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INDIA IN REVOLUTION

ESTON EVERETT ERICSON
ERVID ERIC ERICSON

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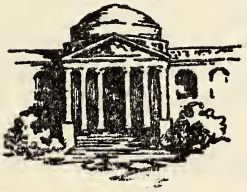

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I must frankly confess that I am a Socialist and a Republican and no believer in kings and princesses, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry. I recognize, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress and in the present circumstances of this country to adopt a full Socialist programme. But we must realize that the philosophy of Socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only point in dispute is the pace and the methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race.
—Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the Congress Party in an address at Lahore, 1929

To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creatures as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means. Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self-purification; without self-purification the observance of the law of Ahimsa must remain an empty dream; God can never be realized by one who is not pure of heart. Self-purification, therefore, must mean purification in all walks of life. And purification being highly infectious, purification of oneself necessarily leads to the purification of one's surroundings.

—Mahatma Gandhi

INTRODUCTION: INDIA, THE ACID TEST OF DEMOCRACY

The writers of this study are well aware of the complexity of the subject. It would be easier to write a five-hundred page book on India than to suggest in a brief summary lines along which the question may be studied. To an informed reader some of our chapters will necessarily appear sketchy or one-sided; to such we plead the excuse that this is a study course rather than an exhaustive discussion.

Of the importance of the question, however, there can be little doubt. Present-day civilization finds two extremist philosophies engaged in a death-struggle. On the one hand is Fascism, with its emphasis on militarism and imperialism, on race chauvinism, and on a recreation of ancient glory. At the opposite pole is Communism, a forward-looking philosophy, with an unbounded faith in our machine economy and an insistence that the masses take over both machinery and product for themselves, instead of building up huge fortunes for the financial sharks that now infest the capitalist waters. Disavowing faith in the ballot without accompanying economic power, the Communist rests his hope on a more cataclysmic change, to accomplish which he would substitute, at least temporarily, a dictatorship for our democratic institutions. Somewhere in the middle of these two extremes, sometimes falling dangerously between them, is Democracy, once considered the hope of all mankind, but now looked upon with cynical misgiving by thousands who find their situation precarious under that form of government and its attendant capitalist economy.

Laying aside our own country for the moment, we find that there is perhaps no greater proponent of Democracy in our day than that motley assemblage of widely spread dominions and territories known as Great Britain. True enough, France maintains parliamentary government, but more and more she is crowded by the left-wing groups, with a proletarian dictatorship every year becoming more imminent. In Spain a bitter war is in progress between the government and those Fascist forces that would not only destroy the socialist and communist contingencies but would annihilate parliamentary government as well.

In the din of these struggles, with the monstrosities of Fascist Italy and Germany sounding an ominous roar in the background, it is encouraging to observe the British government wrestling with the problem of democratic government with a faith that seems hardly warranted by the distressing conditions of the times, not only insisting on democracy for the home government and the more stable dominions, but even attempting it for her less mature possessions at a time when, if ever, it would seem that the easiest way would be the autocratic method of blood and iron. That she has not applied the Alexandrine sword to this Gordian knot of political problems, is a tribute to the patience and faith of her officials and statesmen.

Sentimentally, of course, the average American would say, why should not India have complete independence, unrestricted nationhood? But the question is not so simple as that, as our own long delay in freeing the Philippine Islands should convince us. The Indian question is an extremely complex and complicated problem. The people of India are not a homogeneous population. Ireland has its Ulster, but India has a dozen Ulsters. What will please the people of British India will throw consternation into the states of the Princes. An extension of democratic privileges to the lower castes will make an enemy of the Brahmin. Consideration of Moslem interests will invoke the hostility of the Hindus. And so the question has stood for many years, a stalemate, and there have not been wanting wily politicians to take advantage of these discords and dissensions.

