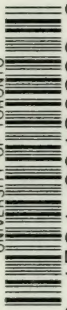


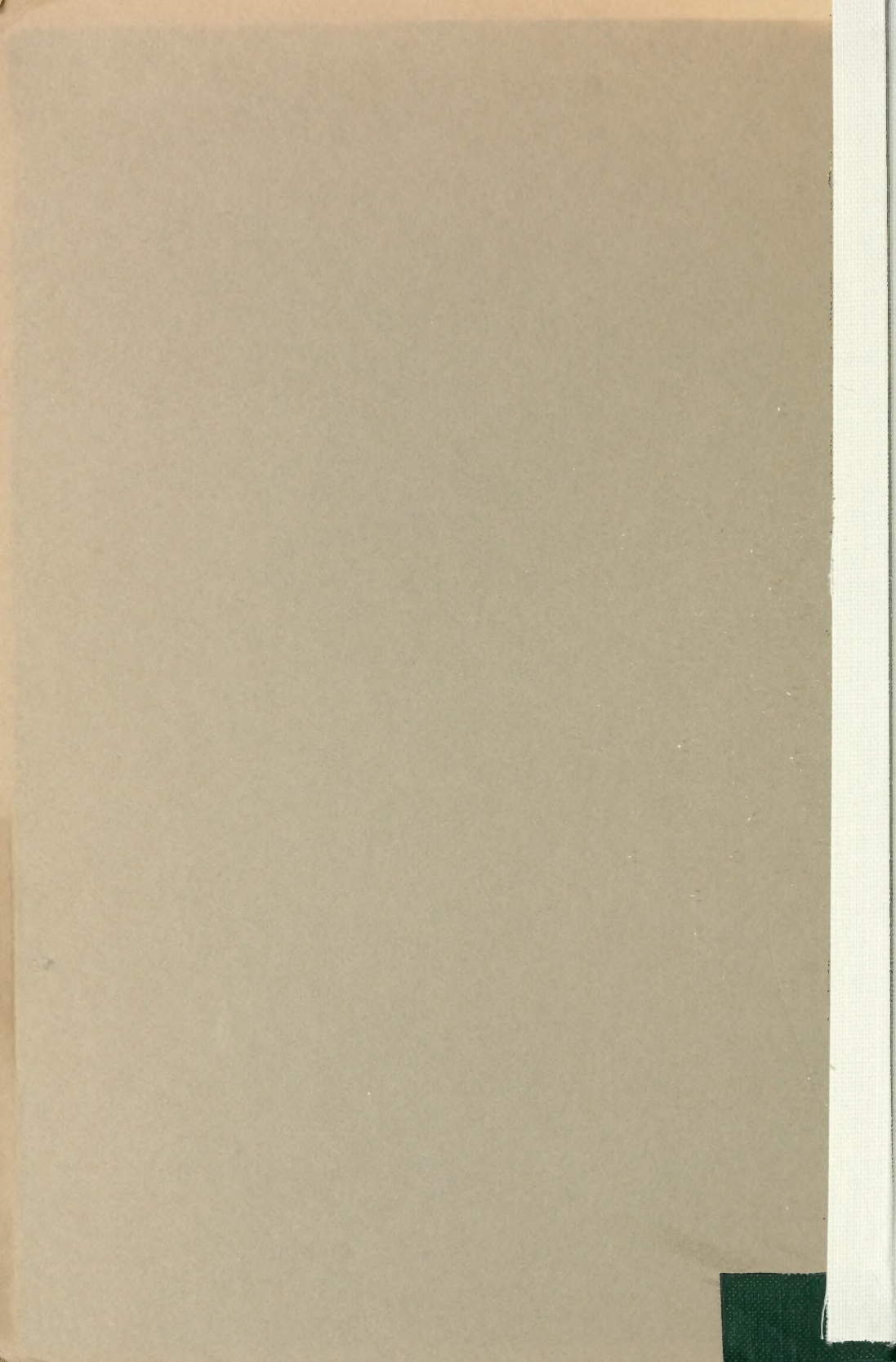
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 00120899 0

Pearson, William Winstanley
For India

DS
448
P37



dist. H. 1108

D

FOR INDIA

By *William Winstanley, 1891-1923*

W. W. PEARSON, M. A., B. Sc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
PAUL RICHARD

□ □ □

TOKIO 1917



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

2. JAN 1917

FOR INDIA

By

W. W. PEARSON, M. A., B. Sc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

PAUL RICHARD

□ □ □

PUBLISHED BY

THE ASIATIC ASSOCIATION OF JAPAN

11 TAKAGICHO, AKASAKA, TOKIO

AUGUST 1917

PRICE SIX PENCE NET

DS
448
P37

LIBRARY
MAR 2
"We are fighting for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their own way of life and of obedience."

"We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose."

President Wilson, to the Provisional Government of Russia.

"Russia has found that a free people are the best defenders of their own honour."

Lloyd George, in the House of Commons.

"What about the historic injustices committed by yourselves, and your violent oppression of Ireland, India, Egypt, and the innumerable peoples inhabiting all the continents of the world? If you are so anxious for justice that you are prepared in its name to send millions of people to the grave, then, gentlemen, begin with yourselves."

From the Bulletin of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Petrograd.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Mr. W. W. Pearson, the author of this booklet, was educated at Cambridge where he took an Honours degree in the Natural Sciences Tripos, after which he proceeded to Oxford and obtained the degree of B. Sc. for a thesis on "The Teleological Aspect of Evolution." In 1907 he went to India for the first time and was for four years engaged in educational work in Calcutta. When in London in 1912 he met Rabindranath Tagore and was asked by him to take up work in his school at Shantiniketan. Since commencing his work there he has been twice asked by Indian leaders to visit parts of the British Empire where Indians are living. In 1913 Mr. C. F. Andrews was asked by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to enquire into the conditions in South Africa where the treatment of the Indians had given rise to a grave situation. Mr. Pearson accompanied him to South Africa, and again in 1915 he went with Mr. Andrews to Fiji, and also visited Australia, in response to a demand for the truth as to the treatment of indentured Indian labourers in Fiji. A joint report was published by them on their return to India, and the material contained therein was used as additional argument for the repeated demand for the abolition of the indentured system of Indian labour all over the British Empire. Abolition was promised early in 1916 by the late Viceroy Lord Hardinge.

During Sir. Rabindranath Tagore's tour in America Mr. Pearson acted as his private Secretary and was able, while in America, to meet with Canadian citizens who had studied the disabilities under which the Indians in Canada labour.

Mr. Pearson has written a book on "Shantiniketan," the school of Rabindranath, which was published recently by the Macmillan Co. of New York.

The evidence contained herein, emanating as it does from a well-informed Englishman known for his unbiassed disposition, is worthy of serious consideration by all interested in Indian problems, as it puts beyond a shadow of doubt the true state of India. Really it comes as an eye-opener to all of us. Achievement of Home Rule for India, as advocated by the learned author and all prominent leaders of Indian opinion, including friends of India like Mrs. Besant (who is now under internment with her co-workers for the advocacy of Home Rule in India), is in our judgment the only feasible peaceful solution of the political fate of the 315 millions of the once glorious land of Hindustan, to which Japan is immensely indebted for her religion, culture and philosophy.

Tokio, August 7th, 1917.

The Publisher.

INTRODUCTION

“For India”

The day will come when all the peoples shall be free. But, in the meantime, it happens that some which were free are now enslaved, while others which were enslaved are becoming free. — India is amongst these.

For this war, while judging the peoples, settling old accounts, and preparing new destinies, offers to the captives, if they are worthy of it, an occasion for breaking their chains; their inner chains more shameful, or their outer ones more cruel. — The first to break them will be those upon whom they weighed most heavily. Russia has started, India will follow.

India, the third of Asia, a sixth of humanity, subjected by a nation how much less not only in numbers, but also in true greatness, in antiquity, nobility and wisdom. ... India the patient, India the defenceless, who by her very gentleness has for a hundred years heaped burning coals of celestial fire upon the heads of her oppressors; — for she practices that terrible law of the Gospel, the law of non-resistance to evil, which leaves to the implacable hands of the Lord of Justice the vengeance on her offenders. ... During a hundred years once only has her patience known an instant of revolt. And that revolt was drowned in torrents of blood. And lo, those torrents of blood are now turning back on those who shed them. ... The Lord of Justice comes slowly but he comes always; his steps are without haste, and without weariness. And none ever invoke him in vain; but those who invoke him unworthily to serve their own hypocritical interests, tremble with fear when he appears. — How they quake with anger also when, in the midst of a people, there surges forth undisguised the Liberty of which they called themselves the heralds.

And yet, is it not natural that it should be in their camp, under the banners of the Rights of which they claim to be the defenders, that the first great acts of deliverance should be accomplished? And must not their war become, at last, what they proclaim it to be, a war of liberation, an abolitionist war, putting an end this time to the trade not of the blacks of America, but of peoples of all colours. After the slavery of men it is the slavery of peoples that must be abolished. For peoples also are men. After the trade *in* the Colonies it is the trade *of* the Colonies; the very word colonies being nothing but a pseudonym for the enslavement of peoples. ...

Colonisation is indeed the mortal sin of Europe. From that sin has come its Gehenna, and only with the end of that sin will come the end of that Gehenna. Some have said that the trials of this war have converted certain nations. We shall know it when they have made the great sacrifice, the sacrifice of their colonies. We shall know what their insular liberalism is worth when India is liberated.

Indeed in this matter the conscience of Europe is at last being aroused. It is already aroused in Russia. In the country where state imperialism was the worst, they now understand what is more odious and more illegitimate still, colonial imperialism. From Russia risen, comes the word of resurrection calling the peoples — those of the West and also of the East — to emerge from the stony sepulchre of their servitude. And this word is but an echo of the voice which rises everywhere filling the heavens of the nations with its rolling thunder. It rises against those who speak but do not act; who say, "Equity" and commit iniquity; who say, "Liberation" and keep in subjection entire races; — "Democracy" and submit multitudes to the autocracy of force, — "Rights of nationalities" and deny to the three hundred million people who inhabit India the right to be a nation, condemning as a crime the name itself of nationalism, of "Swadeshism," the very love for the Hindu Motherland! As if the nationalism of a people oppressed were not more to be

respected than that of a people who oppress, and the patriotism of the "native" of Judea more noble than that of a citizen of Rome!

To-day it is to all the Romes of the world that an avenging voice like that of Judea cries again: "Hypocritical nations, cease to whiten the outsides of your sepulchres filled with rotteness! Now, whether willingly or no, it is the inside that must be cleansed." A new day shines upon ancient falsehoods which were hidden by the night and reveals the secret causes of all the evils which corrode the peoples.

The root of all these evils has been, for Europe, that she has thought herself providentially destined to the despotic domination of the rest of the world. Nothing can cure her unless she renounces her selfish and wicked dream. Otherwise the world must deliver her by delivering itself first.

The war which is ruining and draining her to-day, — of which none confess the true aims, — is a war of supremacy for the possession of the routes to Asia, for the possession of Asia. Nothing can disarm their rival ambitions so long as the prey they covet remains for them a possible prey. — Peace will come from Asia, when Asia will be free.

It is not then solely for the uplift of Asia and in the interests of the world to come — for indeed the future of the world is with Asia — but in the interests of Europe herself, for her uplift also, that one must wish the end of her domination. The hour has come for her to collect herself, to withdraw her forces, to loosen her deadly grip, for her own sake as well as for others. The yoke of brass which she had forged for the peoples is now bruising her own neck. The sword with which she struck has turned back, dripping with blood, against herself. The hour has come for her to die to the old life that she may be born anew. Her deaths are the pledge and earnest of that life to come. But this rebirth of Europe has for its condition the restoration, the restitution of Asia.

Of Asia and first of India! For without India there is no

Asia. No Asia, free, without India free. For India is not simply a part of Asia, she is its living heart, the soul itself.

Free she must be, and not in the way those who govern her mean — when Governments speak of liberty there is a rattle of chains — but as she would be only when they cease to govern her, that is as free as she is now enslaved.

