the in-

8. See *Administrative Problems of British India* pp 117–8.

valuable services of her army.[9] For instance, Dr. A. B. Keith said :—

"The Imperial Government in their general foreign policy must in future consider the views of India with as much care as they consider those of the Dominions. Their duty in either case is identical and must be carried out without favour to either. It is inevitable, therefore, that India should be allowed a voice in the Imperial Conference; it is indeed ludicrous to think that New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland are to be ranked as superior to the Empire of India; it is right, further, that that voice should be uttered by a representative of India other than the Secretary of State, and preferably by a member of the Indian race." [10]

Thus it was that S. P. Sinha and that rare product of the dreamy East and the pushful West, H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Bikaner, represented India at the Imperial Conferences and War Cabinets, and were the Indian signatories to a treaty of peace more historic than any since the momentous pacification that, packing Napoleon off to St. Helena, had rung the curtain down upon one act of the drama of humanity, to raise it very gradually upon the next.

---

9. It is not too much to say that the very first service rendered by the Indian army in the Great War was, comparatively and historically speaking, of the most inestimable value. The Indian army first took up its position on October 24th, 1914, between Generals Fulteney and Smith-Dorrien (Sir A. C. Doyle: *British Campaign, 1914* ch 7-10). Over three weeks followed of a terrific contest, including the first battle of Ypres. A German force over six lakhs strong had started to drive the British into the sea, reach Calais, and make it impossible for England to co operate further with the French on land in France and Belgium. The English never had even half the number to oppose this advance: the disparity in equipment was greater still. And yet the Germans could advance only five miles in a whole month, they lost over 25 % of the troops employed, and they fell back beaten. As Sir F. Younghusband said, in a paper at the Royal Colonial Institute (May 11, 1915), the seventy thousand troops from India were sent to the front while the Germans were making their tremendous lunge to reach Calais, and just at the moment when the British line there had become thinned to breaking-point; but for this Indian reinforcement, our brave little army would have been swept off the Continent. And the moral effect? Did the German know or find out then that he had only a fraction of the Indian army against him there?

10. *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*, p 588.

1916 witnessed (1) the foundation of Home Rule Leagues, (2) the Memorandum of nineteen Indian members of the Supreme legislature including five Muhammadans, which consisted of thirteen recommendations calculated to strengthen the legislatures and liberalise the administration, and (3) the adoption by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League of a fuller and more detailed scheme of reforms on the same principles.[11] These schemes if adopted, might have given us legislatures and executives as coordinate powers in theory, but in practice the executives would have become seriously weakened in a short time, and now and again "embittered and dangerous deadlock"[12] between the two would have arisen. It so happened, however, that the problem of meeting Indian aspirations half-way had, in the meanwhile, been taken up for serious consideration by Lord Hardinge's government,[13] probably soon after the death of Gokhle, and Lord Chelmsford, when he succeeded, continued the inquiries as energetically as the urgency of war preoccupations allowed. A competent body of Round Table students was also investigating the same problem independently in England.[14] Sir William Duke, a member of the India Council, was one of the number, and a novel idea suggested during the discussions—that the functions

---

11 For (3) see *Dyarchy*, pp. 90–95, and S. Sastri's pamphlet, *Self Govt. for India under the British Flag.*

12 *Report I. C. R.* para 167; see the whole of ch. 7, an elaborate criticism of the Congress-League scheme.

13 *Ibid* para 28; and H. H. the Aga Khan's letter to the *Times* (London), August 14, 1917, publishing Gokhle's Scheme. H. H. says he gave copies, soon after Gokhle's death (February 19, 1915) to Lord Hardinge, Lord Willingdon, and the Secretary of State. A comparison of Gokhle's scheme (*Speeches* 3rd edition, pp. 1025–9; all the other references to *Speeches* throughout this book are to the 2nd edition) with Mr. M. A. Jinnah's address as president at the Ahmadabad Provincial Conference and with the two schemes mentioned above shows at once that Gokhle's scheme leaked out in India in the course of 1916. Constructive faculty in the framing of constitutions is extremely rare.

14 *Dyarchy*, pp. XX–XXVII.

of government might be arranged in groups, one or more of which might be handed over to administrators responsible to legislatures which would themselves be responsible to the voters, while the other functions continued to be dealt with by members of the executive council, and that these and the new administrators together might form the new governing body under a head, unchanged in character,—was, early in 1916, by him embodied in a concrete and detailed form applicable to the presidency of Bengal. Lord Chelmsford obtained a copy of this in May 1916, and the subsequent visit of Mr. L. Curtis to India was doubtless availed of for a full discussion of the whole subject between him and members of Lord Chelmsford's government. Further delay in making a start towards the legislative introduction of this "dyarchy" as the only possible transitional form of constitution in the advance from autocracy to full responsible government, was due, perhaps, to the many calls, requiring immediate attention, of a world-wide war; but Sir James (later Lord) Meston's speech as Lieutenant Governor to the U. P. legislature on July 17, and Lord Islington's address at Oxford on the problems of Indian government three weeks later, heralded the actual announcement in the house of commons on Monday, the 20th of August. "The Government of India," read out the Secretary of State in answer to a question on the eve of the usual adjournment of parliament, "have for some time been urging that a statement should be made in regard to Indian policy...The policy of H. M.'s Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible... I would add that progress in this policy can only be achiev-

ed by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament." Mr. Montagu added that the Governor General had invited the Secretary of State to India in order that these proposals could be drawn up by both together in consultation with local governments, and the suggestions of representative bodies and others might also be fully examined on the spot and that His Majesty's Government had accordingly decided with H. M.'s approval that he was to proceed to India without delay.[15]

The next stage in the story was the Montagu-Chelmsford Report submitted to Government in June 1918. It covered the entire field from the manners of the individual Englishman in India to the self-restraint that parliament and public opinion in England itself would have to exercise more and more on Indian questions, as Indian electorates became more and more conscious of their own rights and made their legislators and administrators more responsible to themselves. Even the definite proposals it put forward were arranged under fourteen heads, and summarised in sixtynine paragraphs. Some of these recommended committees to examine special sections of the subject and formu-

15 He announced at the same time the decision of government that "the bar which had hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to commissioned rank in H. M.'s army should be removed," and that nine Indians belonging to the Native Indian Land Forces who had been recommended for the honour by the Government of India in recognition of their services in the field were accordingly to receive commissions.

late more definitely the changes, new arrangements or new relations required. A number of other proposals were modified in the course of the detailed examination of the Bill based upon them. The outstanding merit of the Report is its clear, close and statesmanlike interpretation of the announcement of policy of the twentieth August. It adhered religiously both to the spirit of that pledge and to the precise limitations attached to it. To begin at the bottom

"The individual," says the Report, "understands best the matters which concern him and of which he has experience; and he is likely to handle best the things which he understands. Our predecessors perceived this before us and placed such matters to some extent under popular control. Our aim should be to bring them entirely under such control. This brings us to our first formula:—There should be as far as possible complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control".

At the apex, on the other hand, no transfer of power could be made at the start. For one thing, India must be defended, and while this primary duty was entrusted to a British army of occupation and an Indian army of mercenaries—to use the word in a purely scientific way for the sake of accuracy, without detracting from the many merits of the brave troops or without meaning any offence—officered by Englishmen, and otherwise also deliberately kept seriously defective in training and equipment and influence in the country, and as deliberately diluted with wild and frontier tribes and clans who were only half-Indian in sentiment and could only furnish mere fighting machines and food for powder,—the British soldier and officer was necessarily the keystone of the arch. It is one of the fundamentals of modern political thought that the civil power must be supreme in a well-governed state. Can the supreme civil power in a self-governing India control such an army as exists today for the defence of India? Any one who thinks the matter out must see that while the present army lasts, the Government of India cannot be other than an agent of the British power, and that a fully self-

governing India cannot be created faster than a fully Indianised army and navy. Any one who holds different convictions lives in dreamland. This English army has got to be replaced by an Indian, the reduction of the one can only go on as fast as the creation of the other, and the two processes have to be dovetailed into each other and carried forward to completion as a single operation, presenting all along to the gaze of the world a single, solid, efficient army, strong and well-knit enough for any emergency.

"The responsibility for India's defence," says the Report, "is the ultimate burden which rests on the Government of India; and it is the last duty of all which can be committed to inexperienced or unskilful hands So long as India depends for her internal and external security upon the army and navy of the United Kingdom, the measure of self-determination which she enjoys must be inevitably limited. We cannot think that Parliament would consent to the employment of British arms in support of a policy over which it had no control and of which it might disapprove. The defence of India is an Imperial question; and for this reason the Government of India must retain both the power and the means of discharging its responsibilities for the defence of the country and to the Empire as a whole."

Hence the only constitutional changes proposed in the Government of India were: (1) more Indians in the Executive Council, and (2) a bi-cameral legislature with a larger elected proportion in the more numerous and popular house, in order that even while the legislature had little increase of power, it might as the organ of Indian public opinion exert a growing influence upon government in their deliberations. A detailed study of these proposals was unnecessary as the clauses of the Bill embodying them were radically improved by the Joint Select Committee. [16]

The most fundamental of the changes proposed related to the provinces. Hitherto these governments were, strictly speaking, merely administrations or agencies, and the majority, moreover, one-man agencies of the Simla-Dehli autocracy. Amongst the functions they discharged there

16. Compare Part II of the Bill as originally drafted and as amended by the Committee.

were a number "which afforded most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, which stood most in need of development, in which Indians had shown themselves keenly interested, and in which mistakes, though serious, would not be irremediable." The Report proposed to initiate the experiment of responsible government with reference to these functions. It was impossible to introduce responsibility to the people into a one-man system, hence all provinces in which the experiment was to be tried, were to have the council form of government. And the members of council placed in charge of the subjects just indicated, which were to be known as "transferred" subjects, were to be responsible—not to parliament and the Secretary of State and their agent the Government of India, but—to provincial legislatures mainly composed of representatives elected by constituencies to be formed on a wide or low franchise. With reference to these functions, the elected legislatures were to be the legally "sovereign" bodies, properly to be regarded as "parliaments," the members of council concerned were to be their responsible "executive," and the head of the province himself was to be, with reference to these functions, a strictly "constitutional" functionary, taking action or abstaining, according to the deliberate (and mostly recorded) decisions of his accredited counsellors, who were therefore, fully entitled to be called his "ministers." And the Report insisted, further, that the transfer from autocracy or dependence upon England to popular responsibility or self-government, must not only be introduced from the first on a substantial scale, but also that it should be steadily carried out as a continuous operation, more and more functions of the provincial government being so transferred at short intervals, until, within a measurable period of time, the same operation could also be undertaken with regard to the Government of India itself. Thus was the English autocracy to evolve by stages, and within a generation or so, into a fully self-governing Indian democracy within the

Empire, an equal partner of the world-wide Indo—British Commonwealth.

"Our conception of the eventual future of India," the Report concluded, "was a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States would preside a central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire."[17]

The Franchise and Functions Committees were appointed in October 1918 and reported in the following February: the Government of India submitted their own views along with such important documents as the Minute of five heads of provinces and the dissenting Minute of Sir Sankaran Nair, in April; Lord Crewe's committee examined another section of the field—the changes indicated as advisable by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in the powers and position of the Secretary of State, the composition and powers of the India Council, the working and organisation of the India office, and allied matters; and the first sketch of a new constitution to embody the departure of principle solemnly promised by the announcement of 1917 being thus prepared for all the parts of a complex structure, the Bill "to make further provision with respect to the Government of India" was introduced in the commons at the end of May, read a second time on June 5th, referred with the consent of the lords to a joint select committee of both, the commons appointing seven members

17 The best brief summary of the proposals of the report is to be found in Mr. Montagu's and Mr. Chamberlain's Indian Budget Debate speeches, 6-8-1918; see also Lord Islington's speech in the lords on the same date. For an independent summary with criticism, helpful because fully accepting the underlying principles, see *Round Table* viii pp 778–802.

on July 3rd, and the lords an equal number on July 7th, and the committee started work on July 10th, electing Lord Selborne as their chairman. They worked through the recess, completed the examination of witnesses—68 in number, including heads of provinces, members of council (the India Council, G. G.'s council, provincial councils), members of deputations who had come over to England to represent the views of the Congress, the League, the moderate party, the Home Rulers, the Anglo-Indians, the Christians, the non-Brahmans, the Indian suffragettes, and other organised interests and sections, and independent observers of eminence like H. H. the Aga Khan, Sir Michael Sadler, and Mr. Lionel Curtis—on the 15th October, spent another month over the Bill, threshing it out thoroughly clause by clause, and reported on November 17th, 1919. The result was commensurate with the labour. Lord Selborne claimed, a little later, with perfect justice, that in altering and adding to the original draft, the aim of his committee was "to remove all possible causes of friction, to remove all shams, to fix responsibility everywhere, and to leave the executive with real weapons to fulfil its responsibilities." Lord Sinha advanced, with equal justice, another claim for the Bill as it was finally fashioned by the Committee: "we expect mistakes," by the responsible provincial executives, legislatures, and their new political masters, the electorates; "but we claim that we have provided in this Bill every reasonable safeguard and every device possible to minimise the seriousness of their results." The Bill as thus recast by the Committee passed the Commons on December 5th, the Lords read it a second time the following week, passed it on December 18th, and this Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1919, received the royal assent five days later. Thus were the fetters of the Government of India Act, 1858, broken at length and flung over the shoulder into the gulf behind, out of which the pilgrim path winds forward and upward to the radiant shrine of Freedom. For the

key-word, unlocking the heart of the new Act, is not dyarchy, or step-by-step, but self-government. The dynasty of the I. C. S. members of council is over; the new line of Ministers dawns on the Indian horizon.