No Englishman would contend that his country has not made mistakes. For a long time India was systematically robbed by Englishmen. Oriental treachery has too often been matched by the studied deception and double-dealing of the British official. High-handed legislation has at times resulted from scares not justified by the circumstances. The military and the police have been too quick on the trigger, and have left a trail of blood that will not be easy for the Hindu people to forget.

But, on the other side, the Indian leaders have not been without fault. They have not always given due credit to the advantages they have gained under British civilization. With their eyes fixed upon the ideal of democracy, they have often lost sight of the complex conditions confronting such a new order of society. And they have persistently insisted on reserving certain features of Indian life which are not only inconsistent with democratic society, but even destructive of it, once established.

In the face of such conflicting data, the authors of this monograph have tried to be fair. In private one of us feels that the presence of the British in India has done vastly more good than ill and that British control is still necessary; the other is of the opinion that only through a genuine people's democracy can Indian liberty and economic security be achieved. But these personal opinions have been kept in the background; we have examined the question objectively in the light of the available evidence. On one point we are agreed, that if England can successfully dispose of this vexatious problem, she will have demonstrated to the world that there is no political problem too difficult for a democracy to handle.

—Eston Everett Ericson.
—Ervid Eric Ericson.

CHAPTER I

THE CORNER OF THE TEMPLE—SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

He who conceiveth this Indweller, this Self, as slayer, or who conceiveth It as slain, is without knowledge. The Self neither slayeth nor is It slain. —The Bhagavad-Gita (Song of God)

The Sanskrit is the richest of all the languages in the world, in its combinations. Its words melt and run continually together in harmony of sound and sense; and their full splendor is but faintly imaged to the view by the beautiful and pictorial language of Greece; while the coarser and sterner Latin represents in its features still less of this high characteristic of its elder sister, the Sanskrit. —Eichoff

India had attained a high standard of civilization at a time when the peoples of Europe were still barbarians. Fourteen centuries before the Christian era, the Vedic religion had been established, and a well-defined social system was in vogue. Early records show that Indian people knew such arts as metal-working, ceramics, boat-building, and brewing. The centre of all activity in early India was the state religion, Brahminism, the sacred books of which were the *Vedas*. The language of these Brahmin scriptures is known as Sanskrit. Their delicate, cursive alphabet (Devanagari) was created about 800 B.C. Certain scholars have placed the date of composition of their earliest literature at about 1500 B.C.

It was only toward the end of the eighteenth century that Europeans began to investigate the languages of India. Scholars like Sir William Jones and Colebrooke were motivated by practical considerations, a desire to familiarize themselves with the laws and institutions of India and the more immediate aim of making communication possible in commercial circles. In the second decade of the nineteenth century the studies of Rask and Grimm established the relationship of Indian and Persian languages to those of Europe and furthered greatly the study of Indo-Iranian languages and literature.

Sanskrit, like Latin and Greek, is a dead language. A form of it known as Pali was once spoken by the priests, but is now extinct except for its use in Buddhist writings in Ceylon and Farther India. Prakrit, the basis of modern Aryan vernacular dialects, is descended from Sanskrit somewhat in the same way as the Romance languages are descended from Latin.

India might well be called the Austria-Hungary of Asia, so diverse and chaotic is her language situation. There are one hundred forty-seven dialects, representing twenty distinct families. There are three major speech-groups. Fifty-six million people speak what are called Dravidian dialects. The Dravidians, a dark-skinned people,

were the aborigines of India. These dialects are of the agglutinative type, quite different from the inflectional branch represented by the Aryan-Indian group, spoken by two hundred twenty-one million people. The most popular of the latter dialects is Urdu, or Hindustani, a dialect featured by its admixture of Persian, Arabic, and English words. It is the dialect used by the missionaries in most of the urban centres. Finally, there is the Tibeto-Burman group (Burma, Assam, Bengal, and the Shan states) used by nearly ten million people. This last group is somewhat akin to the monosyllabic languages of western and northwestern China. The social problem of India is complicated by this diversity of language.