Of this kind of liberty it is forbidden to speak in India — the word itself is seditious. The national hope has the right to express itself only when masquerading under an English euphemism, “Home Rule,” invented to solve another problem of England’s oppression, that of Ireland.

“Home Rule” is a practical formula which has the effect of forthwith changing into interior conflict the hostility against England. If this device had been discovered a century earlier America would still be a colony. It is the formula to which, in extreme peril, England would resort in the case of India. She would prefer, rather than lose her altogether, to make of her a new “Dominion.” The liberty which she would grant under that title would be that enjoyed by a people under guardianship — that which children have not to go outside the garden. Interior liberty, but prohibition to have any independent relationship with the exterior, at least as far as it concerns the most vital matters — the right of peace and war being reserved to the English Emperor, just as formerly the right of life and death was reserved to the head of the Roman family.

It is this régime of Colonial Protectorate, devised for white people — for the Dominions are after all but Colonies of whites — which would be conceded to India by the liberalism and generosity of her masters.

If whites are willing to accept such kind of liberty it is their own affair. Many accept it only for want of a better, because they cannot do otherwise. The Boer Republicans of South Africa, and the French of Canada, have made the most praiseworthy efforts to hand it back to those who presented it to them. But one thing is certain, that India will never accept for

herself such a makeshift. Never will she hold out her hands to receive in place of her shackles such a token of alliance.

India is a noble nation. Her future place is not in an English Empire — will indeed a place remain in the future for such Empire? — Her place is in a free federation of Asia. For it is to create this that now works the Lord of the Nations, the Master of their Destinies.

When will these events come? Undoubtedly as came those which preceded them; before we have ceased to regard them as impossible. For to-day all is possible: facts outrun thoughts. In a year is accomplished the progress of a century. It is no longer the Past but the Future which creates the Present. And after the long reign of commonplace forecast, it is henceforth the unexpected which realises itself. The unexpected which is awaited by those who, like the author of this little book, do not allow national self-interest to blind their vision or racial egoism to lead their hearts astray.

The following pages are intended to explain events which are near-at-hand so that they may be understood when they occur.

They are written in communion with the thought of those who, watching in the night, herald the Dawn, the glorious Dawn for Asia; and with the effort of him who, in India, unknown but of full stature, manifests in himself that Dawn.

Okakura Villa,

AKAKURA, JAPAN.

PAUL RICHARD.

July 25th, 1917.

CONTENTS.

Publisher's Note	i
Introduction by Paul Richard	iii
I. Home Rule for India	1
II. Is India Ready?	5
III. Is India United?	11
IV. The Poverty of India	16
V. India's Humiliation	24
VI. Indians in the British Empire	30
VII. The Imminence of Home Rule	38
VIII. Japan and India	45
Appendix : Education in India	51

FOR INDIA.

I.

HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

The ideals which the Allies emphatically assert, from pulpit and platform, they are fighting for are the freedom of small nations and the liberation of oppressed nationalities. This naturally must be understood as implying not *merely* but *even* the small nations. For an Englishman therefore to apply these principles to India is merely to carry the spoken words of England's leaders to their logical conclusion, for if the freedom of small nations is desirable then surely that of large ones is more so. When Mr. Lloyd George in his recent speech of enthusiastic admiration at the success of the Revolution in Russia said "a free people are the best defenders of their own honour" he must have been either insincere or inconsistent if he should refuse to apply those words to India.

I know that it will be argued by those who have an interest in keeping India a subject nation that she is not yet ready to govern herself. But as this argument almost invariably comes from those who happen, by the blessing of Providence, to be receiving tangible benefits from her dependence, it is a little difficult to be quite sure of the disinterestedness of their judgement. Just as one knows of doctors who prolong the period of convalescence of a wealthy patient not solely in the interests of the patient's health.

Then again there are certain Indians who assent to this argument, but it will be found that they also happen in most

cases to be receiving from the established form of Government some tangible benefits such as salaries, posts and titles. So with them too it is difficult to be sure of the disinterested character of their judgement.

On the other hand it often happens that when an Indian argues in favour of independence the reply is made that he is not entirely free from the warping effects of self-interest. Though this may be true, it should be remembered in his justification that the self-interest is of a broader type than that of the man who is obtaining some visible benefits from a continuance of the present system. In the one case the argument receives a bias from the narrow self-interest of the man's personal needs, while in the other it is biased by love of his country which is generally regarded as a noble and disinterested quality.

But happily there are Englishmen, and their number increases as the true facts about India become more widely known, who not being diplomats and not therefore fearing truth, believe in the practical application of the principles of justice and freedom which are regarded as the peculiar glory of the British race. They speak in the interests of Truth and in urging the granting of Home Rule to India they speak in the best interests of England herself. To appreciate what are the best interests of England it suffices to remember what a cause of weakness to the British Empire the present discontent in Ireland is recognised to be by all responsible statesmen. But if the case of Ireland, which interests only herself and her self-chosen friends, is looked upon as a cloud on the political horizon, then the case of India, which interests the whole of Asia and is therefore a world question, is surely an even greater menace. Now that the foremost English statesman has, in unmistakable terms, urged a settlement of the Irish question, there is every reason to urge a similar settlement of the Indian question. If, as Mr. Lloyd George says, "a well-knit Empire is essential to the peace of the world" then certainly the problem of India is a far more important one than that of Ireland, for it is Asia and not

Europe that will decide the question of the future peace of the world.

That India is far away from England is all the more reason why she should be self-governing. That her people are coloured makes her claim for independence infinitely stronger, for no one, except an ignorant and stupid bureaucrat, can suppose that the Anglo-Saxon race is better able to understand the temperament of the Indian people than the Indian people themselves.

After saying that a settlement with Ireland was one of the essentials of a speedy victory, Mr. Lloyd George said that "India is entitled to ask that her loyal myriads should feel not as if they were a subject race in the Empire but a partnership." This is what India has been asking year after year for more than a quarter of a century but she has been put off again and again. Ireland it seems has forced the justice of her claim to govern herself rather by her disloyalty than by her loyalty, and only now that her discontent has become a menace to the Empire are her claims being granted. England will make a fatal mistake if she waits till India has followed Ireland's example which has proved so much more effective than India's patience.

Mr. Lloyd George evidently assumes that India has been made to feel that she is a subject race. This is entirely true. In spite of repeated assurances from British statesmen, and even from British sovereigns, that Indians will in every way receive equal treatment with other British citizens irrespective of creed and colour, the people of India, patient to a marvellous degree, have increasingly been made to feel by the Executive which governs over her, and by the free Colonies of the Empire of which she is regarded as a part, that she is looked down upon as a subject race. Instead of this feeling being allayed by the showy promises of reform, which are not carried out in reality, it has become more and more acute as the evidence accumulates that the bureaucracy is determined to keep in its hands all the power it can, and together with the Colonies persists in branding

the people of India with a purely imaginary inferiority.

It is for this reason that since the beginning of the War the demand for Home Rule has become more and more openly expressed. The Government has attempted to suppress this movement in many cases, on the ground that it is controversial and dangerous to the safety of the country, but in vain. When Mrs. Besant, an Irish woman of 70 years of age, spoke in open terms of applying to India the very principles which form the refrain of the speeches of British statesmen in their appeals to the British people, she was forbidden to enter the Bombay Presidency. The immediate result however of this action was to start an agitation in favour of Home Rule so strong in every part of India that it was impossible to suppress it by any Government measure.*

Since then, though in Bengal alone nearly a thousand young men have been imprisoned without trial, the claim that the liberation of India is as justifiable as the claim for the liberation of Ireland or Poland has become more and more insistent.

It is not that the people of India are unconscious of the benefits they have gained under British Rule, or that they regard the Government as inefficient. Inefficiency is the last fault with which any one acquainted with India would think of accusing the British administration. But having been educated in the ideas of liberty the leaders of the people have become restless as the burden of unfulfilled promises accumulates. The deepest causes of the discontent depend as they do in Ireland, on a difference of temperament, on a lack of sympathy which shows itself positively in open and arrogant dislike, and on an almost complete incapacity on the part of the English to understand or respect the people. This has led to an attitude of arrogant contempt consistently supposed by the majority of British in India to be the best way in which they can uphold the prestige of their own country. As a matter of fact however every act of arrogance on the part of Englishmen is an act of disloyalty, for it is such acts more even than the unfulfilment of

* On June 16th the Government of Madras interned Mrs. Besant.

pledges which have undermined the influence of the British Raj in India.

I intend in the following articles to discuss the present situation in India and to say from my own personal experience, gained not only from a residence of seven years in India itself but also from visits to those parts of the British Empire where Indians are living, what I believe to be the clear indications why Home Rule should be granted to India. By Home Rule I do not mean insincere promises which postpone the granting of any real autonomy to some distant future, but an immediate practical demonstration of the principles for which England is fighting.

II.

IS INDIA READY?

Those who are opposed to the granting of Home Rule to India bring forward certain stock arguments which they find convince that large public outside India whose ignorance is only exceeded by their race prejudice. For it is that prejudice which constitutes the hidden principle of all the objections though it is seldom honestly expressed.

To this prejudice one exception only has been made in favour of Japan. And why? Because fitness to be regarded as on an equality with the European nations depends solely on the ability to use force in an argument. Japan was never respected as a nation until she had defeated one of the European nations with their own weapons.

But even from this point of view is it so certain that India is unable to be one of those nations which manifest their superiority by material force? One would hardly think so judging by the care with which England has deprived her people of the right to carry arms, so that in Bengal the inhabitants are not allowed by the police to carry even bamboo sticks of more

than a certain length. The British, after having been careful to disarm them, find no danger in taunting the Bengalis with the imputation of cowardice, a taunt which however may be turned more justly against those who use it, for in a duel that adversary is the coward who takes advantage of the fact that his opponent is unarmed.

However in leaving the question of race prejudice it is sufficient to point out that India, and other coloured races, governed themselves long before England even existed as a nation, and there is nothing to show that India is incapable of doing so now.

What however is the really serious objection raised by those who oppose Home Rule for India?

Sir Archy Birkmire, speaking early in this year in Calcutta as President of the European Association of India, made a strong protest against the demand for Home Rule. He answered his own question "Are the Indians ready for anything like Home Rule now?" by an emphatic "No," for he said "If the Indians were ready for Home Rule no power on earth could stop it."

"The Indians are not yet ready for Home Rule" is what all such critics say, and it is necessary to ask what they mean by "ready." They do not care to go into details or explain what they mean, but doubtless base their assumption on the well-known adage "Possession is nine-tenths of the law."

What criterion indicates whether a country is ready to govern herself or not? In every country the one indispensable condition of self-government is the possession of an intellectual élite from which a governing class can be drawn.

Is it true that India does not possess an intellectual élite from which she can draw men of ability for self-government?

Emphatically "No." India has at present an intellectual élite equal to that of any other country in the world.

In Religion there has never been any question of the power which India possesses to produce leaders and teachers. Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, and

that 'Ocean of Learning' Bidyashagar, were all men of exceptional ability in the power of leadership in Social and Religious Reform in the nineteenth century. No country has produced finer examples, but they were only links of an unbroken chain which extends through the centuries. At the present time also there is living in India a deep philosopher and spiritual teacher, Sri Aurabinda Ghosh, who is more and more coming to be regarded as one of the greatest religious and social teachers of the Future.

In the realm of abstract thought India has always been acknowledged as the leader of the world, and it is not therefore surprising to find that she possesses in the present as she has done in the past great poets, philosophers and thinkers. The family of Tagore alone has produced quite a number of distinguished men. There was the Maharshi in the last century, and there are still living the great poet Rabindranath, the philosopher and mathematician Dwijendranath, the musician Jyotindranath, and the two artists Abanindranath and Gaganendranath. These represent a Renaissance Movement in the Literature and Art of Bengal which has its wider expression in the writings of the younger poets and authors of Bengal and in the paintings of the Calcutta School of Art. In other provinces too there is an ever increasing number of writers of ability not only in literature but also on History, Archaeology, Economics and Political Science. The fact that many of these writers are at present unknown is only due to the fact that their writings have not been published in English.