The birth of the new era was attended, however, by circumstances which unfortunately veiled its real nature more and more from the vast majority in this country. From the middle of 1918 onwards the Great War suddenly took a new turn. The enemy showed signs of exhaustion which multiplied rapidly. A month or two more and he collapsed. And with that a wave of extreme distrust passed through India. Fear usurped the throne in all minds, that under the altered circumstances parliament might listen much more to the services and the Anglo-Indians, and their representatives and friends in England, the Indo-British Association and the Chambers of Commerce, and very much less to their own pleas and representations. Other events also occurred, great and small, which were widely interpreted as signs justifying the initial distrust, and so increased it. The opinions of the provincial governments on the Reforms, the Minute of the five heads of provinces, the despatches of the Government of India itself, were followed by the far graver incidents of the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills into the Indian, and of the Asiatic Trading and Land Bill into the South African, legislatures. In April occurred that terrible chapter of events in the Punjab which defied description in measured terms; events which made it impossible for Sir Sankaran Nair to remain as a member of the Government of India and compelled Rabindranath Tagore to renounce his knighthood; events about which, later, even the Duke of Connaught could only say—"No one can deplore them more intensely than I do myself." Longcontinued and acute economic distress followed by actual famine in extensive areas, an influenza epidemic killing off over five millions in under five months, strikes in industrial areas, and the Afghan

War must be added to the tale; and the deeprooted feeling for the Khilafat and for Turkey and the sacred places of Islam, simmering in dumb and blind masses, until it shot up by the thousand to the bewildered gaze of the twentieth century the *muhajirin* emigrant, that mediaeval figure of pure tragedy. When eighteen thousand actually went across the border in this manner, it is easy to imagine how many more must also have been in the throes of a distressing mental storm for months, until finally in their cases the worldly anchors held. Take these influences together in their interactions and it is not too much to say that the stars in their courses appeared to have conspired for a time to convert all India to extremism with a vengeance. Large masses altogether innocent of politics had been lifted up to the level of interested spectators by the Great War, and movements like the Satyagraha campaign and the efforts of social and political workers to organise the millhands, postal peons, and other labourers, swelled the volume the din and the violence of agitation, and the wonder really is, not that extremist ideologues should have acquired unprecedented influence in Indian politics, or that milder natures like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should have been brushed aside for the moment, but that a small but resolute battalion of elderly Moderates succeeded, nevertheless, in keeping their own flag flying in Indian politics and journalism. They saw the possibility of the scheme being wrecked by its determined foes, in the course of the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee and during its passage through Parliament, unless the average M. P. could have before his eyes a body of influential and responsible Indians, actively supporting it and ready to work it fairly for all it was worth when finally adopted. And they acted accordingly. Thus was the new constitution of Indian self-government by progressive responsibility conceived during the throes of the Great War, the pledges and appeals of Woodrow

Wilson and Lloyd George, the ambitions of the Dominions, and the scientific inquiries and moral convictions of students like Sir William Duke, Lionel Curtis, and Professor Keith chalked out the line of advance, the magnificent services of the Indian soldier and the no less inestimable offerings of the Indian civilian tied the hands of people like Lord Curzon, statesmen like Chamberlain, Montague, Lord Selborne and Lord Crewe identified themselves with the reform and moulded it in detail, and while the Indian extremist convinced the average Englishman that delay or curtailment would lead straight to anarchy, the Indian moderate convinced him no less that the scheme actually proposed would be welcomed, loyally worked and actively pushed forward to its invitable goal—the well—being, freedom and elevation of one-fifth of the human race, through autonomous evolution.

Montague-Chelmsford: Report I. C. R.

Joint Select Committee: Report, with minutes of evidence.

Indian National Congress, Moderate and other Conferences: Reports, 1914—1919.

L. Curtis: Dyarchy.

Mukharji: The Indian Constitution, parts I and II.

India in 1919: India in 1920: annual official publications.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DAWN.

§ *63 The Changes* introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, are so thorough and farreaching as to amount to a revolution. In inaugurating the new central legislature on February 9th, 1921, Lord Chelmsford said,

History is a continuous process. In human affairs, as in nature, there are no absolute beginnings; and however great the changes that may be compressed in a few crowded years, they are to the eye of the historian the inevitable consequences of other changes sometimes but little noticed or understood at the time, which have preceded them....In the last analysis, the declaration of August 1917 is only the most recent and most memorable manifestation of a tendency that has been operative throughout British rule. But there are changes of degree so great as to be changes of kind and this is one of them."

It is true of course that the growing number influence and pressure of the Indian nationalists and the tendency to freedom and representative institutions inherent in English history, are quite sufficient as the remote or general causes, and the particular ideals and impatiences generated by, and the unprecedented services and sacrifices of India during, the Great War, as the immediate compelling causes, to account for the new departure and to indicate the root principles of its development. Still none can overlook the personal factor of that devoted indomitable potter at the wheel, E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India at this crisis in our history, permitting nothing whatever in the Three Worlds (लोक)—nothing however familiar or unusual—neither the Armistice nor the Punjab frightfulness, nor the inherent bias of the services, nor the still more inherent dilatoriness of the parliamentary machine—to slacken the motion of the wheel, his deft fingers incessantly moulding the wet earth brought up in lumps by his experts, his committees, and their witnesses, until the precious vase was ready in its final shape and articulate individuality for the furnace of actual experience. Montagu is beyond all question the father of the new era in India, and he is doubly lucky in having been able to obtain for his offspring the benediction of his great predecessor, Lord Morley.[1]

1 Lord Morley said, 25-7-1918, at the National Liberal Club, when Lady Beg performed the ceremony of unveiling his bust, presented by Indian admirers:—"He felt he could not be mistaken in tracing the lineaments of the parental physiognomy of 1909 in the progeny of 1918. He had been reproached for stating that he would not take part in a reform that might lead to an Indian parliament. He would like to know what was meant by a parliament. He did not know whether the outcome of the proposals now before the country would amount to a parliament, or what sort of a parliament it would be. Therefore that might well be postponed" (*India*, 2-8-1918).

And, moreover, it cannot be too emphatically asserted that the changes are not merely the natural development of a long antecedent process, but, in their depth and scope, do constitute a new era altogether; indeed, they initiate a political revolution as radical and noble as —and (of course) on a scale far greater than—that in 1869, which in a few decades created Modern Japan, or as that other revolution, with a longer period of gestation punctuated by wars, which gave Modern Italy to the world, a unified national constitutional monarchy.

In responsible government of the parliamentary type the centre of authority or the working sovereign, in all matters political, executive, and legislative, is the cabinet or ministry. Popular sovereignty in this type of constitution is the *de facto* sovereignty of ministers responsible to the electors. The institution grew up in England as the result of a long historical process; it has been imitated in many a country from France to New Zealand, with more or less success, developing some novel features in most of them; and it is this type of self-government which the Act of 1919 seeks to introduce here, as "the one" remaining blessing, "without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated."[2] The changes in the provincial executives and legislatures are thus fundamental features of the new constitution, on account of which arise the corresponding changes introduced in the other parts of the structure. Eight[3] of the provinces—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U. P., Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, C. P. and Berar, and Assam—now become Governments. Instead of depending upon the Government of India, they will now have their own loans, taxes, and budgets, and their money proposals, arising out of their annual budget statements, are to be submitted to the vote of their respective legislatures in the form of demands for grants, any of which or any of its component items, these legislatures might refuse or reduce in amount. [2-Cons 30 (1 a); 10 (3 a, b)—Cons 80 A (3 a, b);

2. Royal Proclamation, 23-12-1919. Mukharji: *English Constitution*, pp. 39-43, cites passages from some authoritative wrietrs on the growth of Responsible Government in the Dominions.

3. It has been decided to bring Burma also under the Act of 1919.

II (2, 3)—Cons 72 D (1-4)].[4] There are of course limitations to the exercise of these powers and checks upon it. And the spirit of impatience distrust and opposition is so rampant today that a great deal too much is made of this. The far more important fact undoubtedly is that these limitations and checks are, in letter as well as in spirit, exceptional in character and to be maintained only for a time, until the transition from the status of a conquered dependency subject to England to the higher one of a self-governing equal and friendly partner of the British Commonwealth is fully accomplished. The provincial legislatures set up under the Act are sovereign bodies *in posse*, although for a time they are requested to behave like an heir who is under age, the Governor in Council being placed in the position of a guardian. This period of transition cannot be indefinitely prolonged [41 —Cons 84 *A*]. Nor is the executive to behave during the transition as before, as an autocracy or the agent of an autocracy, but as a guardian holding himself ready to be relieved of his exceptional burden as soon as possible, and pledged in the meanwhile to discharge his duties strictly according to the provisions of the Act and under the eye of parliament, and so as to "further the purposes of the Act to the end that the institutions and methods of government therein provided shall be laid upon the best and surest foundations, that the people of the presidency (or province) shall acquire such habits of political action and respect such conventions as will best and soonest fit them for self-government."[5] *Fronti nulla fides*, once bit twice

4. The Act of 1919 (9 and 10 Geo. 5. ch 101) was so drafted as to become automatically merged in the Government of India Acts, 1915 and 1916 (5 and 6 Geo. 5, ch 61 and 6 and 7 Geo. 5, ch 37), which had consolidated all the earlier enactments. In fact, the digest which formed ch 3 of **Ilbert:** *Government of India* (first published 1898) had been prepared with a view to facilitate such consolidation. Thus this finally consolidated Act of 1915, 1916, and 1919, is the authoritative parliamentary enactment for our new constitution along with the rules and regulations under it. The references above are first to the section of the Act of 1919 and then to that of the consolidated Act, to which latter is prefixed the abbreviation-Cons.

5 Instructions to Heads of "governors' provinces", viz: the nine provinces enumerated above. A "governor's province" is defined, sec 3 (Cons 46). The only difference now remaining between presidencies and the rest of these provinces is that the heads of the latter, to be also appointed by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, "shall be appointed after consultation with the Governor-General." The salary of the head of the U. P. has been recently raised to that of a presidency governor. Thus there will be four presidencies, and members of the I. C. S. will be frequently appointed as heads only in the other five provinces.

shy, are undoubtedly good rules of prudence; politics diplomacy and all strategy, too, are the most important spheres for the application of such maxims, but it is sometimes the duty of the historical student to warn the young India of to-day that the younger India of the next decade will in all probability condemn the distrust of to-day as going to unreasonable lengths.

The new provincial legislatures differ *toto caelo* from the Morley legilatures they displace. They are larger in the proportion of three to eight; the elected members are to be at least seventy per cent of the total, elected,[5] moreover, directly by large constituencies;[6] the number of

Footnote 6			MAD-RAS	BOM-BAY	BEN-GAL	U. P.	PUN-JAB	B. & O.	C. P. & B.	ASSAM	TOTAL.
ELECTED	General Electorates	R	56	35	35	52	13	42	31	20	
		U	9	11	11	8	7	6	9	1	
		Total	65	46	46	60	20	48	40		346
	COMMUNAL ELECTORATES	MR	11	22	33	25	27	15	6	12	
		MU	2	5	6	4	5	3	1	...	
		E	1	2	5	1	...	1	...	..	
		A	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	
		IC	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		S	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	
		Total	20	29	46	30	44	19	7	12	207
	Special Electorates	H	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	..	
		L	6	3	5	6	4	5	3	...	
		C	6	7	15	3	2	3	3	6	
		Total	13	11	21	10	7	9	6		83
TOTAL			98	86	113	100	71	76	53	39	636
NOMINATED		O	23	20	20	18	16	18	10	9	
		N	6	5	6	5	6	9	7	5	
		Total	29	25	26	23	22	27	7	14	183
GRAND TOTAL			127	111	139	123	93	103	70	5	819
NUMBER OF VOTERS IN 000			1248	548	1020	1348	506	328	145	203	5346

(See page 420)

official (and *ex-officio*) members is not to exceed one-fifth, nor can that of non-official nominated members along with official exceed three-tenths;[7] the head of the province is

(Concluded from page 419)

R stands for Rural; U, Urban; M, Mohammadan; E, European; A, Anglo Indian; I C, Indian Christian; S, Sikh; H, University; L, Landholder; C Commerce and Industry including Planting and Mining; O, Official, nominated and ex-officio; F, non-official, nominated.

Bengal will have 140 when the Dacca University gets the franchise; the Berar elected members (17) though technically nominated, are shown in the above Table in their proper groups of elected members; when the Nagpur University comes into existence and gets the franchise the number of elected members; in the province will increase and that of nominated members decrease, by 1. Shillong (Assam) is a general constituency including M along with others in one list of voters, as there is no M U constituency in the province. The M electorates give 17 / out of the total number of 636 elected members; and some few M more would certainly almost get into the councils through the special electorates also.

7 The nominated non-official members are to be selected so as to provide for minorities and interests not likely to make themselves heard in the legislature independently of official channels. Of the numbers in this group provided as shown in the Table, the Backward Tracts are to have—C. P. and Behar and Orissa, 2 each; Madras and Assam, 1 each. The Depressed Classes are to have—C. P. and Behar and Orissa, 2 each Bombay, Bengal and U. P., 1 each. In Madras communities like the Paraiyans are specially named, and are to have in all 5 nominated members. Labour is to have—in Bengal, 2; in Bombay, Behar and Orissa, and Assam, 1 each. Then we come to very small minorities at the upper end of our heterogeneous population. The Bengalis domiciled in Behar and Orissa are to have 1 member; the soldiers and army officers in the Punjab, 1 member. The Indian Christians have elected representatives only in Madras; they are to have nominees—in Bengal, 2, in the other four provinces excepting Assam and C. P., 1 each. The Europeans have no electorates in three provinces, but out of these they are to have a nominee in one—the Punjab. There are Anglo-Indian electorates in Madras and Bengal; they will have a nominee in each of the same provinces as the Indian Christians; and in C. P. the Europeans and Anglo-Indians together are to have a nominee. For the communal electorates it is explicitly laid down that the representatives should themselves belong to the respective communities. Hence this rule is also to be followed in nominations, as far as possible. Lastly, the Cotton trade in Bombay is to have a nominee and interests and industries other than Planting and Mining are to have 2 in Behar and Orissa. Thus of the nominations in all, only 9 are left to the entire discretion of the executive. Over and above this maximum, experts can also be nominated, not more than 1 in Assam, not more than 2 elsewhere.

not to be a member though he has the right of addressing his legislature, the president is to be, after the first four years, a member of the legislature elected to the position by the legislature itself; and the interval between a dissolution and the next session is not to exceed six months, or, without the sanction of the Secretary of State, nine months [**7 to 9**—Cons **72 A, 72 B, 72 C; 44**—Cons **129 A**; Govt. of India Notification No. 767 F of 29-7-1920 and No. 880 F of 27-9-1920].

Rulers and subjects of native states in India are not to be held disqualified merely because of that status as voters or as candidates for election. The disqualification of sex may be removed by any of the new legislatures by resolution for its own province. Adults of sound mind and not otherwise disqualified are entitled to a vote by residence[8] within the constituency if they are retired pensioned or discharged officers, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers of the Indian army, or if they have the necessary property qualification. This varies from province to province and even in the same province is not the same for rural as for urban areas, or even for all rural or all urban areas. Every one possessing all the qualifications is entitled to have his name enrolled either in the general or in one of the communal constituency lists of the locality,[8] and every one so enrolled has the vote; and he may have another vote also if he can claim to be a member of any of the special electorates. Of these the University electorate is widened by the inclusion of all graduates of seven years standing: this is probably the only constituency with a uniform qualification all over India. The Marathas in Bombay and the Non-Brahmans in Madras sought special communal electorates for themselves. They obtained instead the concession of reserved seats. Bombay City North returns three members; the Thana, Ahmadnagar,

8 Residence within the constituency is required for a candidate in Bombay, C. P. and Berar, and the Punjab, but not in the other provinces.