It was its use in religious scriptures and ceremonies that led the priesthood to preserve the Sanskrit language with scrupulous detail. Not only did they preserve the text meticulously, but they also wrote grammatical treatises and other explanations of the sacred writings. As a result Sanskrit was not subject to the changes that have so markedly affected spoken languages in general. This primitive quality of Sanskrit has been of invaluable assistance to the study of our European languages. And besides that, the body of Sanskrit literature is so extensive that it throws considerable light on ancient Indian civilization.

The Vedic hymns give evidence of a type of nature worship; many of them are of a propitiatory character. They celebrate Agni, the fire of sun and lightning; Indra, the bright, cloudless firmament; Maruts, the wind; Surya, the sun; and Ushas, the dawn. Later these pantheistic deities are clad in religious allegory. In the stage of the *Upanishads*, the earliest of which dates six centuries before Christ, a definite theology has been developed, including transmigration of the soul and the belief that all creation has emanated from the universal ego known as the Great Soul, whom to understand is to comprehend one's own soul. In the Epic period, the time of the *Ramajana* and the *Mahabharata*, this mystical concept has been further refined into three definite deities: Brahma, the Creator; Vishnu, the Preserver; and Siva, the Destroyer. In the last, or Puranic, period a religious philosophy is expounded by way of dialogues conducted by sages. In this period is produced the full-flowered Vedantic philosophy, the main tenet of which is that the material world has only an illusory existence, that God is the sole reality from whom all things issue and into whom all things eventually resolve.

The range of thought and activity represented by these early Sanskrit writings is strikingly extensive. The four *Vedas* themselves consist of hymns, chants, prayers, and lore. The *Brahmana* are prose-works of an exegetical nature attached to the *Vedas*. The *Aranyaka* are a set of instructions for anchorites, and the *Upanishads* consist of metaphysical speculations on religion. The *Vedangas* are treatises dealing with phonetics, metre, grammar, etymology, astronomy, and ceremonial. These works belong to the earlier, or Vedic, period. In

the classical period this intellectual and artistic genius reaches a height equalled only by the Attic period of ancient Greece. Epic poetry is represented by the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, the latter the legend of prince Rama, who is in the legend deified. Then there are two great collections of legends and speculations regarding the origin and organization of the universe known as the *Puranas* and the *Tantras*. A book on the technique of rhetoric and dramaturgy in the early centuries of the Christian era gives proof that the drama had existed in India many centuries earlier. Finally, there are artificial epics and romances, and lyrical, descriptive, and didactic poetry. This later period, too, has a wealth of scientific and technical works: law, philosophy, grammar, lexicography, astronomy, rhetoric, and medicine.

Such was the culture of the nation that has been listed by half-educated English parliamentarians among the "backward nations." Such was the fine cultural pattern that was to be smeared with English industrialism and ripped to pieces by the rapacity of British commercialism. If we are to measure English and Indian civilization by the yard-stick of cultural levels, we must remember that the Indians were a cultured people at a time when the English were shivering in their crude huts along the North Sea. This fact must be taken into account in our study of India, because the loss of liberty is always more painful to a nation that has once tasted of glory and has known great national pride.

Subjects for Study

1. THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA.
   - Look up the numerals in Sanskrit from one to ten. Compare these with the corresponding words in Latin and Greek.
   - By comparisons between Latin and English demonstrate Grimm's Law.
   - How does a complicated language set-up like that in India make progress difficult?
   - Write to the American Bible Society in New York City for a New Testament in Urdu. Can you find any words that bear resemblance to English?
   - Look up Macaulay's attitude toward the teaching of English in India.
   - What is "Baboo" English?

2. THE LITERATURE OF INDIA.
   - Why does Emerson give the title "Brahma" to one of his poems? (See Mukerji's *Song of God*, II, 19.)
   - Summarize the story of *Ramayana*.
   - Point out similarities between Greek and Indian mythology.

Report on a translation of an Indian play. Compare it with Western drama.