But not only has India got great thinkers, philosophers and poets, but she has what all modern nations possess, scientists, teachers, doctors, journalists, practical and industrial leaders like Sir Ratan Tata and Sir R. N. Mukerji, and even statesmen.

Amongst scientists the names of Dr P. C. Ray the chemist, Dr. J. C. Bose the Botanist who discovered wireless telegraphy before Marconi and has demonstrated by apparatus invented by himself the sensitiveness of plants, have world-wide fame, but

there are many others in other Provinces whose names are not so well known but who, nevertheless represent a scientific spirit which is carrying on earnest research in spite of the paucity of opportunity which the policy of the Government has resulted in. If the same opportunities had been given to the people of India as have been given by the Japanese Government to her people there cannot be a doubt that the amount of their contributions to the world of Science would have been immeasurably greater.

In journalism we have numerous daily papers, both in the vernaculars and in English, which are quite able to compete with journals carried on by English editors in India. Then there are weekly and monthly publications which have a wide circulation. Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, editor of "The Modern Review" and a Bengali monthly "Prabashi" published in Calcutta, Mr. Natesan who publishes "The Indian Review" in Madras, and Mr. Natarajan the editor of "The Indian Social Reformer" in Bombay are all men whom I know personally, and for ability and high moral ideals they are certainly equal to the highest type of journalists in America and England. They not only possess a wide knowledge of the world but also conduct their magazines with self-sacrifice and high moral purpose.

In England a great number of our politicians have been drawn from the ranks of the Legal Profession, so that we have been known to place lawyers in charge of such varied departments of our administration as our Finance, our Education, our Foreign Affairs, and the organisation of the administrative side of our Army and Navy. Now whatever criticisms have been levelled against Indians by even the most bigotted of Anglo-Saxon critics there has always been a recognition of the ability of her lawyers. In fact it is often said with scorn that Bengalis are fit to be lawyers and nothing else, while in England and other European countries the Legal profession has invariably been regarded as the most appropriate prelude to the work of a statesman. Lawyers of the eminence of

the late Justice Ranade in the Bombay Presidency, Sir Ali Imam who was Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council and would have been Chief Justice of the new Province of Behar had it not been for the united opposition of the whole body of English civilians in that Province, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, are typical examples of able judges and lawyers to be found in every Province of India. They are sufficient proof that at any rate in the profession of Law India is fully able to hold her own.

In Education also, in spite of the fact that the best posts are almost invariably reserved, not only in Government but also in Missionary Institutions, for the foreigners, India has produced numbers of efficient teachers who are noted not only for their scholarship but also for their influence over their students. Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal, Dr. B. N. Seal, and Dr. P. C. Ray in Bengal, Mahatma Munshi Ram of the Arya Somaj Gurukula in the Punjab, Principal Rudra of St. Stephen's College in Delhi, Professor Bhagavan Das in Benares, and the Principal of the Rajah of Pittapuram's College in the Madras Presidency are only a few of a large army of teachers whose influence over the coming generation cannot be overestimated. And can it be argued that foreign teachers who do not know the language of the students and have had little experience of the country in which they are working are more efficient educationalists than such men?

Even in politics India has produced men of great eminence and noble character. Men too who have given their lives to work for their country with no expectation of material reward. Those who knew the late Mr. Gokhale would admit that had he been born in England he would have filled the position of Premier with as much ability and high moral purpose as a Gladstone or an Asquith. His mastery of figures and skill in debate won the admiration of Lord Curzon who was his most distinguished opponent. But with these qualities he combined in a remarkable degree a moral fervour and a winning personality which enabled

him to lead every section of the Indian public. In his demands for a universal system of Elementary Education, and in his protests against the injustice of the treatment of Indians in South Africa, he truly represented the whole people. And yet his fine gifts wore themselves out in the apparently hopeless task of standing almost alone against a secretly hostile bureaucracy of foreigners. When in the last two years of his life he had to serve on the Public Services Commission, which was ostensibly appointed to redress the outstanding grievance of the unfair discrimination against Indians in the Public Services, he found himself arrayed against a solid phalanx of anti-Indian Commissioners who went through the solemn farce of listening to evidence for two years and finally arrived at a decision which added insult to injury. In addition to this wearing task he took up the cause of the Indians in South Africa and worked night and day in his efforts to liberate his fellow-countrymen in other parts of the British Empire from the degradation of their position. It was during his last year that I knew him and there is not the least doubt that his early death was due to the strenuous and constant fight which he was forced to take up almost single-handed against a hostile bureaucracy. Had he been able to carry on his work in a self-governing country he would undoubtedly have been able to serve his people for another decade.

Another example of an Indian who has proved a supreme ability of leadership is Mr. Gandhi, who for twenty years lived in South Africa and, giving up a lucrative legal practice, devoted himself with constant self-sacrifice to the welfare of the Indian community. He welded the whole Indian community, Hindu and Mahomedan alike, into one, and eventually won the respect and esteem of the very Government which was treating all Indians with such contempt. In a self-governing country his ability and devotion would have won instant recognition and instead of having to devote most of his energy to fighting a

hostile Government he could have used his gifts for constructive policy.

Finally how can it be argued that the Indians are lacking in administrative ability when we find that the actual British Administration is full of Indians of all ranks to such an extent that if to-morrow the representatives of England were to leave India the machinery of administration would continue with very little change of outward form. The chief difference would be that, being no longer foreign, the ruling power instead of having as its primary object the enrichment of England and her Colonies would strive to prevent the ruin of India. For the demand for Home Rule is based upon the belief that the present policy is actually leading to that ruin. Even if the contrary of what I have stated were true and India were not able to govern herself efficiently, even the worst government she could give herself could not lead her to greater ruin than that with which she is threatened to-day.

But how can one any longer pretend that she is not able and ready to govern herself when she possesses such an élite which places her on a moral equality with the freest and most respected countries of the world?

III.

IS INDIA UNITED?

A second objection to Home Rule for India is that she is not united and is therefore unfit for self-government.

But in what sense is the word 'unity' used by those who make this objection? They argue that India is historically and actually divided into several peoples who have religious, social and linguistic differences.

In the first place it seems unlikely that a country so obviously a unity geographically should be incapable of interior unity. For as Mr. Chisholm, a well-known authority on Geogra-

phy, says: "There is no part of the world better marked out by Nature as a region by itself than India." Again, Mr. Vincent Smith, a recognised authority on early Indian History, writes: "India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such is designated by one name."

Secondly it seems unlikely, if we consider the past history of India, that she should be so entirely incapable of unity in the present and future. When Lord Curzon spoke at the Delhi Durbar of 1901 he said of India:

"Powerful Empires existed and flourished here while Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods, and while the British Colonies were a wilderness and jungle. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy, and the religion of mankind, than any other terrestrial unit in the universe."

In the past indeed she has proved her ability to be regarded as a political unity. Before the Christian era Asoka the Great ruled over an Empire which Vincent Smith has declared to be "far more extensive than British India of to-day, including Burma." From his reign onwards for several centuries India was (to quote from Radha K. Mukerji's recent book on "The Fundamental Unity of India") "a vast imperial organisation, highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectural forms in the east and west of India, passionately eager to unify and elevate the people and to adorn the land. India became a self-contained, self-conscious unit, in full communication both by land and sea with China and Japan, Syria and Egypt, sending abroad ambassadors, merchants and missionaries with messages, commodities and ideas."

Students of Indian History need only to be reminded of the names of such rulers as Harsavardhana (606 to 648 A. D.), Samudra Gupta (fourth century) whose kingdom was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, and Chandra Gupta of whose kingdom an account has been left by Megasthenes, to realise that India was not lacking in unity in ancient times. And

though Akbar the Great did not rule over such extensive kingdoms he proved the possibility of welding together in a common political unity both Hindus and Mahomedans, by his broad policy of tolerance and justice.

As a study of the past history of India proves that she has been able more than once to achieve a political unity in the past, so a knowledge of the current conditions in India proves that her people are able to combine in the strongest possible manner on political questions which involve the honour of the whole nation, and this in spite of all differences of language and even of religion.

When about four years ago the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa became acute, and the Passive Resistance Movement in that Colony resulted in the Indian leaders being arrested, and thousands of Indians being imprisoned, terrorised, and in some cases shot, I visited centres in India so far apart as Bombay, Delhi, Allahabad, Calcutta and Madras, and everywhere from one end of the country to the other the people, Mahomedans and Hindus alike, were united in their indignant protests against this humiliating helotage of Indians in the Empire. The fact that the Viceroy himself felt compelled, in a public speech, to express his strong disapproval of the action of the Government of South Africa in their treatment of the Indians suffices to show how justified the people of India were in their protest. In every town mass meetings were held, and money was poured out by both men and women to assist the Indians in South Africa in their fight for human freedom.

Together with Mr. C. F. Andrews, who went at the request of Mr. Gokhale, I left India for South Africa. There we found that the Government of South Africa, alarmed at the serious result of their action had released the leaders (including two European sympathisers who had also been imprisoned) and had appointed a Commission on which however there was not a single representative of the Indian Community, to enquire into the grievances of the Indians. The whole community of Indians which con-

sisted of more than a hundred thousand of the coolie class, and many hundreds of traders and Colonial-born English speaking Indians were united as one man under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. Parsees, Mahomedans and Hindus alike proved the sincerity of their convictions by sharing with each other the hardships of prison life, hardships which can with difficulty be understood except by one who has visited the prisons in South Africa, and seen the attitude of the prison officials towards all coloured people, and even towards their white friends!

These two examples I give because they are conspicuous proofs of the ability of Hindus and Mahomedans of every Province to unite in the cause of their common Motherland, and because I happened to be in close personal touch with the leaders both in India and in South Africa. But other examples are not lacking in proof of the unity of all classes of the people of India. The question of the abolition of the Indenture System of Indian Labour in the British Colonies, which system was a constant reproach to the self-respect of the Indian people, interested the Marwaris in Calcutta, the Parsees in Bombay, and the people of every Province in India. On many other questions such as Home Rule, the attitude of Canada towards Indians, and the question of the position of Indians in the Public Services, the people of India have been unquestionably united. It is only necessary to read the daily press, both vernacular and English, in every Province, to see that the people are united in their interest in those questions which involve the good name and self-respect of India as a whole. Nothing indeed is more remarkable to one coming from Europe where the sense of nationality is so narrow in its application, than to find, in spite of vast differences in race and language, a common sense of the unity of India, a sentiment which has been strengthened by the very attempts of the British to emphasise divisions.

To what then is this strong sense of unity due? That the British occupation has helped by the introduction of English as a common medium of communication between the educated com-

munities of the different provinces cannot for a moment be doubted, and this is one of the beneficial results of the British rule. But there is every reason to suppose that this sense of the unity of India is an inheritance of the past which has merely received its expression in modern form through the medium of the English language. If we study the history of ancient India and understand the significance of her numerous places of pilgrimage we shall realise how it was that, even when in India there was every appearance of chaos and disorder, the sense of her essential unity was preserved. In every part of India there have been for more than twenty five centuries holy places which have been the object of veneration to pilgrims from every part of that vast continent. Long before railways were even dreamt of the whole of India was united by a network of roads leading from one holy place to another, and throughout the centuries the stream of pilgrims has never ceased. From North to South, and from East to West they have travelled bearing news from one part of the country to another, so that even when India was outwardly divided into warring kingdoms her peoples were united by the strong ties of a common faith and a common veneration for her holy places. This inner unity, because it is deeper and more lasting than any outer political unity could have been, has created an atmosphere in which Mahomedans as well as Hindus have come to possess a living sense of their oneness.