Nasik, Poona and Ratnagiri districts return two each; one of the seats in these six constituencies is reserved for Marathas. The Sholapur, Kolaba and West Khandesh Districts are also to be reserved for them in rotation; out of three successive elections each of these will return a Maratha once, and no two of them will do so simultaneously. Thus of the eighty-six seats for elected members on the Bombay Council seven are reserved for Marathas. In the Madras Council twenty-eight seats are similarly reserved out of ninetyeight for the Non-Brahmans, although they are to the Brahmans there as 22 : 1 in population and as 4 : 1 in voting strength. The very fact that their preponderance of 22 : 1 in numbers dwindles down to 4 : 1 in voting strength is eloquent as to their poverty, and affords some indication of the passionate resentment felt by their more extreme leaders against the dominant, domineering, and it must also be added, intolerant Brahman of the South. The cleavage between the depressed classes and the Hindu masses is equally sharp and is to be met with nearly all over India. Until economic, social and religious forces bring about a revolution, there cannot be a real democracy in our country. And political institutions and changes are helpful or the reverse in proportion as they accelerate such a revolution, and enable us to get through the period of transition without the growing self-consciousness of the various communities setting up strains too severe to bear for the structure as a whole. Communal representation, either through special electorates or by means of reserved seats, is a device to broaden the outlook of the community. It compels the representative in the legislature to place his instinctive and rooted communal stand-point *vis à vis* the national standpoint and every time judge for himself and on the merits. Burke's distinction between the mere delegate and the representative of the nation has a merely geographical content in a homogeneous people, but rises to fundamental importance in a vast land like ours with such heterogeneous populations. Communal representa-

tion succeeds in proportion as it leads communal representatives on to become national statesmen, and elevates the better mind of the community itself through its chosen leaders from communal selfishness to general patriotism. By way of illustration, I may quote here the judgment on Gokhle and on Tilak of one of the few independent minds I have known, a mind that showed rare independence in admiring both these leaders simultaneously at a time when for the average Indian to admire either of the two was to look down upon the other. "There is a radical difference", he used to say, "between these two great Deccanis. I admire Gokhle all the more just because there is so little of the prejudices of the average Deccani in him. And I cannot admire Tilak as much as I should like to, just because he is of Deccani prejudices all compact, almost an incarnation, so to say, of some of the worst of them. But take the average Deccani, and look at these two men from his average point of view. Can you not see that Tilak is to him a hero after his own heart, which Gokhle can never be? It is absurd to expect much reason in, or to quarrel with, mere mass admirations. I too admire Tilak, but do so for traits of his of which the mass know, or can make, absolutely nothing."

Sections 10 to 13 of the Act of 1919, reappearing as sections 80 A, 72 D, 81 A, and 72 E of the consolidated Government of India Act, deal with the powers of these Councils. They cannot make any law affecting any Act of Parliament. But other restrictions to their power are either due to the fact that there will always be a central Government of India with its own functions and responsibilities and its own legislature and executive to cope with them, or are only imposed for the brief period of training necessary for the constituencies to awake to the fact that they are now the real sovereign, and to enable them to master the modern democratic machinery through which they have to elect their rulers, and rewarding them with their support or punishing them by its withdrawal,

impose their will upon the policy, administration, taxation and laws of the state. Hence during this period of transition only a section of the provincial executive and only those functions which this section of it deals with are fully subject to the power of the provincial council. But it will also have an influence, far greater than in the past and rapidly growing, upon the alien and official members of the executive and the functions in their charge. This is inevitable. The legislature is now a large and representative body with an overwhelming preponderance of elected members. The entire foundation of the state is altered by the change, and a new goal is set in unequivocal terms before the eyes of the executive. And to the head of the province is assigned the new role of making for this haven by respecting the popular will as far as possible even in matters which, for the moment, are excluded from its control and left to his discretion. It is unreasonable to assume that his responsible advisers on such matters, the members of the executive council, will always or even usually take extreme views; but even when they did so, they cannot prevent a new law or obtain any law or grant in spite of the legislature and over its head, unless they can convert the Governor to their own view at confidential meetings of the executive where the elected members of it will also be present, to urge him to consider for himself all that can be said on behalf of the view expressed and the attitude manifested by the chamber. And he and the ministers will always have at a crisis at least one other individual at headquarters of tried independence and impartiality to consult privately in cases of doubt, viz. the president of the chamber. Thus, while the sections referred to will be found to be full of what the legislature "may not do" at all or without the previous sanction of the governor general, and of what the Governor 'shall have power' to do, or to 'certify,' or to return to the legislature for reconsideration, or to reserve for the consideration of the Governor General, the lay reader

should be careful not to miss the wood for these trees. Legal phraseology lacks the art of distributing emphasis, sacrificing almost everything else to the minute and exhaustive tabulation of details. The living essence and the guiding principle of a change, however revolutionary, it generally buries under a mass of exceptions, burying some of these again still deeper under little cumuli of counter-exceptions. And some of these exceptions will have always to be kept since, as said above, there will always be the Government of India ruling the province along with its own Government. But the rest will lose their force as we advance, and even from the first moment of their birth the new legislatures are not merely advisory bodies like their predecessors, but responsible and ruling bodies endowed with budget rights and a real power of initiative and control, with the moral support of the people behind them; and the new ministers are factors in the structure of the provincial sovereign of far greater moment than their predecessors, the Indian members of council created by Lord Morley. The change has had, as we saw in the last chapter, a most unfavourable start. The special session of the Congress and the Moslem League at Calcutta (September 1920) adopted Non-Co-operation, and their usual annual session, held in the Christmas holidays at Nagpur, altered the first article of the constitution of the Indian National Congress so as to eliminate from it all reference to the British Empire.[9] These non-co-operators made every effort to

---

9 Article I of the political creed of the Indian educated classes as accepted by the Hindus from the Congress of 1908 and by the Muhammadans from a somewhat later date:—The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic, and industrial resources of the country. (For the constitution of the Indian National Congress as a whole and how it grew up see A. C. Mazumdar: *Indian National Evolution*, Appendix A).

Article I as amended at Nagpur:—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

M. K. Gandhi calls himself a disciple of Gokhle, but Gokhle would never have subscribed to the change.

render the first elections under the Act futile. With only a few exceptions prominent non-co-operators declined to stand for the new legislatures. To induce the voters themselves to non-co-operate,—

"Meetings were broken up, candidates were threatened, polling booths were picketed. Social boycott was resorted to. Religious sentiment was appealed to. It was even reported that in one place religious mendicants were openly declaring that any one who voted for a particular candidate would be guilty of killing one hundred kine." Indian elections with over five million electors, including a high percentage of rural and illiterate voters, are certain to present novel features for some time to come. No candidate came forward at all for 6 seats out of 774. And 535 of the seats were contested by 1718 candidates. City constituencies had lower polls that rural. Only 8 per cent. of the voters exercised their choice in Bombay City; at the other extreme stood some of the Madras cities with a 70 per cent. poll. In the Punjab 32 per cent. of the urban and 36 per cent. of the rural electors registered their votes. On the whole, in the contested elections, of the five and one-third million voters for the provincial legislatures over a million and one-third; of the 91 lakh voters for the legislative assembly over 18 lakhs and one-fourth; and of the 17 thousand for the Council of State nearly eight thousand recorded their votes. [10]

The elevation of provincial administrations to the status of governments has also required the introduction of real decentralisation or devolution into the functions of government. We have seen the administration branching out into one department after another, and secretariats developing like nerve ganglia at headquarters. The system as it grew lived for its own growth until no discretion or initiative was possible at the extremities. But this was seen to involve too much unnecessary waste, and efforts were made from the time of Lord Mayo onwards to reduce this and develop a sense of responsibility at each ganglion. Liberals like Lord Ripon and Lord Morley wanted to create the spirit of freedom at each province and at each social and economic centre within the province, experiments were tried, commissions reported, various starts were made, admirable resolutions were indited, and beauti-

10 *India in 1920*, pp 65-6 and 248.

ful paper schemes were sketched, but the Supreme Government of India as established by the Act of 1858 blocked the way. The Great War alone generated the creative heat that melted these ancient and rigid fetters; the Great War also threw up the keen analytical intellects, the broad-minded statesmen and the clear-eyed administrators who devised planned and translated into a concrete structure a new constitution under which this vast subcontinent (which had various intensely self-conscious communities with, here and there, gleams of genuine national sentiment), might evolve peacefully rapidly and without a breach of continuity with the past into a self-governing federation master of its own fate. Such a federation implies primary states combining together to form a new state at the centre for common purposes, by restricting their own sovereignty to the extent that they endow the central state with it. Here the only sovereign within sight was the British Parliament autocratically ruling over hundreds of millions of subjects. But there was the democratic dogma of the sovereignty of the people which had gathered force, and became transformed in Europe in the course of the nineteenth century into the sacred principle of nationality, and in the Great War, as we saw, the Allied Powers were fain to draw recruits to their standards from all over the world, by solemnly proclaiming that, if the truth were to be told, it was that principle they were really fighting for. The Act of 1919, then, picks out over six millions of Indians, gives them the franchise, raises them to the status of citizens, and organises them into over seven hundred constituencies sending their representatives to legislative bodies. The Act further classifies the functions of government into central and provincial, and the latter again into reserved and transferred. The central functions are for the central power or the Government of India; the provincial, for the eight (eventually nine) provincial powers or Governors' governments. Each of these latter is a structure of

two wheels, both running together through the mechanism of a chain, viz. the representative of the Crown. The reserved provincial functions are for the Governor in Council;[11] the transferred provincial functions are for the Governor acting with ministers. The Governor in Council is the part that is

11. We have seen that the presidencies had three members of council from 1919 onwards (p. 98 *ante*). Behar and Orissa obtained an executive council from 1912. The consolidated Act, 1915 and 1916, provided that a Governor's executive council shall be of such number not exceeding four as the S. S. directs, and that two of these must be servants of the Crown in India of at least 12 years' standing [47 (1, 2)]. The Act of 1919 by raising five other provinces (including Behar and Orissa) to the status of governor's provinces [3 (1)—Cons 46 (1)] gave them all executive councils and also ministers. Legislation only laid down the maximum number of members of council and the principle that not less than half the number in any council must be servants of the Crown at the date of their appointment. As in Lord Morley's day the services, through their spokesman the Government of India and their representatives in the Lords and Commons, fought hard to maintain their own predominance in the executive government. Aristocracies and bureaucracies always fight hard and yield only inch by inch. It is their nature to do so, they cannot help it, and it should not be resented. The Joint Select Committee decided—"that in no province will there be need for less than two ministers, while in some more will be required." "That if in any province the executive council includes two members with service qualifications, neither of whom is by birth an Indian, it should also include two unofficial Indian members"; "that the status of ministers should be similar to that of the members of the executive council"; that in business coming up for cabinet consultation "the habit should be carefully fostered of joint deliberation between members of council and ministers sitting under the Governor as chairman. There cannot be too much mutual advice and consultation; but the committee attach the highest importance to the principle that when once opinions have been freely exchanged, there ought then to be no doubt whatever as to where the responsibility for the decision lies; reserved subject decisions should be recorded separately by the executive council, transferred subjects decisions by the ministers, and all acts and proceedings of the Government should state in definite terms on which half of the dyarchy the responsibility for a particular decision rests. The Governor may have to hold the balance between divergent policies and different ideals, and to prevent discord and friction." "If after hearing all, ministers should decide not to adopt the Governor's advice, the Governor should ordinarily allow them to have their way fixing the responsibility upon them, even if it may subsequently be necessary for him to veto any particular legislation." The Instructions to Governors faithfully embody these decisions and recommendations.

brought over from the past, the Governor with ministers is the newly constructed part. The intention is that the new is to eclipse the old from the first and grow in lustre by absorbing more and more of it from the old, until shorn of all its lustre the old sinks into darkness, and all power shines forth exclusively from the new Governor and Ministers. Constitution-building is by no means a simple art, and the history of politics is full of the examples of celebrated constitution-builders who failed, their pious intentions notwithstanding. What grounds have we for anticipating that in this particular case the members of council will lose their power, although they have enjoyed an unbroken monopoly of it for so many decades? The Governor is the representative of the Crown and responsible to parliament for the reserved functions and to the voters of his province for the transferred functions. The ministers, his responsible advisers for the transferred functions, are elected members of the legislative chamber and responsible to it as well as drawing their real strength from it, just as is the case with ministers in England or in the colonies. The Governor appoints them; that today is not merely a form but also a fact. But as the chamber grows in experience and develops a collective mind and will, the Governor will cease to have much discretion in his choice of ministers. His appointment of them will become little more than a form, as the chamber becomes, in Seeley's phrase, the real minister—making organ. As soon as this happens the minister will have attained to the height of such power as he can command by virtue of his position as a minister. A member of council, on the other hand, is merely a departmental head. He is the expert agent, or to use the image that Montagu once applied to Lord Curzon, the chauffeur who can drive the car very much better than his employer. But at what speed is the car to be driven, in what direction, to what destination? It is for the employer to say. The paymaster is the

employer; and the paymaster under the new constitution is the chamber from the very beginning. For the present and for some time to come the chamber's voting of the grants for the reserved functions is no doubt merely a formality. But in a living constitution the growth of formalities into realities and the atrophy of realities into mere forms is always in process. As the chamber develops a collective mind and will, its budget right is certain to grow into one of its most real and fundamental privileges. The member of council was all-powerful only while the bureaucracy here wielded autocratic powers with the connivance of parliament. [1—Cons 45 A; 44—Cons 129 A; Devolution Rules with Schedules [12] (Notification

12. Transferred subjects—I List. (1) Medical administration (2) Co-operative Societies (3) Religious and charitable endowments. (4) Development of industries, industrial research and technical education. II List (5) Libraries, Museums, and Zoological Gardens (excepting central institutions at Calcutta e. g. the Victoria Memorial). (6) Education (exc. European and Anglo-Indian education; the Benares Hindu University and future Universities; the Calcutta University and Bengal secondary education for the next five years; the extension of the jurisdiction of a University outside its province; special institutions such as Chiefs' Colleges, army educational institutions, and institutions for public servants and their children maintained by central government). (7) Stores and stationery for transferred departments (subject to rules by the S. S.) (8) Pilgrimages (except out of British India). And the following subjects, with certain reservations in each for the central legislature—(9) Local self-government. (10) Public health and sanitation and vital statistics. (11) Agriculture. (12) Civil Veterinary Department. (13) Registration of deeds &c. (14) Registration of births, deaths and marriages. (15) Adulteration of foodstuffs and other articles. (16) Weights and measures. III List. (17) Fisheries. (18) Excise (control of cultivation, manufacture, and sale for export of opium a central subject). (19) Public works (a detailed statement of the extent of transfer would fill more than a page). IV List. (20) Forests (legislation redisforestation of reserved forests a central subject.)