Read Walt Whitman's *Chanting the Square Deific* and compare it with Brahmanistic theology.

Compare an Indian fable collection with Kipling's *Jungle Book* or Æsop's *Fables.*

3. THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF INDIA.

Investigate the idea of Trimurti (trinity), i.e., three forces in the universe: creation, preservation, and destruction.

What evidences of dualism in Indian religious philosophy?

Look up the doctrine of *moksha,* or release from material existence.

Compare the tone of the *Vedas* with that of the *Koran.*

Note the origin of the caste system in the Vedic period.

Why has the Brahmin religion had so little concern with social welfare?

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CHAPTER II

INDIA'S GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES — CORAL STRANDS AND ICY MOUNTAINS

The varied geographical features, which distinguish the regions and subdivisions of India, account largely for the part that they have played at different periods of her political history, and in the development of her culture and ethnography. Conditions of climate and cultivation, natural lines of communication, density and ethnic character of the population, have profoundly influenced political and economic growth. Judged by her extent, the variety of her physical conditions, and her independent articulation, India can only be regarded as a subcontinent of Asia. —Sir Harcourt Butler

India is one of the largest political entities in the world, and, like most large countries, its climatic and surface features are widely dissimilar, with tropical and subtropical characteristics generally prevailing. Together with Burma and Baluchistan, its area equals, roughly, half that of the United States. It comprises three principal geographical divisions, namely, the mountains of the north, the central lowlands, and the southern tableland.

India begins in the temperate zone, with the Himalayan Mountains, and extends southward to the sea in the torrid zone. Geographers regard the Himalayas as a portion of a continuous line of elevations that runs westward through Asia Minor and the Balkans to the Alps and the Pyrenees. The rivers and streams that rush down from the Himalayas water the Indian lowlands, the second principal geographical division of the country. The chief of these rivers are the Indus in the west, and the Ganges and Brahmaputra in the east. A jumbled aggregation of mountains separates the lowlands from the peninsula proper, southern India. In earlier times this region, known as the Deccan, was almost completely isolated from the lowlands, which were the cradle of Indian civilization. The interior of the peninsula consists of a vast triangular plateau that tapers off abruptly on the east and west in mountainous formations known respectively as the Eastern and Western Ghats. The strip of coastal plain at the foot of the Ghats is exceedingly narrow, particularly on the west, so sharply do the Ghats descend to the ocean.

Physical and climatic conditions, in spite of certain disadvantages, are fairly favorable in India. For one thing, the country is blessed with rich, high-yielding soils. This is particularly true of those of alluvial origin in the lowlands and those of volcanic derivation on the plateau of the Deccan. Temperature variations range from the moist cold of the Himalayan mountains to the tropical humidity of the south. A serious drawback is that every year the country is swept by arid heat-waves that reduce great areas to deserts. It is these dry periods that render life insecure for the Indian peasant. The heavy annual rainfall, borne chiefly by the seasonal monsoon winds, is unevenly distributed in point of time, and consequently is inadequate in

all but a few areas, such as the lower Ganges. The rather abundant mineral wealth of India is well distributed, the coal and iron veins centering in the eastern part of the peninsula, with the chief oil deposits in the far northwest.

It has been pointed out by experts that India is not overpopulated. The difficulty grows out of the concentration of the inhabitants in the most desirable areas. Although India is dotted with innumerable villages, it is not a land of large metropolitan centers. Only three cities have exceeded the half million mark in population.

A study of the geography of India convinces one that a land so rich in resources and inhabited by accomplished races is a fitting stage for the drama of development which will surely come.