If then even differences of religion as great as those which exist between Hindus and Mahomedans can be forgotten in a common love for the Motherland, minor differences can surely be overcome. It is true that each province has its own peculiar problems and its own language and sense of nationality, but nothing has so far proved that the people of the various provinces are unable to unite in the expression of their views, and when the question is one which involves Indians as a whole there has been complete unity of expression. That the provinces must retain their provincial characteristics and problems is certain, but there is no inherent reason against the different provinces forming

a United States of India in which the individual states will subordinate themselves to the well-being of the whole. In fact India has already proved in a remarkable manner her ability to subordinate local questions to those which affect the whole country, and if she has done so under foreign rule is there any reason for supposing that she will be unable to do so when she governs herself?

In India, as in all countries, differences are not only not an obstacle to unity but, on the contrary form an indispensable condition of the truest unity which is not merely superficial and exterior. For unity is not uniformity.

And after all what is the meaning of this objection? Why is England so anxious to achieve the unity of India before granting her self-government? India consists of 300 million inhabitants, and if, left to her own free devices she were to develop into a number of separate states of 50 or 100 million inhabitants each, it might well be argued that a divided India would be, according to the modern conception of nationalism based on mutual menace, less of a danger to Europe than an India united against the rest of the world. But I do not believe India will ever use her freedom as the European nations have used theirs, namely to exploit weak nations and when the field of exploitation becomes too narrow for their combined appetites turn on each other and waste their spoils in reciprocal destruction. India has, fortunately for Humanity, higher ideals, and will help to usher in that new era of human brotherhood which we in the West have so conspicuously failed to establish. Therefore by granting Home Rule to India not only are the claims of justice satisfied but the possibility is given her to use her own freedom for the benefit of humanity.

IV.

THE POVERTY OF INDIA.

Lord Carmichael, the recent Governor of Bengal, said in

his farewell address before the Bengal Legislative Council that India is "the most valued dependency of the British Empire, and one on which other Empires look with longing eyes." Why?

What was it which attracted England and other European nations to the shores of India when they first went there? It was not philanthropy or a desire to benefit the people of that country, but the wealth which, in spite of the fact that India was then in a state of disorder and confusion, was proverbial when the British first went there. No one has ever disputed this fact, but the mistake has happened that people have continued to think that a country can remain rich after being governed for nearly a century by a foreign power whose interests are mainly commercial and whose administration, not being indigenous to the soil, is very much more costly than it would be if carried on by the people of the country itself.

In spite of the fact that in times which the present British rulers are never tired of pointing out were times of chaos and confusion India was so rich as to attract most of the nations of Europe who were seeking for new sources of trade and wealth, there is incontestable evidence that she is now poor. And this in spite of the efficiency of British rule and although India has enjoyed the 'Pax Britannica' during the whole period of that rule. There is a mass of evidence in proof of this fact and those who wish to study the question in detail should read the books written by W. Digby, Hyndman, Romesh Dutt, and Dadabhai Naoroji. The official statistics given in the Indian Year Book may also be consulted.

The people of India are mostly of the peasant class and the following facts should be sufficient to show that, even though India has thousands of miles of railways which pay handsome dividends to British shareholders, and Calcutta is called the "City of Palaces" (mostly however the palaces of the British merchants and officials) yet the peasants of the country are poorer than ever before.

The cost of living in India has been steadily rising during

the last forty years but the income of the people has been as steadily decreasing. In 1850 the estimated income per head of the population of India was 2d a day; in 1882 it was 1½d a day, while in 1900 it was ¾d a day! How ironical seem the words of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, "In their prosperity shall be our strength."

From the report recently published by a civilian in Bengal, on the Economic Life of the agricultural district of Faridpur, it appears that more than half the inhabitants of that district are unable to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.

Famines are an indication of the economic condition of a country, for the mere failure of the rains and consequent failure of crops could not bring famine to a prosperous peasantry when there is a widespread network of railways ready to bring grain from other provinces or from abroad. The British Crown took over the government of India in 1858. We find from an examination of the statistics of deaths from famine (see W. S. Lilly's "India and its Problems.") that in the first 80 years of the nineteenth century the number of deaths from famine was 18,000,000. This does not take account of the large number who die of disease after being weakened by prolonged starvation.

If the nineteenth century is divided into four parts we find that the figures are as follows.

In the first quarter there were five famines. Estimated loss of life 1,000,000.

In the second quarter there were two famines. Estimated loss of life 500,000.

In the third quarter there were six famines. Estimated loss of life 5,000,000.

In the last quarter there were eighteen famines. Estimated loss of life 15,000,000 to 26,000,000.

Since 1900 there has been a loss of life owing to famines of 20,000,000.

The Honorable G. K. Gokhale said that "From 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 of the people of India do not know what it is to have their hunger satisfied even once in a year." Sir Charles Elliott, who was an officer in charge of the assessment of land taxes and was afterwards a Lieutenant-Governor, said:

"I do not hesitate to say that half our agricultural population never knows from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." That is to say one hundred million people are always hungry, and yet it is from these half-starved peasants that the Government takes a third of its hard-earned livelihood to support an expensive administration. For it is the unduly heavy taxation of the people which is the root cause of the famines in India. It is often stated, and even so lately as last year by a responsible British official in India, that "India is the most lightly taxed country in the world." But if this is so why is the Government finding it increasingly difficult to discover new means of taxation? The fact is that the Indian peasant is the most heavily taxed peasant in the world, but his income being so light it *appears* that the amount of his taxation is light also. If however we are honest and compare the taxes extracted from the poverty of the Indian peasant with the taxes paid by the comparatively wealthy people of England we find that India pays out of her poverty three times the percentage which England pays out of her wealth. According to the statistics published in 1905 the annual tax per person in India amounted to a third of the total income! Unfortunately owing to the expenses of the present war there is little likelihood of these burdens being lightened. The Finance Member in his Budget speech delivered at Delhi on March the first of this year made the generous announcement that the Government refrained "on the present occasion from imposing additional Government taxation on agricultural incomes" but added "we can give no pledge that we shall refrain from doing so hereafter should future necessities oblige us to take this course." Lord Ronaldshay also, as the new Governor of Bengal,

in his speech before the Bengal Legislative Council early in the present year, hinted at the possibility of further taxation and suggested to the non-official Indian members of the Council that they might usefully employ their vacation, while the official British members were enjoying the cool air of Darjeeling, in going round their constituencies educating the people with a view to the possibility of further taxation.

The Salt Tax alone, which is felt most severely by the poorest classes in the land, yielded to the Government in 1913-1914 more than £ 3,000,000. The result of this tax has been that the quantity of salt consumed by the peasants of India has been reduced to one-half the quantity declared by medical authorities to be absolutely necessary for health. Yet this tax was increased last year, and Sir W. Meyer, in his budget speech for 1917-18 described such increase as "a legitimate measure when war or other financial dislocations, come upon us," an argument which might be used by a thief to defend his thefts as legitimate owing to financial dislocations, the question of the poverty of his victims being quite secondary or even unimportant.

It is not difficult to discover where the resources which India possessed once in such abundance disappear. John Bright once said, "If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil, and capable of bearing every variety of production, and, notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country." In the case of India however it is not an error but a voluntary policy. The Government of India has voluntarily adopted its present policy in its own interests and in favour of British capitalists. For indeed it is not difficult to find in what direction India's wealth has leaked away. Near a newly dug grave there is always a pile, and even if the Indian peasant is ruined the Government has the satisfaction of knowing that British capitalists are not. For example, at the beginning of the present war famine conditions

were artificially created in the jute-growing districts of Eastern Bengal by the spreading of the report that jute would not be wanted for export. The reports were spread just before the time for cutting the crops with the result that jute merchants were able to buy any amount of jute at less than the actual cost of planting and cutting it. Whole districts were practically ruined, money was lacking even in middle-class homes and could only be borrowed at prohibitive rates of interest. Conditions similar to those prevalent in famine times were common over wide areas, but two years later the jute mills of Calcutta were able to declare dividends of from 30 to 50 per cent.

Take the case of India's Railways which are always quoted as one of the most obvious and tangible benefits of British rule. We are told they have opened up the country for trade. True enough the benefits are tangible and the country has been opened up to trade. But who receive these benefits? European officials receive highly paid posts in the different Railways, an annual amount of more than £10,000,000, is paid out of India as interest on the foreign capital invested in the railways of the country, and in addition to this the Railways are invariably made to serve the interests of the European passengers and business firms in preference to those of Indians themselves.

The Army is another 'benefit' of British rule. It is supposed to be an army for the defense of India, but is in reality an army of occupation which is occasionally used to put down Frontier risings, but has more frequently been used in foreign wars which had as their object the aggrandisement of the British Empire. For this India is forced to pay without getting anything in return from the rest of the Empire except insults. India has in fact been made the training ground for an Imperial army from which soldiers are drawn without the consent of India for service in foreign lands. During the last century India has paid nearly £100,000,000 for military help in wars and campaigns outside India in which the people of India had no manner of interest, the aim of which was the extension of British power.

The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said "Justice demands that England should pay a portion of the cost of the great Indian army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done, and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England's world-wide Empire." This demand of justice has not yet been fulfilled.

Take next the question of India's manufactures. Sir Henry Cotton in his book "New India" writes; "The increasing poverty of India is due to many causes, but primarily I trace it to the decay of handicrafts and the substitution of foreign for home manufactures."

India's manufactures have been practically destroyed since the British first appeared upon the scene, and why? Not because they were inferior to European products but because they were superior and were therefore a menace to the prosperous development of British industries. Great Britain, which first entered India as a commercial power, has ever since remained commercial in all her deepest instincts. She wanted India's markets and she still wants them, but in order to keep a secure hold of them she must pursue a policy which is in direct opposition to the best interests of India herself. The selfishness of her policy has never been more clearly shown than by the action of all the members from Lancashire who, during a recent sitting of the British Parliament, protested against the duty on cotton goods imported into India being raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Chamberlain, urged them to withdraw their protest on the grounds that the past policy was "a piece of injustice" to the Indian people, but the members from Lancashire could only see the question from the point of view of Lancashire. This "piece of injustice" has been removed now that the Government are in need of money which they cannot get by taxation, but why is it that professing as it does to be governing "for the benefit of the people" it has consistently ignored the repeated protests of the Indian public against this unjust policy? The only possible

answer is that which the members from Lancashire have made so abundantly clear, namely that it has been in the interests of Lancashire manufacturers that the import duty on cotton goods taken into India should, not only be kept as low as possible, but even be counterbalanced by a corresponding Excise Duty on cotton goods manufactured in India itself. England has at last, under the stress of war expenditure, reversed her time-honoured policy and has listened to the just claims of the Indian people, but she has done so too late to convince the Indian public of the disinterestedness of her action. This is merely one example of the policy which the British Government in India has consistently followed.

There is one other reason why the people of India are annually becoming more poverty-stricken, and that is the simple and obvious fact that a foreign Government is by its very nature more costly than government by the people of the country itself. This is specially the case in India which is so far away from England where the seat of government really is. Every English official requires a high salary to induce him to work in a climate so prejudicial to the health of Europeans. The cost of passage from England to India has to be met, and almost all English officials, when they have completed their term of service retire to England where they draw handsome pensions, and help by their advice to perpetuate the bureaucratic atmosphere of the India Office in London. In 1912 there was paid in England out of Indian taxation a sum of £3,710,678.

Sir George Campbell, who was Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, puts the public remittances from India to England at £16,000,000 and the private remittances and the balance of trade at £16,900,000. This is a constant drain out of the country which could only be avoided if the people of India were governing themselves. Mrs. Besant says:

"It is often alleged that the "drain" is "payment for services rendered," and is therefore legitimate. It is forgotten

that the services, exorbitantly paid, are not invited but imposed and that, if India had her own way, the services would be rendered by her own people, and the payment would be returned into her own pocket."

In any case there is no service a Government can render to a people which is worth the price of that people's ruin. This ruin has no other cause than the underlying rapacity of the British Government in India, for the obvious fact is that the British Government rules India not in the interests of India but in its own interests. And these interests are not even its future interests but its immediate interests.