Subjects in lists I and II are transferred subjects in all the eight provinces; subject in list IV, only in Bombay; the subjects in list III in all provinces except Assam. 32 other subjects are named as provincial reserved subjects. "The Joint Select Committee add the very necessary caution that it must not be concluded that these partitions of the fuctions of government are absolutely clear cut and mutually exclusive. They must in all cases be read with the reservations in the text of the Functions Committee's Report, and with due regard to the necessity of special procedure in cases where their orbits overlap."

No 308 S, 16-10-1920); 3—Cons 46; 4—Cons 52; 6—Cons 49; Instructions to Governors].

To pass on to the Government of India. The Act creates a bicameral legislature, the smaller house to sit for five years and bear the name of the Council of State, the larger, to be known as the Legislative Assembly, to sit for three years only, unless dissolved earlier. As in the case of the provincial legislatures, the executive government are not to rule India without a legislature, for a period longer than six months or even with the permission of the Secretary of State longer than nine months. Both houses have an elected majority. The Council of State is to have sixty members, thirty-three elected, twenty officials nominated, six non-officials[13] and one elect-

13. The Legislative Assembly / The Council of State.

	Elected.							Nominated.			Total.	Voters. in 000
	G	M	S	EC	IC	L	Total.	O	N	Total.		
I	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12/12	...	12/12	12/12	
M	10/4	3/1	...	1/0	1/0	1/0	16/5	2/1	2/1	4/2	20/7	260/2
B	7/3	4/2	...	2/1	2/0	1/0	16/6	2/1	4/1	6/2	22/8	129/3
Be	6/3	6/2	...	3/1	1/0	1/0	17/6	2/1	3/1	5/2	22/8	184/2
U.P.	8/3	6/2	...	1/0	...	1/0	16/5	2/1	1/1	3/2	19/7	168/3
P	3/1	6/1½	2/1	...	...	1/0	12/3½	1/1	1/2	2/3	14/6½	53/2
B&O	8/2½	3/1	...	...	...	1/0	12/3½	1/1	1/0	2/1	14/4½	66/2
C.P. & B.	4/2	1/0	...	...	...	1/0	6/2	1/0	2/1	3/0	9/2	25/·9
A	2/½	1/½	...	1/0	...	...	4/1	1/0	...	1/0	5/1	20/·3
Bu	3/1	...	...	1/1	...	...	4/2	1/0	...	1/0	5/2	2/2
Aj	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1/0	1/0	1/0	...
D	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0/1	...	0/1	0/1	3/0
Grand Total ...							103/34			40/25	143/59	910/17

Remarks.—A stands for Assam; Aj. Ajmer; D, Delhi; I, Govt. of India &c. G stands for general electorates; M. Muslim; S, Sikh; EC European Commerce; L, Landholders &c.

ed representative from Berar nominated. The Legislative Assembly is to have not less than one hundred and forty members, and fifteen out of every twenty one are to be elected, and two out of the remaining nominated members, are to be non-official. The first house has one hundred and three elected members, twentyfive nominated officials, and fifteen (including an elected member from Berar) nominated non-officials.

The election for both chambers is direct.[14] The Council of State has a president nominated by the Governor General from among its members; but the president of the larger chamber is to be elected by the chamber itself after the first four years; the first president, nominated by the Government, has been chosen for his experience in the house of commons, and his knowledge of parliamentary procedure, precedents, and conventions; and he is expected not only to set the assembly going on right lines, but also to be the guide and adviser of the presidents of the provincial councils. On the powers of this new central legislature Lord Sinha's remarks in the course of his speech in the house of lords (11-12-1919) are illuminating:

---

14 The Bombay constituencies for the legislative assembly are; Non-Muslim—Bombay city 2. N. D. 1, C. D. 2, S. D. 1, Sindh 1, total 7: Muslim—Bombay City 1, Sindh 1, Sindh or N. D., C. D. or S. D. 1 each by rotation, the first at the odd elections, the second at the even; total 4; Bombay European 2; Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau 1; Millowners—Bombay or Ahmadabad, by rotation, 1; Sindh Jagirdars and Jamindars or Gujrat and Deccan Sardars and Jagirdars, by rotation, 1; grand total 16. The Bombay constituencies for the Council of State are—the Non-Muslims returning 3 members; the Muslims of the presidency (excluding Sindh), 1; the Muslims of Sindh; the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. 1; grand total, 6. The Legislative Assembly franchise is a property qualification; the Council of State franchise is a property qualification or a personal distinction such as past or present membership of legislative councils, past or present tenure of office on a local authority, university distinction, the tenure of office in a co-operative banking society, or the holding of a title conferred for literary merit.

"Like the provincial legislatures," said his lordship, "the Indian Legislature is to have power for the first time to vote on certain portions of the Budget. That is to say, there will be the same provision for a consolidated fund 15 upon which they will not be able to vote; and further the Governor General will always be entitled, if he thinks necessary, to reject every vote on every item of the Budget. It may be argued that this change (giving budget right to the legislature) is inconsistent with the policy of" not introducing responsibility of the executive to the legislature, "in the Central Government. I am confident your lordships will agree that whatever technical inconsistency there may be, the change is sound and necessary. What is the position? In the first place, there can be no question of taking away any power which the Central Legislature at present enjoys. One of the powers it has enjoyed for the last ten years is power to propose and vote resolutions suggesting changes in the Budget, and this power it must retain. Hitherto the Government had its official majority to defeat any such resolution (though even if it had failed to defeat it, the resolution would have no binding effect). But this official majority the Government will not command in the future. Now, my lords, which is the sounder constitutional position, the position which augurs best for a sound judgment by the proposed statutory Commission ten years hence, and for amicable relations meanwhile,—that the Indian Legislature should be able, year after year, with no sense of responsibility flowing from a knowledge of the practical consequences of its vote, to vote by an overwhelming majority resolution after resolution recommending specific alterations which the Government is forced to ignore; or that the Legislature should be legally responsible for passing the Estimates and legally accountable for the results of any modifications they may

---

15 Clause 25 (3) in the Act of 1919, reappearing as 67 A (3) in the consolidated Act, excludes from the vote of the legislature (i) interest and sinking fund charges on loans, (ii) expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law, (iii) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of H. M. or by the S.S. in Council, (iv) salaries of chief commissioners and judicial commissioners, and (v) expenditure classified by the order of the G. G. in Council as (a) ecclesiastical, (b) political, (c) defence. The powers of the executive to set aside a vote of the legislature when they "consider the expenditure essential to the discharge of their responsibilities" is safeguarded by sub-clause (7), and their emergency powers to authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the country continue unchanged under sub-clause (8).

vote ?[16]...It is an important change but one which I am convinced is the logical and necessary result of constituting a representative Central Legislature. I have been a member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, it is true in an official capacity, but none the less closely associated with all the non-official members. I can assure your lordships that the cleavage which has unfortunately shown itself so often of late between the non-official and the official members of that body, is largely due to the non-officials' sense of aloofness from the real difficulties and decisions of the Government. They felt—they can hardly help feeling—that they are outside the machine and not a real part of its working. I am confident that all that is required to obliterate that cleavage is an admission, with whatever safeguards and checks that might be found necessary, that the Legislature and all its members are an essential and working part of the machinery of Government, that the action or inaction of every member influences the working of the whole."

The two houses have not the same authority on money matters. Both houses discuss the money proposals of the executive in a general way; both discuss and pass resolutions on the subject; but appropriation or money bills–demands for particular items-originate only in the

16 The Govt. of India objected:—"We are profoundly unwilling to accept the untried restorative power. It could not possibly be used as frequently as the situation will demand. If we admit that the Legislature may vote the Budget, we recognise that the Legislature has normal ly financial control and therefore may shape policy, except on those extreme occasions when the executive call up their last resources and overrule the Legislature." They supported their view by references to imperial policy, and to contested topics of revenue and expenditure, and pointed out that the normal control of finance and policy would in practice pass to the I egislature, since a state of chronic and sustained hostility between the Legislature and the Executive, which would inevitably arise out of a frequent use of the restorative power, would be unbearable in practice. "What we accept," they urged, "is the *influence* of the Legislature, what we definitely reject is this *control*." But the Joint Select Committee did not listen to them.

An examination of how the central and provincial executives have as a matter of fact respected the budget right of the legislatures during 1921, lies outside the scope of this book. Such an examination would show, however, that the executives have not asserted their legal rights on reserved and central subjects, except where absolutely necessary. Will this year's precedents solidify into established "conventions"? Will the executives continue to prove equally sympathetic in future? It all depends upon he future of "non-co operation."

larger chamber.[17] Other bills originate equally in either chamber and go to the other. If amended there, the amended bill goes back to the originating chamber. When the latter is unable to accept these amendments, a *Joint Committee* with an equal number from each chamber is appointed; but a Joint Committee may also be appointed to deal with a bill at any earlier stage, and is the proper device to apply at the earliest stage to bills likely to be controversial, which involve legal or other technicalities, and seek to reduce to concrete legislation principles which though outside or above party contention in themselves create multifarious differences as to their application. Or the chambers might resort at any stage to a *Joint Conference*, with an equal number from each chamber, for the purpose of settling the differences, if possible, by common consent. Or, finally, the bill returns to the originating chamber, and neither chamber is willing to yield to the other, or accept any other compromise. In such cases within six months of the date at which the bill passed in the originating chamber, the Governor General in Council may refer the matter to a *Joint Sitting*, equal numbers representing each chamber, and the president of the Council of State taking the chair. The procedure at this joint sitting is to be the procedure of the Council of State, and the bill as passed by the joint sitting is to be held to have been passed by the legislature. Legislation such as this representative legislature will not pass although the executive consider it essential for the safety tranquillity or interests of the country, the executive retain the power of enacting by themselves, "provided that the ordinance will require the sanction of His Majesty before it becomes law,"

17 A money bill, however, has to go up to the Council of State and must be passed by it, just like any other bill. In the very first budget under the new constitution, the Council of State modified the taxation proposals of the Assembly, and when the Finance Bill returned with amendments, the Assembly concurred, and the Bill passed as so amended.

and, in cases of emergency, the ordinance goes into effect at once, although liable, as hitherto, to be vetoed by His Majesty in Council.[18] Legislation, on the other hand which in the view of the executive ought not to pass would be legislation proposed by a private member. This could not be introduced without the previous sanction of the executive, and such sanction would be withheld when necessary, under the express provisions of the consolidated Act, if the measure affected the public debt or the public revenues, the discipline or maintenance of the army or the navy, the relations of India with native or foreign states, the religious rites and usages of any class of subjects, or any matter handed over to the provincial governments, or any law of a provincial or the central government. And after any bill is introduced, power is reserved to the executive to "certify" with regard to any section or amendment or to the bill as a whole that it affected the safety or tranquillity of the country, and the president of the chamber forth-with drops the subject. These being the facts, as soon as the chambers develop a collective mind and will, and if they only show the statesmanship to take their stand on great issues where they can have the country behind them, the Act makes the new legislature potentially the master in legislation, in finance, and even in policy; the only exceptions the Act provides for being—

A— a due regard for continuity with the past in policy and finance; and

---

18 Lord Sinha's speech. "A very anomalous procedure to be most sparingly and reluctantly used; but to be used, whenever necessary, not to be regarded as something catastrophic and, for practical purposes, inadmissible"—Sir J. Brunyate. 'The Joint Select Committee believe that it would add strength to the Govt. of India to act before the world on its own responsibility." The Ordinances, whether going into effect at once as emergency measures or not, go before parliament, and the standing committee of parliament, and the action of H. M. in Council in these cases will invariably follow the constitutional advice so obtained.

B— where the executive are acting under the orders of the British ministry and parliament as their agents.

And as the president of the Assembly has pointed out, with keen prescience, "we shall watch in the immediate future to see how the two parties develop; whether, for instance, the Government will secure the necessary parliamentary cohesion before the majority reaches the same result for itself. Whichever develops first into a coherent parliamentary force, compact and well led, will be master of the situation. I say 'master of the situation' because the Government may be in that position, even though it is in a minority, for this reason, that the majority is composed of fractions which will only coalesce with difficulty, and, therefore, it is not improbable that the majority will fail to weld itself into one compact whole, ready to act in unison on all important questions." That, undoubtedly, is the rock ahead, not only in the chambers but also in the provincial legislatures. The leaders we elect as our representatives to the chambers or the councils have to learn without delay to act together, to work for the team as a whole, to develop what I have called a collective mind and will. This is easiest when the great majority of the electors in the country and most of their representatives in the legislatures normally fall into two parties, each with fruitful political principles and a policy embodying them, such as would command the allegiance of masses of citizens for several decades at a stretch. And this is why parliamentary institutions succeed best in homogeneous countries where political thought and aspirations run into a dy-party or duplex mould, te shoot up in the legislatures as two jets which coalesce there together into the single flame of the actual manifestation of the will of the state as a whole, in policy external and internal. Can India develop quickly a two-party system, both parties loyal to the British connection, both heartily accepting the new consti-

tution, but both equally resolute about working it by fair play and parliamentary methods to their own ends and aims, which diverge from one another from their roots in human nature right up to their flower and blossom in concrete legislation and administration? If not, can the rank and file of the elected representatives develop quickly a personal loyalty to a few chosen leaders and resolve to vote with them, except on such very rare occasions only when it happens to be a matter of conscience with an individual here and there, to vote independently? In fine, our new legislative bodies must be organised, party ties would be the best cement for organisation, but in their absence personal ties would serve to make a beginning, and there must be, in either alternative, clubs and places to meet in, and regular meetings and free interchange of ideas before during and after a session, to facilitate the organisation and make it effective from day to day. Such politico-social life and activity, outside the legislative halls but surrounding them and flooding them with its living waters so as to animate and control the life within, is indeed far more vital for progress than the orations and votings inside under the eye of the president and the executive government, which only register the results. Political institutions in themselves, especially when imported from outside, are mere shells. They have to be worked with understanding and moulded to subserve our own national will. And while we fail to do so—whatever the cause—the executive will of course continue in power, and the bureaucracy will be almost as autocratic as in the period from 1858 to 1920, although now working through parliamentary forms and representative institutions. But if this really happen to be the case, it will hardly be the fault of the framers of the Act of 1919. They believed it better—in the face of opposition, difficulty, discouragement, not altogether the handiwork of the preju-

diced foes of Indian aspirations[19]—better for the growing national consciousness in India as for the Empire as a whole in the newer world after the Great War, that representative Indian legislatures should really father the acts of the Indian State, and they resolutely skilfully and laboriously recast the constitution to fit these legislatures into it and to make it possible for them to perform this sovereign function. They placed the Indian legislatures on the throne in India. If the new occupant of the throne proves himself a mere show-piece, the acts of the state will continue to be performed as before by the former authors, although now in his name instead of in their own. That should be held to be the fault of the new occupant and not of those who elevated him. No safeguards against encroachments by the executive, no checks upon its power can be devised, short of dangerously weakening the executive and protecting arm of the state, to prevent such an illegitimate defeat of the original aim and design of the Act. Constitutional architecture of the parliamentary type can only create the necessary ruler—making organ. If the popular will will not function through it, another power, viz. the one hitherto sovereign, will (though sought to be replaced by a successor) continue to reign. The acts of the State administrative and legislative, precautionary and judicial, civil and military, will go on from day to day, as, indeed, they must; they will also be fathered upon the new legislatures more and more: whose they really are, instead of merely in name, depends upon the daily wrestling "on the floor of the house" between the executive ministry on the one hand and the legislative chamber on the other. Lastly, let not the Indian make any mistake about the nature of this wrestling. All political wrestling

19 Compare Lord Selborne's remark: "I have nothing more to say except this word to my Indian fellow subjects: I think they have come nearer than some of them know to turning a very great body of public opinion in this country against their aspirations."

is collective wrestling. Religious wrestling is that between the individual and his conscience. Domestic wrestling is that between the husband and the wife. Both the Indian knows and knows to be spiritual. In this collective wrestling, too, physical force of any kind is prohibited, perfect freedom of speech and opinion are bestowed upon the individuals as their special privilege, honourable behaviour, fair play and parliamentary procedure are insisted upon; and under these conditions this wrestling on the floor of the house is not only an intellectual treat and a whet to honourable ambition, but it is, besides, as spiritual a contest as can be found in the sphere of politics; for the spirit is the will and this is a contest of wills in the abiding interest—so far as human foresight can reach—of the state as a whole.

Dyarchy implies a division of the subjects falling within the province of a government into reserved and transferred subjects. It is easy to say in the abstract that the principle of dyarchy should have been also applied to the Government of India, but any one glancing at the list of the forty-seven central subjects (Devolution Rules: schedule part I) will find it extremely hard to arrange them into two groups in that way on intelligible principles. Secondly, in what relations would the Governor-General with ministers be placed with either half of a provincial government? Neither the Governor in Council with his responsibility to parliament nor the Governor with ministers[20] with his responsibility to the people of the province could be placed under the Governor-General with ministers, without withdrawing him to that extent from the responsibility. Thirdly, the introduction of dyarchy would give more power to the central legislature over the subjects transferred, but deprive it of the power the present

20 The position of the Governor, too,—the chain with its function of making the two wheels run as one—would be weakened.

constitution gives on the far more important reserved subjects also. And in the executive of the central government itself, dyarchy would involve an arrangement similar to what we have seen introduced in the provinces: viz. the central Indian ministers with a status different from that of the councillors, Indian and Civilian. Not merely different, moreover: in the provinces the difference does not necessarily imply inferiority and might develop into superiority; in the central government, until full self-government actually replaced dyarchy, the difference would necessarily involve a distinctly inferior status. Nor would the number of Indians thus raised to the highest executive either as councillors or as ministers be necessarily larger than under the arrangement actually introduced, without an unjustifiable increase in the total personnel of the central government. From the administrative point of view, also, it is far better that the Government of India, the central secretariat, and the centralised departments should first learn to restrain themselves on provincial subjects, and the provincial governments and legislatures simultaneously to assert themselves in that sphere, as the new constitution requires them to do, than that the great and almost revolutionary changes thus introduced should be further complicated by still other changes at the centre, of equal or even greater moment. Hence, the Act of 1919 confines itself to very few changes in the central executive council. The extraordinary members—the Commander-in-Chief and the head of the province—and the limitation on its number are dropped. The minimum of civilian members, with at least ten years of service, is retained at three. The law member may be an English or Irish barrister or Scotch advocate, or Indian lawyer, of at least ten years' standing. And a new subsection provides that rules may be made with regard to the qualifications of other members. And the Joint Select Committee advised that

not less than three of the members should be Indians, overruling the Government of India who had expressed themselves against more than two. [Act of 1919, Part II—Cons. 63 to 67B, 36, 43A; Indian Legislative Rules; Legislative Assembly and Council of State Electoral Rules; &c.]

We have seen in an earlier chapter that the parliament gave to the Board of Control from 1833 and to its successor, "one of H. M.'s principal Secretaries of State," from 1858, whenever he chose to exercise it,

> 'full power and authority to superintend direct and control all acts operations and concerns which in any wise relate to or concern the Government of India and all grants of salaries, gratuities and allowances and all other payments and charges whatever, out of or upon the said revenues and property,"

reserving only the power parliament conferred upon the India Council in certain cases to override his authority (p. 88 *ante*). What was thus reserved for his Council we have also noted (p. 101 *ante*). Introducing responsible or parliamentary self-government in the transferred subjects and the influence of the representative legislature on the executive in the reserved subjects in the province, and raising the province from the position of a mere administration to that of a government with sovereign powers immediately in some of the functions of government, the Act of 1919 makes the province to that extent independent of the central government and also of parliament. Again, adding to the Government of India a representative legislature endowed with budget right and legislative authority, with only certain reservations, the Act makes the Government of India also to that extent independent of the Secretary of State and parliament. This is a revolution in the position of the India Office nearly as great as those we have studied at the two lower stages of our complex constitution. The Act constitutes for the first time the primary province—state endowed with some sovereign power

and starts it forward with the blessing that the growth of this sovereign power will be helped on and not jealously restricted; it also converts the central power into a federal state, granting to it some real independence of the Imperial sovereign in England; and these very changes reduce the dependence of these primary and federal states upon the Secretary of State and parliament to a greater and a lesser extent. From 1858 to 1920 every action of the state in India was either to be done in accordance with codes and regulations drawn up by the Secretary of State, or had to be referred to the English head-quarters of our government for approval or special orders or sanction. All this is now changed in spirit, and as to the crucial parts of it, in the letter of the law also. The salary of the Secretary of State, the salaries of his under secretaries, and all charges of the India Office,[1] not being merely "agency" charges, are now to fall on England. The Act of 1919 may be said to have come into force between April 1st, 1920, when this item of it was carried into effect, and February 9th,[2] 1921, when the central legislature was inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught with a Royal Message:

'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have

1 From April 1st, 1920, for a period of five years, England is to contribute towards the cost of the India Office, £136,500 per year, including the salaries of the S. S. (£5000) and his parliamentary under-S. (£1500). The Commons debate on the East India Accounts has in consequence to take place now in the Committee of Supply when the C. S. Estimates come up for consideration. Fresh arrangements will be made for another period commencing from April 1st 1925, in view of the changes expected to occur in the meanwhile.

2 Or a fortnight later, February 23rd, when the new Bombay legislature began its first session, the last of the new legislative councils to do so, since the Duke of Connaught completed his mission and bade farewell to India from the port of Bombay. He began his mission by landing at Madras and opening the Madras legislative council, January 12th. The new provincial executives were installed—Madras and C. P., December 17th; Behar and Orissa, December 29th; and the rest January 3rd.

dreamed of Swarajya for their motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swarajya within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which My other Dominions enjoy. On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils [Central and provincial][3] there rests a very special responsibility. For on you it lies by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgments to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own."

The minimum number for the India Council is reduced from ten to eight and the maximum from fourteen to twelve; the qualification for appointment to it for at least half the members is altered into service or residence in India for at least ten years, the period of service is reduced to five years in order that fresh experience might flow into it quicker, the salary is raised to £ 1200, with a subsistence allowance for members with an Indian domicile, of £ 600 more, and if the Secretary of State appoints to the Council any one who has not yet served long enough in India to earn his pension, his service on the Council is to count towards it. This means that all the service members of the Council need not necessarily be officers who have retired.

The cumbrous procedure of the India Office or the Secretary of State in Council has been noted in an earlier chapter (pp. 67 and 101-2 *ante*). Almost every Secretary of State of the present century gave public expression to his strong desire for an instrument simpler and easier to work, especially as the Council was, in spite of its so-called financial veto, little more than an advisory body. Some attempts were also made since the time of Lord Morley to reform it, but these have not been noted in these pages as

---

3 This addition is warranted by the Message itself: see its first paragraph, which, as also the last, I omit for want of space.

they came to nothing. The Act of 1919 settled the matter by a stroke of the pen. The sections in the consolidated Act, 1915 and 1916, on urgent and secret matters were repealed, and the entire procedure of working was left to the Secretary of State to regulate, and the procedure for orders and communications to India and generally, for correspondence between the India Office and the Indian governments, central and provincial, to the Secretary of State in Council.[4] The relaxation of the superintendence direction and control so far vested in the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council has also been left to the Secretary of State in Council to regulate. The rules so made for transferred subjects were sanctioned by parliament.[5] And as to the financial veto in particular, the Act provides that,

"a grant or appropriation made in accordance with provisions or restrictions prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council shall be deemed to be made with the concurrence of a majority."

On the working of these provisions and the rules made under them the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee are as under :—

It would be advantageous to have more Indians on the India Council.

Over transferred subjects the control of the Governor General in Council, and thus of the Secretary of State, should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits.

---

4 The distinction due to two factors: in his responsibility to parliament the S. S. is not to shield himself behind his Council; in the ways and modes of conducting himself towards the governments in India, he needs the expert advice of the Council.

5 See the next footnote. No rules have been made for central and reserved subjects for reasons as to which see the quotation from the J. S. Committee s Report further on (slightly condensed, and the passages altered in their sequence). Every serious student of the subject must study for himself the M-C. Report I. C. R., the Act of 1919, the J. S. C. Reports, S.M. Bose's *Working Constitution*, and, if possible, also Mukharji's *Indian Constitution*.

In purely provincial matters, which are reserved, where the provincial government and legislature are in agreement, their view should ordinarily prevail, though the fact has to be borne in mind that some reserved subjects do cover matters in which the central government is closely concerned.

In the relations of the Secretary of State with the Governor-General in Council the Committee are not of opinion that any statutory change can be made, so long as the Governor-General remains responsible to parliament, but in practice the conventions governing these relations may wisely be modified to meet the change caused by the large elected majority of (and the powers conferred upon) the new Legislative Assembly. In the exercise of his responsibility to parliament which he cannot delegate to any one else, the Secretary of State may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances could he intervene in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government and the Legislature of India are in agreement. This general proposition leads inevitably to the consideration of one special case of non-intervention: viz the fiscal policy of India. It is clear that a belief exists in India at the moment that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by statute. It can only be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. India should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. The Secretary of State should therefore avoid interference on this subject as far as possible, when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, and the Committee think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which H. M.'s Government is a party.[6]

---

6 Notification No. 835 G. (*Gazette of India*, 18-12-1920) gives the rule actually made: the S. S. in Council's powers of superintendence &c. shall, in relation to transferred subjects be only exercised (1) to safeguard the administration of central subjects; (2) to decide questions arising between two provinces, when the provinces concerned fail to arrive at an agreement; (3) to safeguard Imperial interests; (4) in questions arising between India and other parts of the Empire; (5) and for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act relating to the office of the High Commissioner, the control of provincial borrowing, the regulation of the services, the duties of the Audit department, and the restrictions placed on the freedom of Ministers—such as the rules requiring the employment of officers of the I. M. S., the rules requiring the previous sanction of the S. S. for changes in the cadre of all-India services, or for the creation of similar appointments, permanent or temporary, &c.

Rule 49 in the Devolution Rules (Notification No. 308 S—*Gazette of India Extraordinary*, 16-12-1920) is exactly the same, only substituting the G. G. in Council for the S. S. in Council.

For all the work done by the India Office in the past as the agent of the Government of India, the Act provides for the creation of a High Commissioner, analogous to the High Commissioners of the various Dominion Governments in England. He will also act as the agent of the Secretary of State in Council and the provincial governments in India, for the purchase of stores, the making of contracts, the raising of loans, and similar functions. He is to have an office and establishment under him, and his period of service is limited to five years, but at the end of one period the officer may be reappointed for another. The appointment is made by the Governor General in Council with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council. The first High Commissioner was appointed on October 1st, 1920, and as his assistant the practice has been started from the first of appointing an Indian member of the I. C. S. Of the miscellaneous changes the most important relates to the services mainly recruited by examinations in England. The Act provides for a Public Service Commission in India also, and the proportion of Indian recruitment in the services, through the competitive examinations in England and in India, or direct appointment by nominations, or promotion from the provincial services, is to be 33% from the first, rising by 1·5% annually for ten years to an all-round maximum percentage of 48. But of the men at present in these services, it is believed that there are some who are very doubtful whether they could be of much use or indeed whether they would not be out of their element in the new era inaugurated by the Act of 1919; and the Joint Select Committee recommended that they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere or allowed to retire on a pension suited to the period of service they had put in. The Secretary of State in Council have recently issued these rules, and if numbers avail themselves of the facilities thus offered, the Indianisation of the services will proceed at a quicker pace than that indicated by the percentages

mentioned above. The last point deserving of notice is the provision in the Act for a Statutory Commission at the end of ten years to report on the working of the new system of government and advise about its restriction,[7] modification or extension. [Act of 1919 Parts III to VI—Cons Parts I to III, and VI A to VIII, &c.]