What then is the reason of such a policy? The reason is simply that England knows that the future is not for her, and feeling instinctively that the present is a merely provisional piece of good fortune she finds it advisable to provision herself as rapidly and richly as possible. By all her actions England has proved that she has never regarded India as a real part of the Empire, but rather as a possession the temporary occupation of which has provided her with an unusual opportunity for intensive exploitation. Otherwise it is impossible to explain how her statesmen, possessed with no mean intelligence and generally far-seeing, can have blundered so blindly in the administration of India. But indeed they have not blundered for they have been conscious of India's inevitable future independence, and their administration itself confirms the necessary and near advent of Home Rule in India.

V.

INDIA'S HUMILIATION.

The late Marquis of Salisbury when speaking to young Englishmen who were going out as the rulers of India in 1875 said that they were themselves "the only enemies England had to fear" and "the persons who can, if they will, deal a blow

of the deadliest character at the future rule of England.”

Many years have passed since these words were spoken and unfortunately the majority of English residents in India, both official and non-official, have neglected the warning of Lord Salisbury and by their attitude of contempt towards the people of India have consistently and constantly undermined the authority of British rule.

Even before the shores of India are reached the young Englishman has had his preliminary training in the attitude of contempt for the “native,” for on any P. & O. steamer from London to Bombay one can see how completely the process of alienation between English and Indians is prepared for. About five years ago I travelled in the first class of one of the largest P. & O. boats together with three prominent Indian gentlemen, one a Mahomedan judge, one a Christian Principal of an important College, and the third a Hindu who was one of the leading citizens of Delhi. From the commencement of the voyage these gentlemen and the two Englishmen who were associated with them were practically boycotted by the rest of the passengers. At the dinner table the two Englishmen who happened to be sitting next to two of these Indian gentlemen for ten days addressed not a single word to them and even made contemptuous remarks to each other about them. This experience is not exceptional. It is usual on almost all the steamers which carry English and Indians to and from India, and if an Englishman protests either by word or deed he inevitably shares the boycott with the Indians.

If this feeling is found to exist even on board steamers from England to India it is not surprising to find that it persists in India itself. The bitterness of race feeling has been growing more intense during the last three years. If the examples which I give seem to be exceptional I can only affirm that they are merely typical of a mass of such incidents which could be given by anyone who has lived in India for a few years and has been in close touch with Indian life. The dif-

faculty is not that of finding material but that of selecting it.

There is in the first place the general attitude of contempt for Indians adopted by the non-official classes of Englishmen in India. This may be seen every day on the railways and because the English know that the railway officials are compelled by their position to take the side of the governing caste they are able to indulge in their attitude of superiority, without any fear of being brought to task. Unfortunately the lower in the scale one goes the more unblushing does this outward exhibition of superiority become.

This general attitude of contempt towards the people of India in their own country, though it is a most serious menace to the stability of British rule, is one which the Government is in the main unable to combat. As it depends so largely upon the inner disposition of mind no amount of legislation could change things for the better so long as the arrogance of heart persists. But the governing class, by almost always taking the side of the white man, either directly or indirectly condones and even encourages such a state of things. The official classes themselves, by adopting this attitude in their daily dealings with Indians, set an example for the non-officials which they are only too ready to follow.

The whole atmosphere of the official life of India is saturated with the conception that the best way of maintaining the prestige of British rule is to make all Indians, no matter how high their station may be, feel that they are by nature inferior to their English rulers. Many young civilians, who come mainly from the middle class families of England and Scotland, will keep in their verandahs Indian gentlemen of high family till it pleases them to receive them, but if a white man comes he will be received at once. To uphold the dignity of British rule the English official often thinks it necessary to forego all considerations of courtesy and impress upon the "native" that he must keep his proper place of supplicant for favours from his august rulers.

The lower the official is in position the more completely does he adopt this attitude with the result that Indian gentlemen are frequently insulted by petty English officials. Quite recently in Madras a public meeting was held at which the Governor took the chair and the principal speaker was to be a prominent Indian gentleman. On arrival at the side entrance of the hall where the meeting was to take place this gentleman was turned away by the English policeman in charge because he was a "native." He made no protest not wishing to create a scene, but sent the manuscript of his speech to the papers together with a dignified letter of explanation as to the cause of his failing to keep his engagement.

But there are other ways in which officials show their contempt and distrust for Indians which are even more serious because they are methods which it is well nigh impossible to meet openly. Leading citizens of India who are outwardly honoured by Government are secretly suspected. The Honourable Mr. Gokhale, who was a member of the Viceroy's Council, publicly asserted in the presence of the Viceroy that he used to be shadowed by the police, and that Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, whom the Governor of his Province had publicly designated as the "ideal citizen of the Central Provinces" was also under police surveillance. Men of such eminence as Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Munshi Ram the Governor of the Arya Samaj Gurukula and one of the noblest and most self-sacrificing sons of India, and Sri Aurabinda Ghosh are under the kindly surveillance of the police and those whom the Government openly professes to honour are secretly spied upon by the agents of that same Government. When two years ago I was about to go to Fiji I went to visit Mr. Gandhi who had just been decorated by the Government for his public work. I had not been in his house half an hour before we received a visit from the superintendent of police who came to enquire into the character of Mr. Gandhi's visitors.

But this is not only the case in regard to prominent men

but even more so in the case of obscure young men who show any signs of exceptional ability for serving their fellow-countrymen. Let a young man show any enthusiasm for social work, for night School work or the starting of any kind of organisation and he at once becomes a suspect. I know personally of many cases where young men in Bengal and other provinces, whose one desire has been to have freedom to serve the poor and teach the ignorant, have been compelled by the constant suspicions of the police to give up their work. Any association of young men, whether its purpose be for Athletics or Social Service, is regarded with suspicion as though it were an association of criminals. The result is that a widespread atmosphere of mutual suspicion has grown up which prevents completely the growth of that spirit of co-operation which the Government outwardly professes it is anxious to train Indians to acquire.

When in Bengal the National Movement became articulate the Government, instead of welcoming the signs of the awakening of that very quality which in England is regarded as most desirable did everything in its power to suppress it, but in vain. A young boy in Eastern Bengal, who shouted "Bande Mataram" (Hail Motherland!) as the District Magistrate was passing, was expelled from School by order of that same official and forbidden to prosecute his studies in any School. His whole educational future was ruined because he had the audacity to express openly before one of the rulers of India his love for his Mother country! Not long after this the school of Rabindranath Tagore came under the secret displeasure of the police and a circular was issued warning all parents that no Government posts would be given to boys educated at that school. This circular was eventually rescinded by order of the Lieutenant-Governor to whose notice it was brought. The worst aspect of such forms of tyranny is that it is impossible to meet them openly because they are always carried on covertly and often without any means of actual proof. But there are certain more open forms of humiliation from which Indians have to suffer in their own country.

By actual legislation Indians are made to feel their supposed inferiority. The Arms Act is a law which deprives Indians of the right to carry arms, and this, together with the refusal to allow the people to become volunteers, is a legal method of making the whole people feel their inferiority. Although the Law is professedly impartial in its action the very fact that since the commencement of British rule there have been many scores of Indians killed by Englishmen and only twice have Englishmen been condemned to death, has made Indians feel that even English justice places a different value on the life of an Englishman from that which it places on that of an Indian. Even when twice the law condemned Englishmen to death for the murder of Indians the English community raised an outcry to have the sentences commuted as if they thought each sentence was a miscarriage of justice. So that even the administration of justice upon which the British have in the past justly prided themselves is tainted in India with race prejudice.

Finally there is the question of the position of Indians in the Public Services, a question upon which Indian public opinion recently grew so strong in indignant protest that Government appointed a Commission promising to reform the abuses if the evidence justified such change. The result of this Commission has just been published, and with what result? Instead of carrying out the hoped-for reforms the humiliation of Indians is further emphasised, and with the exception of one Indian member who has issued a minority report as a protest against the findings of the rest of the Commissioners, the recommendations of the Commission are such as to perpetuate the position of degradation to which Indian members of the services have had to submit in the past. This is specially the case in the matter of Education which is the most important element in the life of a nation and the one in which the people of the country might be expected to have the largest part. In the past the Educational service has been divided into two branches, the Imperial and the Provincial, and Indians like Dr. P. C. Ray who were

members of the Provincial Service were relegated to a position of permanent inferiority. At present there are 199 posts in the Imperial Educational Service of which 196 are held by Europeans, and yet the Commissioners declare :

“We do not think that the number of Europeans now employed is excessive, and we would keep the present proportion in the future for the existing number of posts taken as a whole.”

It is not without reason that the editor of “The Modern Review” has written of the results of this Commission under the title “Apples of Sodom.”

And so, even while England is fighting for “the rights of nations and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their own ways of life and obedience” the people of India, under a British government, are humiliated and made to feel that they are outcastes in their own country. And while the foreign rulers of India regard India as their own special preserve the inhabitants of the country are made to feel that they are only there on sufferance and so must be suffered and must suffer.

Is it possible for a state of things so contrary to right and to truth to last for long? The warning given by Lord Salisbury in 1875 has been consistently ignored and he himself has given the answer on the same occasion on which he uttered his warning :

“No system of government can be permanently safe where there is a feeling of inferiority or of mortification affecting the relations between the governing and governed.”

VI.

INDIANS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

England has had before her two ideals of Empire, one which she has found useful for profession and the other for practice. The former is the ideal of a free federation of nations

held together without the employment of force, in which all distinctions of creed and colour shall be subordinated to the common good of all, and the other the ideal of a federation of the white people of the Empire with full freedom to exploit the weaker races over which they have obtained control and to treat with contempt the coloured peoples as permanently inferior to themselves. Many high-minded Englishmen have believed that the former high ideal has been put into practice, and others have made believe that it has. But the fact is that if England had pursued from the first this ideal she would have had no Empire to speak of, for Canada, South Africa, Hong-Kong, and more than all India would never have come into the Empire unless force had been used, and even Great Britain herself would have been less by the exclusion of Ireland. It is true that now some parts actually remain freely as parts of that Empire, but only those which are free and only so long as the Empire respects completely all their liberties. They remain parts of the Empire because they find some moral or material advantage in maintaining the connection, exactly as is the case in all other Empires of the world in which the liberty of some parts does not condone for the slavery of others. For in all Empires such slavery is a fundamental injustice which cannot possibly persist and indeed forms the principal cause of disintegration. It cannot be otherwise so long as the conception of Imperial expansion takes precedence of the ideal of the equal treatment of all races. And in practice it cannot be denied that England's attitude towards the coloured races has been either practically to exterminate them (as in Australia) or where the numbers have been too great for the policy of extermination to be followed she has relegated them to a position of permanent inferiority. We see for example in South Africa, where the "native" population vastly outnumbers the white colonists, that being unable to exterminate this objectionable element the Government passes legislation which renders the original inhabitants of the soil as innocuous as possible. The Native Lands

Act for instance, which was passed the year before the outbreak of the war, deprives the natives of the right to possess or even to rent all the best and most desirable land in the Colony, which is now made available only for the white settlers whose appetite is insatiable. The protests of the Native Leaders have so far been unavailing although they have sent a deputation to England to lay their grievance before the English public.

But this policy is most clearly seen in the position to which Indians have been degraded in the different parts of the British Empire. In their case it is all the more striking because the excuse that the Indians are an uncivilised or uncultured race cannot be put forward in defence of the treatment accorded to them.

When Japan closed her doors to foreigners she was spoken of as the Hermit Nation as though that were a term of reproach. When Tibet refused to admit foreigners her reasons for doing so were explained by saying that she was uncivilised and the English had to employ force when they entered Tibetan territory. But now we find a "white Australia" which closes its doors to Asiatics on the hypocritical plea that it is inadvisable to introduce into the country the "usual Oriental vices," and a Canada which refuses to admit Indians on the same Pharisaical principles.

Having travelled in different parts of the British Empire in which Indians are settled I can speak from actual personal experience of the unjustifiable disabilities under which Indians are made to labour in almost every part of the Empire where they have been allowed to settle mainly for the profit of British Colonists.