In addition to the References at the end of the preceding section—

S. M. Bose: Working Constitution in India.

E. L. L. Hammond: Indian Electioneering.

---

7. Restriction or modification in an unfavourable sense would obviously involve an amount of coercion that places both alternatives beyond the pale of pratical politics unless, indeed we are launched into a period of revolutionary agitation. Nor is strict adherence to the period of ten years at all likely. It is remarkable that parliament and the J. S. Committee should not have perceived these things. They looked at the whole subject from another angle altogether. "The Indian electorates quite new to this Western democratic machinery of responsible self-government, the very idea that the sovereign will in the state is their will, that they have to exercise it, that they have to watch all legislation, taxation, administration, and policy in order to bend it all to their own will, altogether foreign to their psychology and their traditions:—let us see how they take to these things, for unless they do, the mere machinery of representative institutions has no magical virtue in it to secure either well-being or self-government or liberty,"—these root principles of their scheme they were so intent upon emphasizing, that they quite overlooked the fact that when once they gave the word and started the new engines, it would be, humanly speaking, beyond *their* power to reverse the engines, or to stop them, or even to control the pace. They overlooked other things also, some of great importance. For instance, in these pages I have not given any space to their elaborate scheme of contributions by the provincial governments to the central. This has already begun to break down, and will do so more and more. In a federation the Central Government must have its own resources, and the experience of the United States, the German Empire, &c. shows clearly that the easiest solution is a tariff raising enough for central needs, and, if possible, also a surplus to be shared by the porovinces in the ratio of population and trade. The Moderates, who claim to be far in advance of the non-co-operators in political and economical knowledge and acumen, ought to have seized upon this and another idea or two, and developed round them a fighting and constructive policy with which

(See page 449)

§ 64 *Key to Real Swarâjya.* Constitutional learning, administrative training, parliamentary experience, and political understanding are worth little unless they enable us to look down into the bedrock of concrete fact and decipher its import. What are these rock-bottom facts which we, the intelligentsia of the country, have to grasp steadily and mould to our will by united and persistent endeavour, if we really want to raise our land and people to the level of free nations?

It is the Pax Britannica that defends us at present both from external attack and internal disorder, the prestige of the British Empire and the British Name, built up by and resting upon the British navy and the Indo-British army. And this army, we have seen, has for its keystone, the British officer and the British soldier. The British in the army may be numerically only one-third, but they are of far more consequence than the other two-thirds, since the army is so organised that without them the entire body sinks into mere matter without the soul. It has also been

---

(Concluded from page 448)

they cou d have gone to the country. But since 23-12-1919 when the Act was passed, and a popular policy arising out of it was needed, as distinct from the policy of the executive, or from the *non-possumus* attitude of the non-co-operators, the Moderates have done nothing of the kind, nor shown any vigour or resource in stemming the non-co-operation current. The present muddle is due as much to this failure of the Moderates as to any other single cause. A mere phrase like "co-operation wherever possible, opposition whenever necessary," is no substitute for a policy; even as a motto, it is pure opportunism.

The Assembly during the last session of 1921 passed a resolution for a further instalment of reform before the visit of the statutory commission at the end of ten years, and the Government have undertaken to represent the matter to the home authorities. In the meanwhile Lord Lytton the Under Secretary observed on the subject in the house of lords—"were it proved by experience that there was a defect in the Act, which had not been foreseen and required remedy, I do not think that any S. S. is debarred from coming to parliament for the remedy" (*Times of India*, 22-12-1921).

urged in different sections of this book that the present army cannot be expected to obey a wholly Indian government, or, in other words, that Indian self-government can only become a reality in proportion as a really Indian army is built up, and that the modern art of war cannot be mastered quickly, a modern army in being cannot be created in a moment by a wave of the magician's wand. Luckily the highest authorities, who still continue the arbiters of our destiny, recognise all this to the full. We read in His Majesty's proclamation of December 23rd, 1919:—"The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride." The concluding passage from the 158th paragraph of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has already been quoted in the last chapter (p 406 *ante*) and may be quoted here again:—

"This responsibility for India's defence is the ultimate burden which rests on the Government of India and it is the last duty of all which can be committed to inexperienced or unskilful hands. So long as India depends for her internal and external security upon the army and the navy of the United Kingdom, the measure of self-determination which she enjoys must be inevitably limited. We cannot think that parliament would consent to the employment of British arms in support of a policy over which it had no control and of which it might disapprove. The defence of India is an Imperial question; and for this reason the Government of India must retain both the power and the means of discharging its responsibilities for the defence of the country and to the Empire as a whole."

But pronouncements like these, while defending limitations which must be accepted today, necessarily point to the sympathetic creation of new conditions under which such limitations ceased to apply and could therefore be removed. As the Secretary of State himself told the house of commons in his concluding speech on December 5th, 1919:—"Parliament, I think, must see that you do not at one and the same moment withhold things for a particular reason and then refuse the opportunity of procuring them...Do not deny to India self-government be-

cause she cannot take her proper share in her own defence,and then deny to her people the opportunity of learning to defend themselves. These are problems of which parliament takes upon itself the responsibility by the passage of the Bill."

What is India's "proper share in her own defence?" There can be but one answer to the question. India does not want a single alien in her army or in her navy. She does not want a single mercenary either. She desiderates an army and a navy manned by citizen soldiers and sailors, whose loyalty is not the less profound–whose efficiency is the greater—in that it is not blind martial instinct, but reasoned attachment and willing devotion to the service of the Mother. That is the goal. We have to work for it under England's guidance; England has to help us to build up such an army and navy in reasonable time. Thus alone can her long association with our history be fully justified at the bar of humanity and pass into the noblest form of equal friendly comradeship. India has been waiting for her to make a start in this great task ever since the Great War began. The moment she does make a real start, all distrust of her, non-co-operation in every form, will die a natural death.

What would be a real start? It is a pity that Indian leaders have not yet faced this question. Lord Sinha has been quoted on the subject in the last chapter. The more recent utterances of Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, and Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya are well-known. None goes far enough. None grapples with the subject as a whole. The military authorities, belonging to a great department with a noble history and traditions slowly built up, have very naturally their own rooted ideas on the subject. These they have to be made to state systematically with all the whys and wherefores; these have to be steadily and radically altered by free persistent and patient

discussion, until their own minds receive the proper orientation with reference to the national ideal. Such a beginning has been made in the central Legislature in the course of this year. There was a committee of the legislature on the military requirements of India and writing on their report the Simla correspondent of the London *Times*[1] observed:—

"The Finance Member of Council has given a virtual pledge that he will not countenance any increase in army expenditure except what might be necessitated by actual operations on the frontier. The Commander in Chief and staff have adopted the course of taking the legislature entirely into their confidence. Some of the recommendations of the Committee have been already accepted by Government. (1) A military college at Dehra Dun to prepare Indian boys for Sandhurst is sanctioned and will be opened by the Prince of Wales. (2) The organisation of a Territorial Force has been taken in hand; its officers are to carry British designations. (3) The principle of a short service system with a few years more in the Reserve has been accepted. The Assembly carried other proposals also in most cases without a division. Indian opinion is determined that the army in India should be entirely under the control of the legislature, that all ranks should be opened to Indians on equal terms with British officers, and that the utmost reduction in the military budget should be effected. The clear duty of the present Government is," the correspondent continued, "to train up the young Indian as an officer to lead his men, to instil into him the right ideals, and to make the new Indian army in every way worthy of comradeship with the other forces of the Empire. A policy must be laid down at once which clearly looks forward to Indian regiments officered entirely by Indians, and the Headquarters Staff freely manned by responsible Indian officers. India will no longer tolerate an army of Indian soldiers who are merely mercenaries drawn from a limited section of her population."

Is a quasi-military institution to "prepare Indian boys for Sandhurst" a real start? "A short service system with a few years in the reserve," "not an army of mere

1 "Indian Army's Future" in the *Times* of October 8th, 1921. The Committee were: the Commander in Chief-President; the Finance, Law and Education members of the executive council, the foreign secretary, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, and Lieutenant Hissamuddin Khan (23rd Cavalry, F. F., a Durani Afghan)—members. The Committee called for evidence from representatives of various schools of thought in the country.

mercenaries drawn from a limited section of the population," "the utmost reduction in military expenditure,"—these are vague phrases: are years to elapse and decades to pass before these high-sounding formulæ are given a definite content, and real work commenced in accordance with it?

What would constitute a real start? A quinquennial reduction in the British army of occupation;[2] a simultaneous increase, from three to five times the number of the British soldiers reduced in the Indian recruitment a reduction every year in the "Indian" recruitment from the martial or semi-savage tribes on the borders, and a simultaneous increase, twice or thrice the number, in the Indian recruitment; an annual reduction in the over-recruitment from amongst Sikhs, Gurkhas, Jats, &c., and a simultaneous increase in the recruitment from all other parts of the country; a reorganisation of the four army commands of today into eight or nine, in order that the new recruits might have the first year or year and a half of their training in or near their own province; several military colleges in India to train up a sufficiency of officers for these eight or nine centres as well as for the regi-

---

2. Mr. Malaviya said at Bombay, 17th and 19th August, 1921,—"they would be content to have responsible government in a definite number of years provided Govt. made earnest beginnings at once. Their earnestness would be in this. Supposing there were 6000 British military officers in India today and complete responsible government was to be granted in five years; they must begin at once by training up and replacing 1200 Indian officers every year. The greatest shame of India today was that she required foreigners to defend the country. Let them start on that basis, and let people and Govt. understand each other that that was the settled policy."-To build up a modern Indian army would take several periods of five years, no one can say from today, how many. Again, the officers are far more valuable than the men. At any rate, of the first British regiments reduced, I should say, keep the officers to help in training up the Indian officers and recruits. These, however, though very important, are details. Mr. Malaviya's principle is one of the fundamental points at issue today between the executive and the people.

ments on active service, the reserves, and the territorials; the seasoned Indian troops of the present army, as many regiments as can be spared from the frontier, to be stationed at these eight or nine centres, to form nuclei round which the regiments of the new recruits might grow; the equipment of the Indian section of the army to be raised at once to the level of the British section in all respects; the deficiency in their proportion of air-force, artillery, &c., to be made good without delay; the new armies to be from the first of the highest level in all equipment and in the proportion which infantry, cavalry, artillery, and air-force bear to one another in them; all army stores and necessaries of every description from aeroplanes and tanks to buttons to be manufactured in India in factories located and organised so as to give the quantities required of the best quality at a minimum of cost, and the personnel of the factories to consist of a high and growing proportion of Indians from the first; the training of the recruit to be a training in life and in industry as well as in military duties, for he is to spend only a short term—five years at most, two or two and a half in training, the balance in active service—as a soldier, the rest of his life he is to be a civilian, and all the better equipped for this his real life for his years of soldiering; and all other parts of a vast subject to be thought out and a start made in all and each in harmony with these fundamentals. But it is hardly the business of a mere student to develop a whole policy for public men. His duty ends with throwing out suggestions, to be treated merely as suggestions of the underlying principles, and even when they arise naturally out of his reading of a situation and voice some of his deepest convictions, he cannot avoid feeling some hesitation about the propriety of his doing so.

In one word, the army as it is to-day, the Indian section of it as well as the English, and the entire army sys-

tem have to be radically transformed. They have had their day, a great day full of brilliant achievements set off with many a deed of thrilling heroism; it is no disparagement of them and their glorious record, to say that in the day that has dawned we now want something entirely different; something that we want the military experts to create for us, as they alone can. At the first blush, they will of course be dead against all such innovations and ideas, almost to a man. That is only human nature. One ought not to entertain different expectations about any class of men to whom the system that has created them is as the breath of their nostrils. But the reason is the noblest of man's working faculties, just because it enables him, however slowly, to perceive that the old order, whatever its claims on loyalty and sentiment, has had its day, and a new order altogether is really needed for the new era. And when once this perception begins, everything else developes out of it in due course.

A start in the building up of an Indian Navy might be postponed for a decade or so. But India owes it to herself to relieve England and all other parts of the Empire of every naval duty in her own waters, which extend —taking Ceylon as an integral part of India for this purpose—from Aden and the Cape on the west to the Gulf of Siam and the Java Sea on the east. And if we have to begin building up a navy ten years hence in earnest, we must begin building up a mercantile marine from to-day.

As said above, we too have to work for all this ourselves. Let us try to understand the implications a little more fully. Some points have to be specially emphasized. "The utmost reduction in military expenditure": how long are our public men to keep repeating this parrot-cry of Victorian liberalism? No responsible person ever wants a single pie wasted of course. But an old system has to be pulled down as a new one can be built up to take its

place. Instead of a British army, an Indian army; instead of British prestige, which has been our sure shield for over sixty years, the creation of Indian prestige; instead of the prestige of a few martial races, the Sikhs, the Marathas and the rest, the federal prestige of India as a whole, made up of the equal prestige of each province; instead of seasoned veterans, short timers, reservists, and territorials; instead of expert mercenaries from select areas and tribes, not a superfluous man among them, regiments of citizen soldiers from all over the country; numbers and equipment and collective spirit to make up for the hereditary aptitude of the individual unit; colleges and factories and a corps of officers to be built up from the foundations:—can any one imagine that these things can be had without increased expenditure? It will take at least twenty years of growing expenditure for the new system to attain its full development. If our plans are well laid and properly executed, if the right spirit animates the whole from its inception onwards, and if the new creation proves a success in actual experience, the time for economy, for reducing the numbers on active service, in the reserves, and in the territorials, and for shortening the periods of service for all, would come then. But the new system has got to be built up first, whatever the cost. The only question is—are not the things we shall obtain in return for the cost in money and in men, infinitely worth having? And as against the cost during the period of creation, we have to place the inestimable gains: first, real Swarajya based upon our own efficiency and prestige won through our own exertions and sacrifices; second, a sense of discipline [3] permeating the entire population, since our soldiers, too, would be drawn from the entire population in fairly equal proportions from all

3 We lack this at present, indeed it is one of our gravest deficiencies. No nation ever embarked upon Swarājya with less solidarity and a weaker sense of discipline than we possess today.

over the country ; third, a higher level of health, vigour, and self-respect throughout the country ; fourth, the creation of many industries ; and fifth, the bulk of the money spent would be spent within the country on her own children,—instead of upon people to whom India cannot but be the land of exile, who look down upon and maltreat us while they are here, and expect us, forsooth, to be grateful to them for being our defenders on those terms ; notwithstanding the fact that they are all brought out, trained, maintained, and pensioned afterwards, all at our cost, and that England and the Empire gain incalculably by thus having always available, free of cost or trouble, such a body of troops and officers thoroughly trained to take the field in any part of the world at a moment's notice.

Secondly, the army and the navy are to be our own, trained by our own people, created by our own expenditure and efforts and sacrifices. And the prestige more precious than the regiments and battle-fleets,[4] will be the slow result of these concrete creations, and will crystallise only in proportion as these creations are successful, and are animated by the character, or, to use the current phrase the soul-force of the people as a whole. For armies and navies are not mere brute force. Even bodies of mercenaries or gangs of pindharies have their day only so long as there is a collective spirit and discipline informing them ; and this, the character and solidarity of the body as a whole, what raises the mere fighting machine into a living organism with a will and a sense of duty and honour, and ideals, is of course far higher where the units building them up are the free citizens of a civilised nation. In the Great War, for instance, the German armies, merely as fighting machines, were not very inferior at the end of the war, to what they were in the beginning. The equipment and the organisation had suffered very little if at all ;

4 India will need two battlefleets, an eastern and a western.

the change was in the spirit of the men, and still more in the spirit of the nation behind the men, and it was this that ended the war.[5]

Does any one imagine that India can create her army her navy and her prestige except under the sympathetic guidance of England? Look at the military history of India in the dry light of absolutely dispassionate inquiry, from the moment that Dupleix introduced the European art of war on Indian soil by training up Indian mercenaries with European equipment to fight like European regiments. The list is long of the men from Chanda Saheb to Ranjit Sing who tried their uttermost to master this new art and base their thrones upon this new power. Morarirav Guttikar succeeded better than Chanda Saheb, Ibrahim Gardi better than Morarirav, Mahadji Shinde better than Ibrahim, Ranjit Singh succeeded better than any predecessor. Even at the best, however, the success was limited. The Indian states of those days still had independence, power, statesmanship of a sort, and virility. And yet they failed. Does any one imagine that to-day when war is far more scientific and technical, and the disparity between a fully trained body of five thousand (equipped with the deadly arms of the twentieth century) and a crowd, however brave, a thousand times more numerous, is far greater than ever before,—and, moreover, when India has had six decades of the Arms Act, and fatty degeneration, that we shall, nevertheless, succeed better at present, without England's aid, than we did between 1748 and 1848? Such a view could only be entertained by people for whom history can have no meaning whatever.

5 Cf.—"One factor in modern war dominates every other. In modern war, the war of nations, it is the nation that loses the war and not the army. The defeat of the nation brings about the defeat of the army. While a great nation is sound, its army can and will go on fighting; but when the nation goes, the army too goes...This is the lesson of the Russian collapse, the Austrian collapse, and finally of the German collapse."—Edinburgh Review, January 1921, p. 20.

There are those amongst the Indian intelligentsia and their organs who wax wroth in season and out of season at the clauses in the pronouncement of August 1917, reproduced in the preamble to the Act of 1919,[6] which state explicitly that "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by parliament, upon whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, and that the action of parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." Such impatient unhistorical views in so far as they arise out of sentimental reliance upon the so-called inherent rights of selfdetermination are beneath argument. Inherent rights are mere abstractions; political rights and liberties come into existence only by being embodied in constitutional law and practice. And in so far as such views claim to rest upon pledges and promises during the War, the constitutional answer to them is final, that the Act of 1919 is the definite and detailed interpretation by the sovereign authority in the British Empire of the necessarily general promises and pledges which Lloyd George and others might have indulged in under the exigencies of a prolonged life and death struggle. The promises and pledges have no value except in so far as parliament has deliberately chosen to substantiate them in definite legislation.

The English system, political and constitutional, is fairly elastic. The pace of reform can be forced upto a certain point. The legislatures can bring pressure upon

6 The prononucement of 1917 has given place to the preamble of 1919; wherever there is any difference of wording between the two, the preamble is the more authoritative from the date of enactment, 23-12-19. The above quotation is from the preamble. The only difference in wording between the two is that where the pronouncement said "the British Government and the Government of India," the preamble says "parliament."

the executives, the constituencies can bring pressure upon the legislatures, and the executives must yield to persistent pressure, interpreting the letter of the law and the terms of their instructions with a latitude or laxity gradually overstepping the original and commonsense meaning of the expressions. This would be evolution on lines which the Englishman all over the Empire understands and appreciates. That is the royal road along which Freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent: it is the King's Constitutional Highway, built first in English history and imitated later in other lands. Non-co-operation, on the other hand, is revolutionary. And whenever a revolutionary movement is revealed in its true colours, however non-violent it may be, the entire strength and influence of the executive government and of the conservative sections of the peoples must be ranged on the opposite side. A revolutionary movement, however non-violent in fact as well as in intention, must be a war against the powers that be, and a civil war, too, amongst the people themselves.

Constitutional evolution under the sympathetic guidance of England, or else a revolution inflicting untold suffering in the immediate present and leading up to a future altogether dark about which no one in his senses can make any credible prediction at all: these are the alternatives between which India has to make her choice. Nor can she keep hesitating at the cross-ways for an indefinite period.

But, finally, it is said: "The sympathetic guidance of England is a vain delusion and a snare. Her whole record in India is against any such hope. We too hoped for it, we cherished the hope as fondly as anybody, until we have been forced by the inexorable logic of events and almost against our will to abandon it and turn our back upon it." Those who have really formed such convic-

tions must necessarily be irreconcilables. They form the backbone of the body of non-co-operationists. For in politics as in love, to repeat lines already cited on an earlier page,

> Faith and unfaith can never be equal powers :
> Unfaith in aught is want of faith in all.

This book, however, is an attempt, very imperfect no doubt but conscientious, to present the record of England in India historically. I have not disguised the fact that a portion of that long record, about one generation or four decades in length, is open to criticism. But I have also tried to understand and explain why it was so. And all can see who are not blinded by dense prejudices that from about 1905 onwards a better day began to dawn for India as a consequence of measures carried through by the active and devoted exertions of statesmen like John Morley and Lord Hardinge. The growing improvement in our position both here in our own home and in the Empire, has been accelerated by the Great War, and the Act of 1919 has really framed for us a constitution truly liberal, necessarily leading on to full self-government of the parliamentary type, if we on our part, will only work the Act in the spirit in which it has been framed. If we will only tread this path of peaceful constitutional and continuous evolution, life military and life civil, life political and life economic might develop here in disciplined growth and in self-sufficient and courageous independence, all parts of India learning gladly from one another and from all the world because left free to learn and to test and to grow up in their own way ; and a Modern India oriental in humanity and in love of peace, yet strong in balanced self-realisation, might arise thus as a federated union of eight or ten peoples gradually welded together into one political nationality ; an influential friend of all legitimate political ambitions throughout the East ; a strong supporter, as a member of the British Empire, of the peace of the world.

I do not at all wish to leave the impression that the realisation of such a vision of the future of our country under the sympathetic guidance of England, in the course of a generation or so, can be deemed a certainty. Certain predictions in politics are the privilege of the magician, the stock-in-trade of the charlatan. The future is always more or less uncertain. But on the one hand there is this probability. On the other hand, there is revolution; spreading hatred[7] of England and the English name to such an extent as to overcast the entire future. It is for the constituencies and politicians of to-day to make their choice, whatever it is, and translating it into persistent and organised political action, non-violently but decisively beat down the other party. It is we, as a nation, who have to make up our collective mind.

---

7 Mahatma (महात्मा) Gandhi preaches repeatedly, indeed, that "non-co-operation without love is devilish," but what is the inevitable effect of non-co-operation in word and deed on the average mind and heart? To quote only a single instance that rightly interpreted speaks volumes;—Mahadevbhai Haribhai Desai, B. A. LL. B., a non-co-operator above the average, confessed in his statement before the Court trying him, 23-12-1921, "It is with a sense of positive relief that I shall today walk into gaol-the sense that I shall be relieved of the difficult duty of criticising Govt. with truthfulness and yet without rancour. That capacity only my Master [the Mahatma] has achieved. And I am really thankful that I shall no longer have to struggle against my baser self."

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

A crore = 10 millions = 100 lakhs. A *lakh* (also spelt lac) = 100 thousands.

A Rupee = 1 s 4 d = 1/15th of a £. But from about 1820 to 1900 a third unit was also used in Govt. publications, intermediate between £ and R, viz. Rx = 10 rupees.

An anna = 1/16th of a rupee = one penny. But the ratio of annas to the rupee is often used merely to indicate subdivisions of a unit; one-eighth being called two annas in the rupee; three-fourths, twelve annas in the rupee; &c. The word should be spelt *ānā*.

Dehli, Gokhle. In a very small number of cases I have deliberately given up the current spelling. Gokhle himself wrote his name with an a between h and l. But foreigners and North India people ignorant of the correct pronunciation necessarily read the final ale as ऐल. Even Sir Wilfrid Lawson rhymed it with 'tale' :

"A friend too from India will take up the tale,—
Good luck and success to the Hon'ble Gokhale." (*India*, 18-5-1906).

Grant Duff's spelling—Gokhlay-should be revived as really the best. Thus, for instance, Rānade should be spelt- Rānaday.

P II n 2 *Add* For further details see *Hunter* ii pp 230-7.

P 12 l 19 *For* on *read* one.

P 17 n 5 *For* 1686-7 *read* 1686-9. *Omit* the last 5 words of the sentence ; and *add*—For this war see *Hunter* ii ch 7. Peace was made by Aurangzeb's firman, February 1690, a little after Sir John Child's death at Bombay.

P 27 l 7 *Add* after 'finally'—and most appropriately.

P 27 l 13 *For* I 227 *read* I p 225 (No 70 in the 1909 ed.)

P 41 l 15 *For* councillors *read* councillors.5 P 42 l 5 *Omit* similarly

P 47 l 9 *For* Indian *read* India. P 49 n 7 *Add* Also J C Sen : *History of Bengali Language and Lit.* pp 883-897.

P 50 *Add* placing it first in the references—E. I. Co. Act, 1813 (53 Geo. 3, ch 155) in *Collection of Statutes relating to India.*

P 51 n 2 *Instead of* by about £ 100,000 *read* still. P 53 l 23 *Omit* my right honourable friend. L 37 *For* passed *read* recently been passing.

P 64 l 10 *For* 1850 *read* 1853.

P 66 l 19 *For* with a ten...credit, *read* who had served or resided in India for ten years, and, L 29 *For* because *read* to secure.

P 79 l 16 *For* and no change has been *read* and so no change was

P 80 l 13 *For* constitutional *read* fundamental P 80 n 8. *Add*—*Re* Indian troops employed out of India, the Commission held that "India had no direct and substantial interest in the employment of forces in Europe, in Africa west of the Cape, or in Eastern Asia, but had such interest in keeping the Suez Canal open and in the maintenance of order in Egypt as affecting the Canal" (Imp Gaz iv p 378). But in apportioning the charges on such occasions from 1900 to 1914 England did not exact from India all that this geographical partition of interests might have justified, but behaved towards her more fairly and liberally—see p 260 *post.*

P 84 *Add* placing it first in the references—Montagu-Chelmsford *Report I. C. R.* §§ 33-36, 169. P 87 n 4 *Add-Lovat Fraser*, pp 415-449.

P 89 n 7 *Add* Telegraphic communication with England *via* Turkey, from March 1, 1865.

P 92 n 1 *Read* Lord Curzon. N 2 *Add*—See also Lord Curzon's house of lords speech, 23-2-1909.

P 93 l 4 The word 'secretariat' should be in italics. L 19 *Omit* of council.

P 100 l 4 *For* parliament *read* parliament.* And, at bottom of page add footnote—* The debates on this bill in the lords revealed a difference of opinion as to the powers of financial control assigned to the India Council by parliament in 1858—the so-called financial veto. Lord Salisbury and two ex-Lord Chancellors held that "in reference to every question in which expenditure was involved, i. e. in reference to every question of every kind the India Council had the power of absolute and conclusive veto by a bare majority over the decision of the S. S." The Duke of Argyll and the Lord Chancellor in office held that the Council was "rather a consulting than a controlling body." This latter view prevailed. The former would have proved unworkable in practice. For instance, it would have reduced the Indian legislatures to mere registering bodies, for they could not have legislated at all without the sanction of the S. S. and of the India Council in particular for every financial detail. As a matter of fact, the previous sanction of the S. S. was obtained during the period 1858-1920 only on the general principles of a bill. See besides the debate Fawcett : *Indian Finance* pp 8-11 & 71

P 107 l 15 *For* later chapters *read* a later chapter.

P 116 n 2 *Add* See also Kaye: *Administn E. I. Co.*, pt iv ch 1. He notes that where successful "the spirit of the regulations was infused in such a manner as to cause it to harmonise and blend itself with all

that was good in the native institutions and to be respected in the local usages"; but that where the experiment failed, as in Sindh until Bartle Frere was appointed head of the province, it meant "the retention of all that was oppressive or evil in the old system, and adding much evil of our own...Experience and honesty were exchanged for inexperience in the superintendence and fraud and oppression in the subordinate branches." Prichard adds that where successful the success was due to the officers being selected in the first instance and to their promotion not being hampered by rules of seniority. He also observes that "after the first flush" routine asserted itself and the provinces fell back (II pp 156–161). Lastly, ch. 2 of Sir J. Stephen: *Minute on Administn of Justice* (1872), is a thorough-going comparison of the two systems. P 116 *Omit* the last footnote.

P 117 l 27 After 'departments' *add*–to do so. For the next four lines *read*—The taxes on imports and exports have to be collected at the frontiers,

P 118 l 16 *Omit* but not of both L 19 *Omit* Or, thirdly,

P 119 l 23 *For* Bentinck *read* Bentinck[2] and at bottom of page *add* footnote:— 2 He had even proposed the appointment to the covenanted service of Raja Rammohun Roy's adopted son, but "the idea was abandoned owing to the clamour evoked in Calcutta"—Hunter: *India of the Queen and other Essays* (1903) p xi. It was only when the Calcutta High Court came into being, 1861, that he was appointed the first Indian judge (Dutt: *Victorian Age*, p 243).

P 124 l 20 *For* extent *read* extent.* And add a footnote—*For, views altogether different, see *Islington Report* I p 170.

P 124 n 5 *Add* Some of these expressions he was merely repeating from the report of the committee of the India Council that had recommended simultaneous examinations in 1860; see for a very brief account of this committee and its report, pp 186–7 *post*.

P 127 n 12 *Add* as a new paragraph to footnote.—The G. of I. Resolution on the subject, 24-5-1904, repeats almost the same arguments and phrases. This Resolution followed Lord Curzon's sixth budget speech (*Raleigh* I pp. 156–160) and was replied to by Gokhle in his budget speech the following year, 29–3–1905. It was Gokhle's budget speech, 1903, that started the topic during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty. See, finally, the debate on Mr. Subba Rao's Resolution in the central legislature, 17–3–1911, especially the speeches of the mover and Gokhle; the appointment of the Islington commission followed, September 1912, which reported in August 1915.