Australia of course does not admit coloured settlers so the problem of the actual treatment of Indians in Australia has never come up. But the very fact that Australia has permanently branded India, highly civilised and cultured as she is, with the mark of inferiority has had a serious effect on the loyalty

of Indians to the Empire as a whole. In her attitude towards India Australia has openly placed her own self-interest before the interests of the Empire as a whole. When a steamer from Colombo took a Christian Singhalees doctor from Ceylon as Ship's doctor the newspapers of Australia made a public protest, though this doctor had been trained in England and was the only doctor available at the time the steamer left Colombo. He was not allowed to travel further than the first port of call in Australia but was shipped back to Colombo as though he were in some way contaminating the purity of Australian morals. But the Australian papers were not the only ones to make a protest. The whole Press of India referred to the injustice and inhumanity of the treatment thus meted out by a "Christian" nation towards a member of an ancient and honoured race. The people of India are fully justified in asking what can the Empire mean to that part of it which is excluded from the Colonies except where admission happens to satisfy the greed of the white colonists.

For the worst feature of the situation is that even where Indians have been admitted in any large numbers they have been exploited for the profit of capitalists and planters who find it convenient to obtain a supply of cheap Indian labour. In Australia itself which excludes Indians there is an influential Company known as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, with a capital of £3,000,000. It owns large sugar estates in Fiji where some 60,000 Indian labourers are employed. This company has made such profits out of its enterprises that it has been able to pay enormous dividends and has further so increased its capital out of profits that the Government of Australia found it necessary to appoint a Commission to enquire into its methods of business. For thirty years it has been paying the same wages to the Indian coolies who come out from India under Indenture, and yet the officials of this company regarded with alarm a suggestion made to them in 1915 (when as a result of the high price of sugar they had made an extra profit

of £500,000) that the time had come for them to raise the wages of the Indian coolies in their employ. The head of this concern, when he was told that public opinion in India was expressing itself very strongly on the question of the treatment of Indians in Fiji, exclaimed with a cynical laugh, "Public opinion! Why I always thought there was no such thing as public opinion! in India."

Fiji may be taken as an example of a Crown Colony in which Indians are working under what is known as the Indenture system. In 1915 I visited that colony, at the request of Indian leaders, to enquire into the condition of the coolie class there. I found that in spite of the constantly increasing cost of living the wages of those under indenture had remained the same for thirty years. The suicide rate amongst the indentured coolies was twenty times as high as the suicide rate in India, and the proportion of crimes of violence was eighty times as high owing to the unnatural conditions under which these labourers were compelled to live. The fact that their physical condition was in most cases better than that of most labourers in India itself was entirely counterbalanced by the degrading conditions under which they lived and by the entire lack of freedom to choose their own masters so long as their indenture lasted.

For years the Indian public has been protesting against the continuance of the Indenture system under which thousands of Indian labourers have, year after year, been shipped off to distant parts of the British Empire to satisfy the demands of white planters. At last, after ceaseless agitation, a promise was made by the Government of India early in 1916 that the system would be abolished at the earliest possible opportunity. The Indian public was therefore startled to find early in the present year that the planters of Fiji had been promised an extension of the system for another five years. A wave of indignation swept over the country, protests were made in the Press and in public meetings, and for the first in the history of British rule in India a deputation of Indian women waited upon the Viceroy to

protest against this violation of the Government's pledge. The Viceroy was able to give an assurance that, owing to the scarcity of available ships no more coolies would be exported to Fiji under indenture. But the fact that the Government had gone back on its pledge on pressure from the capitalist interests of Australia, and had only stopped the traffic under pressure of war conditions, makes it difficult for the Indian public to believe that, where the interests of India clash with those of British capitalists in the Colonies, the Government will consider first and foremost the feelings and wishes of the Indians themselves.

Of all the occasions on which the Indian public has protested against the treatment of Indians in the different parts of the Empire the most serious was that in 1913 when the unjust treatment of Indians in South Africa led to an intensity of indignant protest in every part of India. Never since the time of the Mutiny has the safety of British rule in India been in such danger. Indignation was at white heat, and if it had not been for the courage of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, who took up the cause of India and in a public speech at Madras protested against the action of the South African Government, and even sent a representative of the Government of India by special steamer to Durban, it is difficult to say what the issue would have been. Never before have the Indian people been so united, and though certain concessions were made by the South African Government the feeling of resentment was too deep to be easily erased.

I visited South Africa and spent two months studying conditions amongst the Indian settlers in the Colony. Most of the Indian leaders, as well as two European sympathisers, had been put in prison, and when I arrived there were still hundreds of Indian labourers in jail. I visited some of the jails to see Indian prisoners and so strong was the colour prejudice that, even though I was known to represent Indian public opinion and was a 'white' man, my sympathy with Indians was sufficient to expose me to the same insults which were invariably showered

upon coloured people. In the law courts the same colour prejudice prevailed to make equal justice almost impossible, and Indian witnesses were bullied and laughed at by white lawyers without any protest from the bench, and even to be seen talking with an Indian in the streets of Durban was to make people stop and stare. And yet the Colony of Natal, with its 100,000 Indians, owes its prosperity to the work which Indian labour has given to the Sugar plantations. The colour prejudice against the Indians was so intense that I wondered how the Empire could hold together with such a palpable cleavage weakening its fabric. On my way back to India I visited Portuguese East Africa, and it was with a sense of shame that I found the Indians under the Portuguese flag were treated more justly and with infinitely more consideration by the Portuguese than they were in British territory.

The attitude of Canada is probably well-known. The "Komagata Maru" incident was only one act of the tragedy of race prejudice which is being enacted in that part of the British Empire. While Sikh soldiers were being welcomed in France with enthusiasm and the English newspapers were praising the loyalty of India in extravagant terms, those Sikhs who had been turned away from Canada were met on their return to India by armed police and some of them were shot because they protested against the decision of the authorities forbidding them to visit Calcutta on their way back to their homes. Canada has passed legislation which forbids the immigration of Indians, even the wives of those already settled there, though the Sikhs are recognised to be excellent farmers, and yet has, since passing this anti-Indian legislation, allowed more than 30,000 Chinese and Japanese immigrants to land. The people of India may well ask, "What does this Empire mean for us who are excluded from almost every part of it, and even when admitted are only tolerated as coolies who can help the white man to make money?"

It may be asked whether things are not likely to be better after the war. An Imperial Conference has been appointed and

there are "representatives" from India on it, and unanimous resolutions have been already passed which refer to India as well as to other questions of Imperial interest. But the so-called representatives do not *represent* the Indian public but only the bureaucratic views of the Government. The Indian Press regards this "representation" as a hollow delusion. The London "Nation" refers to this latest attempt to deceive the people of India by an appearance of justice in the following words:

"Like all our handling of India — as of Ireland — during this war, it is a travesty of the gratitude which we ought to feel. A delusive representation is more useless than no representation at all. It concedes a right, and denies it in fact."

If we examine the two resolutions passed unanimously at this Conference which make special reference to India we see how helpless the case of India has become. The first is that which declares that "re-adjustment of the component parts of the Empire should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth and India as an important portion of that Commonwealth." India always has been an important portion of the Empire just as the treasury is an important part of a large Bank, and there has never been any doubt as to the wish of the other parts of the Empire to continue to have India as an important portion of the Imperial fabric.

The other resolution is that which says:

"The Conference having examined a memorandum on the position of Indians in the self-governing Dominions presented by the representatives of India accepts the principle of reciprocity of treatment and recommends the memorandum for favourable consideration by the Governments concerned."

Neither of these resolutions concede anything in the direction of juster treatment for India. They give the appearance of fairness without its reality. For the first resolution merely affirms a truth which has never been disputed, while the second recommends a reciprocity which in reality is impracticable, for no-one

imagines that the white self-governing Colonies will ever submit willingly to treatment by India such as they have consistently adopted towards Indians.

The fact is that India has been made to feel too keenly the attitude of arrogant superiority taken up towards her by the other parts of the British Empire for the sense of insult and injury to be easily forgotten. Her self-respect has been too deeply wounded. Even in the midst of this gigantic struggle for 'freedom' in which the British Empire is now engaged the Government of India has been unable to throw aside its ancient prejudice and take the people of India fully into her confidence and trust. Had she been trusted, and made to feel that she was really regarded as on an equality with the other parts of the Empire, India might now have been the most powerful asset to the strength of the Empire instead of proving, as Ireland has done, a source of weakness. If on the contrary a radical change does not take place then India will become for the Empire an inevitable cause of its final disintegration.

VII.

THE IMMINENCE OF HOME RULE.

Home Rule for India is inevitable and also imminent. Truth and Justice always have their day. After a hundred years of waiting this day has come for India. The question is not whether Home Rule will be or no, but how it will come. Will it come in the form of a gift or will it be taken by force?

The reasons underlying the Indian demand for Home Rule have been given in the previous articles. There is no inherent reason against the granting of Home Rule by England herself except that of England's selfish interests. These have been strong enough in the past to induce her to break her pledges and to act in direct contradiction to the ideals of freedom and liberty which she has persistently professed to follow. The

question is will she continue to be blind to the facts and continue in her refusal to apply those principles to India, or will she, before it is too late, accept the inevitable and grant Home Rule in answer to the demands of the Indian people ?

For many years these demands have been more and more clearly expressed in constitutional forms, in the Press, in the meetings of the National Congress, and by the Indian members of the different Provincial Councils and of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. As no objection can be legally raised to methods of agitation which are strictly constitutional the Government has allowed such expression of public opinion. But while allowing opinions to be expressed it has almost invariably treated such expressions as a good-natured mother treats her baby's request for the moon. Either the baby's demand is ignored as ridiculous or it is deluded by the presentation, accompanied by protestations as to the beauty of the gift, of a round object as nearly resembling the moon as possible. Viceroys assure the people that the fulfilment of their aspirations is the desire nearest their hearts but at the same time warn the people against the dangers of going too fast and, to quote the words of the present Viceroy, tell their hearers that "the ideal which is best suited for India is not so much rapid progress as steady progress. Do not expect violent changes. If progress is to be sure it must be consolidated step by step." And so the people of India see the progress towards the attainment of their ideals becoming so steady as to be almost stationary. The National Congress has for thirty years been permitted to air its views, but has never been taken seriously by the Government except as a safety valve having no real or vital connection with the aspirations of the Indian people.

Recently a majority of the Indian representatives of the Supreme Legislative Council in India presented to the Indian Government a reform proposition the substance of which was to the effect that :

Half the number of members of the different Provincial Councils were to be Indians.

Financial autonomy was to be granted to India.

The Arms Act, forbidding Indians to carry weapons, was to be repealed.

An Indian Volunteer Service was to be instituted and Indians were to be made eligible as military and naval officers.

The comment of the London "Times" on these proposals was that they were "unreasonable and extraordinary and these representatives do not represent the people." The same newspaper also stated that "the maddest of all things conceivable is the idea of Home Rule for India."

In the fond delusion that the Government in India really represented the ideals of liberty which England has followed in the evolution of her own national life the people of India have patiently adopted the methods of constitutional agitation. Finding these fruitless many have at last begun to despair of attaining their ends by peaceful means. The increase of anarchy in Bengal and other parts of India has been the natural and inevitable outcome of the policy which the Government of India has followed in its attitude towards constitutional demands. Demands made in this form have been answered by saying: "Wait a little till you are more fully worthy to receive these gifts of liberty." or "You do not represent the people of India but only a small minority of educated and discontented agitators."

The fact that the Government has been adopting more and more repressive measures in its dealings with the people shows that the methods of violence have flourished in the atmosphere of disappointed hopes which the policy of the Government has created. Having failed to obtain what they know to be their legitimate rights by peaceful means the people of India are being driven by their despair more and more to the use of violence. They now see in Europe all the nations using force to obtain freedom and liberty for the peoples, and Russia applauded by English statesmen for achieving its liberties by revolution, and

it is natural that they should ask why India alone of all the nations should be denied the privilege of using force for the attainment of those same ideals which they have failed to achieve by peaceful efforts.

These forces which are at work amongst the people of India are vital and living forces. Vital forces may be repressed but not indefinitely, they may be repressed but not suppressed. If driven underground they will germinate like all living seeds, and if you compress them they will explode with violence. This is what is happening in India. The vital forces of legitimate aspiration have been consistently repressed by the actions of the bureaucracy, and the result is that in India to-day there is a hidden but explosive energy waiting only for some small and apparently trivial incident to burst into a violent and devastating storm. In Osaka recently it only needed the carelessness of one coolie, who dropped a cask of potassium chloride, to produce an explosion of such violence that damage to the extent of ten million yen was caused. In India it only needs the carelessness of one English official to bring about a revolution. Every day events are happening in India which might prove the spark of ignition. When Mr. Lloyd George decided, for the sake of a sum of money sufficient only for the carrying on of the war for a fortnight, to saddle India, without consulting her people, with a debt which in their poverty the people are unable to sustain, he was unloosing forces of dangerous possibilities. When, after two months, the people of India had out of their poverty subscribed a sum enough only for one day's destructive warfare in Europe, the rulers of India were not satisfied but brought every power of threat and persuasion to squeeze further millions out of the people of India. In Bengal we had the undignified spectacle of an English Lord, the Governor of the Province, standing up in public begging for further subscriptions and working out a petty arithmetical calculation to prove to his hearers that for every ninety-five rupees which they subscribe to-day they will receive from the

Government in the course of thirty years a sum of two hundred and fifty rupees! In every town and village of India the same process is going on and the people are being urged to subscribe towards swelling the millions necessary for fighting a battle for a freedom in which they may not share. But every rupee which now goes to swell the size of the War Loan helps to swell the widespread feeling of discontent.

More ominous still is the way in which hundreds of young men are being put in prison without trial, and numbers of newspapers are being forfeited under the Press Act. To throw the blame for the appearance of anarchy and violence on educated Indians who have agitated for the liberties of the people is to put the blame on the wrong shoulders. While Indian newspapers are forfeited under the Press Act, papers published by Englishmen, which daily print articles calculated to increase race hatred and discontent, are allowed to continue publication without protest from the Government. Those who are directly responsible for this new feature in the life of India are the bureaucrats of the type of Lord Curzon, Lord Sydenham, Sir Valentine Chirol and Mr. Lionel Curtis and all those English officials whose acts have been calculated to spread disaffection and discontent amongst the people of India.

The hope that England will *give* Home Rule to India is growing fainter. The good-will of the people of England is rendered ineffective by passing through the India Office in London and thence through the hands of the bureaucrats of India. If England were able to give her full attention to the problem of India there might be some hope, but not only is she too fully occupied with her own struggle but all that she reads and is told about India is calculated to mislead her as to the real situation. Mr. Lloyd George speaks of India's "loyal myriads" and his hearers go away satisfied and pride themselves on the excellence of their rule in India. Probably Mr. Lloyd George really believes that India's myriads are loyal and like a flock of sheep will follow where they are told to go. He

has acquired his knowledge of India from official sources, such as Mr. Chamberlain who knows more about Birmingham than he can possibly know about India, and from those to whose interest it is to represent India as loyal. At the beginning of the war it is true that there was an outbreak of loyalty founded upon the belief that now at last in their need the governing classes of India would accept the people of India as their comrades and treat them with the consideration which had been so conspicuously lacking in the past. The Government had then a unique opportunity for retrieving in a moment all the blunders of their past administration. But unable to cast aside their prejudice and distrust they let it slip and instead of the situation improving during the last three years it has been getting steadily worse. The publication of the Public Services Commission Report which emphasises instead of removing the injustice to which Indians are subjected in the Public Services, the harsh application of the Defence of India Act, the disabilities under which Indians labour in the Indian Defence Force in spite of the Commander-in-Chief's assurance that: "There is no intention of discriminating between the two classes" of Indians and Europeans, and finally the way in which the Indian War Loan of £100,000,000 was put upon the people of India without the question having been brought up even on the Viceroy's Council, have all contributed towards the volume of the present discontent.

Home Rule is inevitable. Constitutional methods of agitation have been patiently followed for half-a-century and the people have for long believed in the good faith of their governors, but as evidence accumulates to prove that their Government is inherently incapable of granting any measure of real self-government except under extremity of pressure, despair has taken the place of confidence and there is now a widespread suspicion, amounting almost to a certainty, that the Government does not intend to grant any effectual measure of autonomy to the people of India until it is forced to do so. This is the

explanation of the alarming growth of anarchy and of the revolutionary spirit in all parts of India. The revolution in Russia has not been without its lesson to India, but the revolution in Russia, though its purpose was the liberation of the people from the tyranny of a bureaucracy, cannot be compared with a revolution such as would take place in India. The Indian people are without an army and without arms, and if they rose in revolt against the English army of occupation there could be only one result. In India there is no Czar whose abdication could stem the tide of popular passion, and no army which would sympathise with the revolutionaries and so there is no possibility of a peaceful revolution. The only alternative is that of a formidable uprising of unarmed men individually powerless but invincible by their numbers who, shrinking not from death, would crush the armed forces of British domination under the weight of their innumerable masses. That Government has realized the possibility of such a tragedy is seen from the recent introduction of a Compulsory Military Training Bill for the European and Eurasian residents in India, which has been commented on by Mrs Besant in the following terms:

“Here is a deliberate attempt to arm Englishmen with *a victo to meet trouble in this country*, i. e. for armed and trained Englishmen to shoot down unarmed mobs. We are to look forward in this country in a short time to a complete cleavage between the English and the Indians, the one forming an army of occupation, the other a helpless and terrorised population. All hope of co-operation will vanish, all chance of friendship will be destroyed. Naked force will stand confessed, arrogant and brutal. This is no War Service for the preservation of the Empire; it is a deliberate preparation for the possible bloodshed spoken of by Mr. Curtis. It is not for the defence of India against an enemy; it is for the holding of India against her own sons. Against such an iniquitous movement every lover of the Empire, Indian and English, should protest, for India can hardly be expected to see going on, paid for out

of her own pocket, preparations for her subjugation under a regime of rifles and revolvers."

These preparations have however commenced, and if tomorrow a revolution were to break out in India we should have the humiliation of seeing the English, who in Europe are fighting to free Belgium from the armed aggression of Germany, shooting down an unarmed and defenceless populace. But a revolution would not end there. It would develop into a general and mutual carnage, for the Indians, unarmed though they are, would, if once blood is shed, begin to massacre the English troops and residents. It is possible that such a widespread misery might be averted by the English Government immediately granting Home Rule to India. But if once the flood of hatred and mutual murder is unloosed there would be no possibility of stemming it by any act of legislation however generous. Just as Force dominates Europe and even the dearest liberties of the peoples of the West are being bought by bloodshed, so in India Force would become dominant until from the fire of revolution the people of India emerged a free and self-governing nation.

VIII.

JAPAN AND INDIA.

If India is forced by the prejudice and blindness of her rulers to seek by revolution what is refused to her as a right, then the question arises as to what attitude Japan should take up in such a crisis.

Some people indeed state that England intends to ask the help of her ally Japan in the event of a revolution in India. It seems on the face of it to be incredible that England could be so lost to a sense of her own dignity and honour as to be driven to ask the intervention of Japan in India. Such action would not only be an avowal of weakness such as England has never before been compelled to make, but would be directly opposed to public opinion in England itself.

Such interference by an outside power, even though that power is a friendly one and a trusted ally, in the internal affairs of the British Empire, would raise as strong a protest as would have been raised if French or Russian troops had been asked to help in putting down the Sinn Fein Rebellion in Ireland. Even the strongest advocates of the Unionist Party in England would have felt that to ask the help of a foreign ally in settling the internal troubles of Ireland, a part of the British Empire, would not only have been a confession of weakness but a dishonourable act of treachery.

Above all the people of England are the friends of liberty, however much their own liberties may have been curtailed during the present war. When Sir George Buchanan, speaking as British Ambassador to Russia, said just after the revolution in that country: "It is impossible that the British Democracy, the oldest in the world, could be suspected of opposing the freedom of peoples.", he was speaking for the best elements of the British public. And we must believe that, even at the cost of losing India, the people of England would welcome the claims of that country to the right of self-government.

It is true however that although the people of England are at heart the friends of freedom their true feelings are at present in many cases rendered inarticulate. To quote a recent letter from England: "As Russia frees herself we become more and more enslaved." And it is possible that England's statesmen may, against the wishes and even without the knowledge of the British people, barter the honour of their country and in their uncontrollable desire to keep India for England seek for the help of Japan.

If this were to happen what then would be the attitude of Japan to such a request?

Some people argue that England would be justified in asking the help of Japan to put down a revolution in India, basing their argument on the traditional faithfulness of Japan to Great Britain, and on the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance guar-

antees the actual *status quo* of the different parts of Asia. If this were so then Japan would feel bound in honour to accede to England's request. But there is nothing in the existing treaties, at any rate so far as they are known to the public, which requires Japan to help Great Britain in India, except in the event of the attack or invasion of India by another power such as Russia. What secret understandings there may be between the diplomatists of the two countries it is beyond the power of any honest man to say, but arguments cannot be based on the possibility of the existence of agreements which cannot be made public.

The honour of Japan does not demand her intervention in India nor do the wishes of her people require it. It is impossible to imagine that the people of Japan would wish to interfere in any popular rising in India for the winning of the freedom of the people. When recently, in certain quarters, rumours were circulated that the Allies intended to invite Japan to enter Siberia in the event of the new Russian Government showing signs of abated enthusiasm in the prosecution of the war against Germany, practically the whole of the Japanese Press raised a protest against such an imputation. It was pointed out that the Japanese people were friendly towards the people of Russia and welcomed any efforts made by them which might help them to assert their right to choose their own path of liberty.

India is bound to Japan by ties closer than those of a political alliance, and for Japan to help in crushing a revolution in India would be for her to fight against a part of that great Unity of which she is a member, and not only so but also against the possibility of ever becoming the recognised head of Asia. India would be forced to regard Japan not as her friend but as a neighbour upon whose friendship she could not rely, and the whole of Asia would regard her as a renegade instead of as their natural leader. To follow such a line of action would politically be more than a fault it would be an unpardonable and irretrievable blunder.

When Japan conquered Russia the enthusiasm in India was immense, and the people of India looked towards Japan not only with admiration but also with hope. Here at last was the proof that Asia was not moribund and helpless, but had a living and vital force capable of meeting the forces of the modern world and holding its own against them. Since then the enthusiasm for Japan has been somewhat damped owing to the fact that India has found Japanese statesmen willing, in many cases, to adopt the policy which Western nations follow in their methods of exploiting weaker peoples. Many events have happened in recent years which have shaken the confidence of Asia in the complete disinterestedness of Japanese statesmanship. But in the main the inherent admiration for the Japanese people remains a strong element of the Indian consciousness, and this is an asset which Japan, as the recognised leader of Asia cannot afford to lose. She would lose it inevitably and irrevocably if she for a moment showed a willingness to aid Great Britain in any effort to suppress the liberties of the Indian people.

The statesmen and diplomatists of Japan would be blind to the true interests of their own country if they were to dally with an idea which would so injure the delicate texture of Asia's Unity. Home Rule for India is the first step towards the Home Rule of Asia, which is but another name for the Monroe Doctrine of Asia. And this is the supreme aim of Japanese statesmanship and the supreme necessity for the future moral and practical progress of Japan herself. For Japan will be fully respected by the Great Powers of the world only when Asia becomes free and is also respected by those same Powers. Materially also the safety of Japan will be assured only when all the forces of Asia are organised behind her and thus constitute a unity capable of resisting all the aggressive covetousness of the world.

In the next great re-adjustment of World Powers in the near future in what group could Japan find her true place of leadership save in that of Asia? In all other possible combina-

tions she would be merely a vassal. She can be a Master Power only when all other countries of Asia become free to confer on her that mastery. How then could Japan fight against Home Rule for India when that Home Rule is the indispensable condition of her own rule in the future?