P 129 l last *For* elsewhere *read* elsewhere.[13] And *add* as footnote—13 For most of these details see the Times of India *Indian Year Book*, 1921. P 131 l 27 *For* '*memsab*' *read*–*memsahib*.

P 135 n *Add*—See also Sir Abdur Rahim's Minute of dissent, para 22 (*Islington Report* I p. 401) and comments on the view in W. Archer: *India and the Future* pp. xxii–xxiii.

P 136 *Add* to the references as the 4th item—Gokhle: Budget Speeches, 1903 and 1905. P 137 l 1 *For* 1853 *read* 1833. P 137 l 13 *For* was it *read* were they. P 138 l 24 *For* stay *read* presence.

P 139 n 1 *Add*—For the passage containing it see *Mukharji* p xxiii. Syed Ahmed had also pointed out in his pamphlet on the causes of the Mutiny (1858) that there was nothing existing in the Indian government, "to warn us of the dangers before they burst upon us," and had asked that there should be Indian members on the legislative councils (Ramsay Macdonald: *Government of India*, p. 8).

P 146 l 25 *For* India, has *read* India. with some real power, or, in other words, with some real subordination to them of the executive autocracy, has. P 149 l 6 *For* discontent. *Read* discontent, organising itself both above the ground and under.

P 149 l 33 To last sentence *add*—, and weakened by the rules and regulations they drew up under the Act.

P 151 Table *Total Offl* for C. P. and B. should be 11. *Grand Total* for the Punjab should be 27; for Burma, 18.

P 154 ll 3-4 *For* could be *read* were; *for* had to be *read* were.

P 157 n *Add*—His loyalty to the British connection, and his temper, erring if at all on the side of that caution moderation and regard for the *status quo* so dear to the administrative mind, were manifest in every word, and contributed not a little to his success.

P 159 l 5 *For* non-official nominated member *read* less independent nominated member not recommended by a constituency. L 6 *For* and in the budget debate, the *read* in the budget debate, moreover, the P 162 n 1 *For* 1863 *read* 1663.

P 167 l 2 *Omit* two L 14 first word: *read* seventythree.

P 168 n *Read*—Their powers were greater in non-regulation areas but in some of these they have been recently reduced to the same limits as in the regulation provinces.

P 169 l 23 *Omit* the detection of the criminal, L 27 *For* rascality *read* mal-practices L 28 *read* harass.

P 169 n *Read*—2 The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, empowered first class magistrates also to try cases of sedition.

P 171 ll 10-12 *Omit* the sentence about cantonments. Ll 17-21 *Omit* (1) and instead *read*—(1) The law provides arbitration courts for the simpler cases and with safeguards to minimise miscarriage of justice, but these are far from popular. L 23 *Omit* the last two words viz. 'cost and' L 25 *For* areas *read* areas.[4] L 31 *For* courts should... the larger towns *read* courts with larger powers should...the presidency towns.

P 171 n 3 *Add* as a new paragraph—Several experienced criminal lawyers and judges of the rank of sessions judges whom I have been able to consult were of opinion that (1) it was now very very rare indeed for innocent men to be hauled up; (2) that the main complaint they had to make was that the policeman in preparing the case was rather given to

present a chain of evidence complete in every link, some links very questionable indeed; (3) and that it was impossible for the experienced judge to decide the whole case upon the weakest link or links, since that might produce 'complete shipwreck of justice.' Nor did these experts anticipate that a nationalised police could by itself produce much improvement, until a healthier and more active public spirit grew up. People ought to show stronger resentment against crime and criminals, and render active help to the police. I agree; and it is for that very reason that I place police-nationalisation in the forefront of the reforms required. The transformation in public sentiment and habits can only come about slowly, and only as the police department was nationalised at the top and manned in the middle ranks by officers who could command the willing respect and spontaneous co-operation of the people. That was the type of efficiency this branch of the administration required, and not the Strachey-Curzon brand of it. —And it is a matter for national congratulation that the police department in Bengal, at any rate, has held a public conference in December 1921, and told both the executive and the people a bit of their mind. It is flagrant insubordination, of course, and therefore a step of rare courage on the part of those who organised the conference and took a leading share in its proceedings. Let us hope that the movement will extend and that it will be resolutely kept under control by experienced leaders with sufficient selfrestraint.

P 172 l 4 *Omit* or Munsif Ll 10-14 This applies...the district--*Omit* this sentence. L 16 *For* are to *read*—are generally to L 17 *Omit* and third L 17-18 *Omit*-or to the full bench of the High Court. L 22 *Omit*-and call...irregular. L 23 *For* are either *read* may be L 24-26 *For* or appeals...are allowed *read* in cases in which no appeal lies. P 173 l 11 *For* new younger *read* fresh set of younger. P 174 l 13 *For* seeming *read* securing.

P 175 l 1 *For* India *read* India.* And at bottom of page *add* footnote-*Oaths of this primitive description are still permitted under the Indian Oaths Act, but the point is that they have dropped out of use.

P 176 l 34 *For* just one *read* or two.

P 177 l 6 *For* papers *read* papers * and as footnote *add*—* In the higher courts the judge's ignorance of the vernacular is by no means a negligible item in the high cost of litigation specially in multilingual provinces such as Bombay, Madras, C. P. and B, and Bihar and O.

P 177 l 22 *After* 'nationalised' *add* and a higher sense of duty towards the protection of innocence and the punishment of crime prevail generally P 177 l 22 *After* a high *add*—(though diminishing)

P 178 l 13 *For* settled *read* settled* and as footnote *add*—* It must be noted, however, that Indian opinion was not unanimous on the point. In the U. P., for instance, many considered the deputy collectors a better court for dealing with landrevenue and rent matters than sub-judges; and Dr. Tejbahadur Sapru maintained that the Board

of Revenue was a better court of appeal for such cases than a high court. P 178 l 32 *For* perview *read* purview.

P 181 n 6 *Add* The offences under the Abkari, Forest, and other provincial Acts stood on quite a different footing from those under the criminal law; 'separation' was absolutely necessary with respect to the former.

P 182 At end of section as a note *add*—The Legislative Assembly, in the last session of 1921, passed a resolution for 'separation'. But the Members of Council pointed out during the debate what the Government of India observed later, that it was not possible for the central executive to take any action on such a resolution, since under the Act of 1919 it was a provincial subject.

P 189 l 15 *For* themselves *read* the children of the soil. L 18 *For* way *read* way,[10] and at bottom of page as footnote *add*—10 Blunt: *India under Ripon*, p. 96. Under December 22 the author notes with much else: "Mrs. Ilbert called...Lord Kimberley had written to her husband urging him to stand firm, but the members of council were frightened out of their wits and Lord Ripon has followed them."

P 190 *Add* to the references—Mody: Sir Pherozeshah Mehta i ch.8 Also Chintamani: Sir P Mehta's Speeches and Writings, pp. 158–169 174–181.

P 190 *Add* as a note at end of chapter:—In September 1921 the Legislative Assembly passed the following Resolution moved by Mr. N. M. Samarth in a speech giving a brief historical review of the subject:—"That in order to remove all racial distinctions between Indians and Europeans in the matter of their trial and punishment for offences, a committee be appointed to consider what amendments should be made in the provisions of the Code of Criminal procedure...and to report on the best method of giving effect to their proposals."

P 190 n *Omit* the reference to *Dyarchy*, and *add*—The ratio of the urban population varies from province to province. Bombay stands highest with 19 %, Bihar and Orissa, lowest with 3·7 % amongst the major provinces.—*Moral and Matl Prog*,1911-12, p. 7. See also p. 331 *post*.

P 204 l 15 *For* brahman *read* brahman * and as footnote *add*—* *Kaye*, p 553. Ll 26-32. *Change* the verbs into the past tense. P 205 l 33 *For* historically *read* dynamically.

P 213 l 28 *For* province *read* province. * And as footnote *add*—* Similar legislation has been attempted in other provinces also; and for a wider and more guarded extension of the same root ideas to unthrifty feckless people other than agriculturists, see the Indian Contract Act Amendment Act, 1899, and the Usurious Loans Act of 1918.

P 214 *For* § 43 *read* § 43 A. P 215 l 24 *For* standard *read* standard* and as footnote *add*—* I. e. several standards, one for each of the principal varieties of soil within the tract.

P 216 ll 15-18 *Add* as a footnote—E. g. by William Digby, see his

"*Prosperous*" *British India.*

P 222 l 7 *For* us *read* us[3] *Add* to n 3—See also W. Archer: *India and the Future*, p 151.

P 230 n *Add*—,123-4; and in the following chapter, p 262 *post.*

P 246 n *Add*—For a later examination of Railway Rates Policy from the point of view of Indian interests, see Indian Industrial Commsn Report (1916-18), ch 19.

P 253 l 5 *For* presidency *read* country. P 256 l 5 *For* grows; the *read* grows. The P 257 l 25 *For* while *read* as long as.

P 258 l 7 *For* 22 millions *read* 18½ P 259 l 20 *For* times *read* times.[4]

P 260 l 7 *For* Indian Finance *read* Indian Finance * and as footnote *add*—* This parliamentary committee proved barren of results because it did not finish its labours and report before it came to an end with the dissolution of parliament in 1874.

P 261 *Separate* the total figure from the number of British troops by a dash between the two, ll 22, 24, and 26.

P 269 ll 18-26 *Delete* 4 crores and...12 lakhs a year. Instead *read* nearly 4 crores in 1901-2 to seven crores and eighty-seven lakhs in 1911-12, and has gone on increasing at a much higher rate since. In the footnote *delete* the last two sentences and *read* instead—The total spent in 1919-20 was 1489 lakhs; the distribution was much the same:—12·44 % universities and colleges, 33·6 % secondary, training and othe special schools, 27·28 % primary schools, 26· 68 % indirect (*Indian Education*, 1919-20).

P 271 n *Add*—And those who enjoy singing the praises of the heaven-born services in unmeasured terms, in season and out of season, might also by way of a corrective ponder over facts like the following:—"Within a century London, Berlin and Munich have cut their death-rates nearly in half. In Sweden the average length of life is 50 years for men, 53 for women; in the U. S., 44 and 46; in India 23 and 24" (Price Collier: *The West in the East*, p 187).

P 273 ll 34-36 *Delete* this sentence (Municipal.. chapter).

P 282 l 21 first word: *for* who *read* that. P 293 n 12 *For* the fraction in brackets at the end *read* about onethird.

P 312 *For* § 65 *read* 55. P 313 last l *For* member *read* number.

P 334 l 23 *For* councils *read* councils * and as footnote *add*—* Compare *Dyarchy* pp 274-5, and note especially "one of Gokhle's cherished convictions" that "when once some method of responsibility had been evolved the taxation including local and municipal taxation which the people could stand and would benefit by might be three times what it was at present."

P 339 As footnote at end of chapter *add*—The Bengal Village Self Government Act of 1919—passed under the guidance of Lord Sinha—subdivides districts or parts of districts into convenient unitary areas, each of these 'unions' is to have a 'unionboard', and any two or more members of it the local Government may by notifi-

cation appoint to be a "union bench" for the trial of petty offences with power to impose a fine not exceeding Rs 25 or in default to send the convicted offender to prison for not more than seven days. Any two or more members of the union board the Local Government may also by notification appoint to be a "union court" with jurisdiction to try petty and simple suits for money due on contracts, for the recovery of movable property or its value, or for compensation. The C. P. Village Panchayat Act and the U. P. Village Panchayat Act, of 1920, also give similar powers to "village benches" and "village courts." And Madras and other provinces are likely to pass similar Acts in the near future. Thus Gokhle's recommendations *a* and *b* (see p 335 *ante*) are shortly going to be acted upon in many parts of—if not all over—British India. The experiment should prove of great interest. Will it succeed? I do not think so; even the villager, I venture to hold, will very soon want better qualified and more indubitably impartial "benches" and "courts". "Petty and simple" matters are neither so petty nor so simple if you look at them as does the villager concerned, from the villager's own stand-point.

P 341 l 18 *For* utility *read* utility* and as footnote *add*—° "When the first medical college in India was founded (1836), it was feared that no Hindu would learn anatomy as they considered it a defilement to touch a corpse or even a dry bone. When the first Hindu student plunged his dissecting knife into a body a salute was fired from Fort William in honour of the event (so the tradition runs at Calcutta), and the G. G. himself shook the brave young medico by the hand" (*Modern Review*, September 1921, p 318).

P 344 l 23 *For* Benares *read* Benares * and as footnote *add*—* Founded 1898, secretary Babu Bhagwandas, to whom more than to any other single individual was due the rapid advance of the bold experiment to the status of a national achievement. L 26 *Read*—Message P 347 l *For* foundations *read* foundations * and as footnote *add*—* Dr. Rabindranath Tagore founded the Vishwa Bharati (विश्व भारती) University at Shanti Niketan, Bolepore, Monday, December 26, 1921; a university for those select spirits from any race or clime, who would worship the Muses with a pure devotion, free from such adventitious motives as are generally associated with examinations and degrees.

P 368 At bottom as a note *add*—The Nizam's Government has started the Osmania University with the object of giving the highest university education though the medium of the Urdu language.

P 378 l 9 last two words: *read* of thought P 382 l 23 last word and P 385 l 2 first word: *read* Indian P 382 n *Read* Rhodesia P 402 l 26 *For* scale *read* scale * and as footnote *add*—* General Smuts; *War Time Speeches*. See also K. T. Shah: *Governance of India*, pp xiii—xx. P 415 l 14 *Read* inevitable L 18 *For* Report *read* Reports I and II. P 420 l 8 *For* F *read* N. L 18 *Read* almost certainly. P 426 l 20 *For* 91 *read* 9. P 428 l 7 *Read-re* disforestation.

P 431 Table The 4 members shown as elected to the L. A. by general electorates in C. P. and B. include one elected by Berar but technically treated as nominated. Dehli has a general electorate returning one member. Adding him in the proper columns and in the totals, the total of elected M. L. A. should be 104 (including the Berar member just specified), and the grand total should be 144. 2/1 in the C P and B row, column N, should be 2/0. In the Council of State figures, the fraction ½ appears in four places ; for in Assam the general electorate and the Muhammadans elect a member each at alternate elections, and so do the B and O general and the Punjab Muhammadan electorates. P 432 I 7 *For* fifteen *read* sixteen.

N. B. Such misprints as the reader can easily correct himself have not been noted.