Tokyo, June 3rd, 1917.

APPENDIX

EDUCATION IN INDIA

In the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, the following statement was exhibited in big capital letters by the United States Government:—

“The State that fails to educate dooms its children to industrial subjugation to those states that do educate. More than once have nations lost their land for lack of education.”

The British have been in India for a century and a half, and yet the educational facilities which are available for the vast population of the Indian Empire have not reached a level which can bear comparison with those granted by the Japanese Government after fifty years of progress, and by the Government of the Philippine Islands after eighteen years of occupation by the Americans. In 1873 in Japan 28% of the children of school age were at School: by 1903 the percentage had risen to 90. In India at the present time the percentage is only 19.6. Bengal, which is the most advanced Province in India so far as progress in education is concerned, has more than 90% of its population illiterate. In Japan, which cannot be regarded as in any way richer than India in natural resources, the proportion of the population which is literate is over 80%. Before the Civil War in America the Negroes were most of them illiterate. Now fully 70% of them are literate.

But, unfortunately for India, India's children are not children of the State which governs her and which is responsible for the failure to educate. As Sir Rabindranath Tagore said in an interview with a correspondent of the Manchester Guardian: “Every Indian feels, and every candid student of India must admit, that you (i. e. the English) have conceived it to be to your interest to keep us weak and have discouraged education.

In the laboratories you dislike us to acquire science and to pursue research.”

The usual excuse put forward by those who are responsible for the slowness of this educational progress is that India is so vast a country that progress cannot be expected to be rapid. Lord Ronaldshay, the new Governor of Bengal, offered this excuse in a recent interview in which the question of the paucity of educational opportunities in India was raised. In this as in other matters such as self-government it is assumed by her rulers that “the ideal best suited to India is not so much rapid as steady progress.” (Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, in a recent speech.) But the vastness of India did not prevent the government from elaborating very early an efficient apparatus for collecting taxes from the remotest corner of the great continent, or from establishing a Police force the influence of which is felt in the smallest village. The real fact is that this excuse of the vastness of India is merely put forward to enable the Government to direct the revenue collected from vast India into other channels than that of education. In Baroda, a native state with self-government, it has been found possible to introduce a system of compulsory primary education as efficient as that in the progressive countries of Europe and in Japan. If the same energy and willingness had been applied in the Provinces under British control as have been applied in Baroda the people of India as a whole would not now be suffering from a famine of education more widespread than the recurring famines of food.

Another excuse sometimes put forward for the lack of educational facilities in India is that the bulk of the population does not demand them, and even if it did, being mainly an agricultural country, the period of education is necessarily shorter than in other countries where the bulk of the population is industrial. As for the first excuse, the allegation that the bulk of the people do not demand education, it was true also of all the countries which now enjoy the advantage of a universal system of education. In those countries the system had to be

introduced before its advantages could be appreciated. But as a matter of fact in India the desire shown by every class for education is a remarkable testimony to the widespread nature of the demand. People of the middle and lower classes make astonishing sacrifices in order that their children may be educated.

As for the statement that an agricultural population does not need such a long period of education as an industrial population, even that excuse does not bear close examination, for even in countries which are mainly agricultural the proportion of the population receiving only elementary education is many times greater than that in India. In France, which is largely an agricultural country, the proportion of the population enrolled in primary and High Schools is 16% of the total population. If we take the percentage of scholars in different countries we find they are as follows :

Norway	14.6%.	} in Elementary Schools alone.
Austria	15.3%.	
Germany	16.3%.	
Ireland	16.16%.	
Holland	15.42%.	
England & Wales	17.7%.	

Russia, it is true, has only 3.77% and Brazil only 2.96%, but even these low percentages are higher than the percentage in India.

The final excuse which is made is that India's revenues are not sufficient to bear the burden of a widespread system of education, even were it only elementary. That India is poor and already over-taxed cannot be denied, but it cannot be argued that India is poorer in natural wealth than Japan was fifty years ago. If the £100,000,000 spent out of Indian revenue during the last century, on military operations outside India for purposes of the British Empire's policy of expansion, had been spent on India's material and educational expansion the British would today have no reason to be ashamed of the poverty of their educational policy in India. As to her revenues, the Indian

public has constantly urged the Government to discourage the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, the excise duty on which provides a profitable source of revenue to the Government, and yet the Excise Revenue has risen steadily during the last ten years as the following figures show.

Excise Revenue.

1904-5	1909-10	1914-15
£5,295,863	£6,462,226	£8,747,740

India has always been a sober country and doubtless would remain so if the people were able to direct their own policy, and yet while on the one hand there is an insistent demand for education to which the Government remains deaf, the demand for the discouragement of the liquor traffic is met by a constant increase. The reason is simple — to encourage the supply of liquor is advantageous to the Government Exchequer whereas to encourage the supply of education is advantageous only to the Indians themselves. Even if the large increase in Excise Revenue had been devoted to education there would have been some consolation for the people, but even that is not done. Always the plea is raised of “No funds.” “No funds.”

If we ask what is the root cause of this state of things the answer is to be found in the simple fact that the educational policy of India is in the hands, not of the people of the country, but of a European clique whose interest it is to keep it there.

It is clear that so long as the personnel of the educational service remains what it is at present no change for the better can be expected. Even the appointment of an Indian as Education Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council cannot improve matters, for it concedes control of the educational policy of the Government to Indians in appearance only. It is like so many other so-called concessions made by the bureaucracy, a delusive “representation.” Let us briefly examine the facts.

Since the reorganization of the Indian Educational Service in 1896 the appointments made have revealed to what a disprop-

portionate extent the posts are reserved for Europeans.

Period.	Number of Appointments.	Number of Indians.
1896-1900	29	Nil.
1901-1905	56	Nil.
1906-1910	92	Nil.
1911-1916.	115	seven (?)

The division of the Educational Service in India into the Imperial Educational Service which is recruited entirely from England, and the Provincial Educational Service the members of which are appointed in India itself, in practice, and it can hardly be doubted in intention also, results in all the most influential and highly paid posts being in the hands of Englishmen. The excuse put forward by the Public Services Commission, which was appointed ostensibly to do away with just such abuses, was that the Imperial Educational Service consisted of a "corps d'élite," implying that its members were men of exceptional educational ability. We may accept the use of the word "élite" if we interpret it as meaning "chosen" rather than "choice," for it is clear to all who know the relative merits of the members of the two services that the difference consists mainly in the fact that in the one case the members are chosen because of their race, and in the other for their educational qualifications only.

That the Indian people have so patiently endured this patent injustice, in the Department of the Government Service in which of all others the "natives" of the country might be expected to have had the largest say, is a proof that the Indians are a long-suffering people.

When we realise that the post of Director of Public Instruction in every Province is held by a European, who in many cases does not even possess a working knowledge of the vernacular of the Province the educational policy of which he directs, we see the absurdity of the position.

In the Departments of Public Instruction there were in December 1915 only 14 Indians employed in the higher posts as against 379 Europeans.

When Lord Curzon was Viceroy he was anxious to "improve" the educational policy of the Government of India, and with that purpose in view he held a secret Conference in Simla to which Directors of Public Instruction and other educational officials, as well as some educational missionaries, were invited. But by carefully excluding Indians, both official and non-official, he clearly revealed the official point of view. Could a greater insult have been offered to the Indian people than for the Viceroy thus to express his contempt for the opinions of the people over whom he had been appointed the ruler?

But it may be asked why more private institutions are not founded by Indians themselves without any connection with the British Government. Experience has proved the hopelessness of the attempts. The odds are too great. Institutions started with the hope of carrying on education in accordance with Hindu ideals fall a prey to the abnormal appetite for exploitation which the Government displays in the educational as in other departments. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, the Tata Institute of Science, and the latest attempt, the Hindu University at Benares are examples of such institutions. Each and every one, either directly or indirectly, falls under Government control. Those which resolutely refuse Government aid are able, it is true, to carry out their education according to their own ideas, but they do so under the constant and galling suspicion of Government officials and especially of the Police.

An example of the extent to which Government controls or influences the policy of institutions under Indian management occurred recently in Delhi which, being the capital, one would have expected to possess enlightened and sympathetic administrators. A School for Hindu Girls received a grant-in-aid from Government. The Lady Superintendent, a European sympathetic to Indian aspirations, opened in connection with the School a

Library and Reading room in which "Home Rule" literature was provided for the parents and friends of the pupils. Immediately the reading-room became a rendezvous for police and detectives. A threat was launched against the Committee of Management that unless the reading-room were closed or the Superintendent dismissed the grant-in-aid would be discontinued. Such is the 'liberty' enjoyed by a school struggling to carry on the work which the Government has neglected. This "Home Rule" literature was not seditious but dealt with perfectly constitutional methods of agitating for self-government, but the power to withhold the grant-in-aid was too good an opportunity for tyranny to be lost by the small-minded official who possessed that power.

Enough has been said to show that the Educational policy of the present Government in India needs to undergo drastic changes. Briefly to sum up the faults of the present system.

- (1). It is not sufficiently widespread and does not lay enough emphasis on the crying need for elementary education.
- (2) Being largely directed by Europeans who require high salaries and view Indian educational problems from the standpoint of Western experience, it is too expensive for a poor country like India.
- (3). Instead of the Vernaculars being used as the medium of instruction English is insisted upon, with the result that a large part of the pupil's time is spent on acquiring a knowledge of a foreign language. This means that the period of education is prolonged and thus the expense is increased.
- (4). Even the English Professors who teach in Government Colleges are not compelled to learn the vernacular of the students whom they teach. This results in a lack of efficiency, and still more serious in a lack of sympathy between teachers and students.
- (5). The education is too purely literary in character and by its exaggerated emphasis on the student's proficiency

in the English language, results in strangling originality of thought. The system produces very excellent clerks able to do the office work of the Government, but does not develop independence and originality.

- (6). The number of scientific and industrial institutions where Indian boys can get a training for practical industrial enterprises is so small that much of the practical work of industrial development has to be done by foreigners or by students who have been able to afford a training in some foreign country.
- (7). Any improvements suggested by Government officials generally resolve themselves into an increase in the cost of education on the plea of greater efficiency. Good buildings and expensive apparatus are no doubt excellent adjuncts to good teaching, but in India elementary education could be introduced broadcast with buildings made with mud walls and thatch.

The conclusion one is forced to, in face of the facts, is that until India has self-government the faults of her present educational system are not likely to be rectified. That other mistakes will be made is inevitable, but they will be her own mistakes and not those of foreign rulers. That the people of a country of such ancient lineage and noble traditions as India should be denied the right to control their own education is contrary to the most elementary principles of liberty. Self-government in educational matters, as in other respects, is essential for India if she is to escape the shipwreck to which those States are doomed which fail to educate their children. Without self-government she will stagnate in the midst of a world of progress, with it she will advance in the front rank of progressive nations. The sole excuse given by a conquering nation when it occupies a foreign country is the progress and education which accompany that occupation. Indeed that progress would be the only excuse for their violence to the ideals of liberty if it were, as they say, the consequence of it. From this point of view one must judge

the morality of Imperialistic rule. In the case of India the statistics of education rise against England as a most formidable accusation. She is responsible before Humanity for the state of intellectual stagnation in which three hundred million people find themselves placed. It is Humanity and its Future which claim the ending of this slavery of darkness. No longer can the highest human dignity be sacrificed to the material interests of the exploiters of a country which has been the Light of the World.

July 25th, 1917.



大正六年八月二十七日印刷
大正六年八月三十日發行

著者

W・W・ピアスン

發行者

東京市赤坂區青山高樹町十一番地
大川周明

印刷者

東京市麴町區有樂町一丁目一番地
三間隆次

印刷所

東京市麴町區有樂町一丁目一番地
三間印刷所

不許複製

〈定價金貳拾五錢〉

發行所

東京市赤坂區青山
高樹町十一番地

全亞細亞會

DS
448
P37

Pearson, William Winstanley
For India

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