Subjects for Study

1. MAP ORIENTATION.
   - Locate India on the map and identify the countries and bodies of water bounding it.
   - Compare its size and population with the United States and China.
   - Point out the three important geographical divisions and the principal rivers and mountains.
   - Identify the most important seaports and cities and the chief British provinces and native states.
2. THE CLIMATE.
   - Discuss the climatic conditions to be found in the various parts of India.
   - Trace the course of the monsoons in different seasons and regions; emphasize the unequal distribution of rainfall, territorially and in point of time.
   - Do you find from your reading that the climate is generally healthful or enervating?
3. RESOURCES: Discuss in detail the natural resources, agricultural, mineral and forest.
4. POPULATION: Note merely that the complex racial composition of the population of India is based not so much on blood and language, as on caste and religion. (Treated at length in Chapter III.)

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Any standard geography or encyclopedia will serve as a factual source for this chapter.

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CHAPTER III

INDIA'S HUMAN CRAZY-QUILT — RACES AND POPULATION

The land of a hundred nations and a hundred tongues; of a thousand religions and of three million gods, and she worships them all. All other countries in religion are paupers; India is the only millionaire. —Mark Twain

Brahma's mouth became a priest; his arm was made a soldier; his thigh was transformed into a husbandman; from his feet sprang the servile man. —Vedic Scriptures

The problem of nationhood for India is made different by the conglomeration of races, castes, and sects among her people. The conflicts within these groups and the crust of prejudice that has accumulated through the centuries make the achieving of harmony a task complicated enough to cause the doughtiest statesman to pause. The cow-worshipping Hindu finds it hard to tolerate the beef-eating Mohammedan. The sword-swinging Sikh finds little in common with Saint Gandhi squatting on a floor-mat before his spinning-wheel. The high-caste Brahmin sees scarlet as he envisions himself sitting in the legislature alongside his Untouchable privy-sweeper. Such prejudices have often proved capital to tricky administrators; political Machiavels have often played group against group to avoid the real issue of self-government for India.

Division of peoples in India is made not so much on the basis of blood and language as on caste and religion, since the four original strata of the population have become inextricably jumbled. Of caste-observing Hindus there are about 170 millions; of Hindus without caste, 75 millions; of Mohammedans, 80 millions. The Mohammedans live chiefly in Bengal and the Punjab; over half of the Hindus in Bengal, the United Provinces, and Madras. Of Buddhists there are about 12 million, chiefly in Burma. Christians comprise 5 million, mostly in Madras and the Madras States, and Sikhs, 4 million, mostly in the Punjab. In Rajputna and Bombay are 2 million Jainists; and in Bombay and scattered areas are about 100,000 Parsees and 24,000 Jews. Aborigines to the number of about 500,000 are to be found in Bengal, the Central Provinces, Assam, and Central India. But these figures are at best approximations, for there is much conflict among authorities.

The Dravidian aborigines are held by one school of anthropologists to be related to the natives of Australia, by another to be of negroid origin, and by a third to represent an original negritic stock crossed with Caucasians. However that may be, it is fairly certain that this early dark-skinned race was conquered by a later fair-skinned, light-complexioned group, who were probably the ancestors

of the high-caste Brahmins. An ancient theory for caste, the Sanskrit name for which is *chatur-varnyam* ('four-color'), accounted for the system on the basis of race origins: from the white tribes the Brahmins or priestly caste; from the red, the Kshatriya or warriors; from the yellow, the Vaisya or trading and husbandmen caste; and from the black, the Sudra or serving class. But the caste system no longer follows this simple division; castes and sub-castes have multiplied until they reach into the thousands. With lines as tightly drawn as they are, a man's whole social life is conditioned by the status of his birth. Not only may he not marry, for instance, outside of the great caste to which he belongs, but he is limited as well to the smaller circle within that caste to which he belongs. This stratification of society presents a knotty problem to statesmen endeavoring to attain the democratic ideal for India.

Buddhism, which arose in India, was declared a heresy by the Brahmins; it has been maintained for years in the province of Burma, which state, under the new constitution, is to be separated from India proper. The Parsees are descendants of the ancient Zoroastrian fire-worshippers. The Sikhs, who trace their origin to the fifteenth century, are the representatives of a reformed Hinduism, whose apostle preached purity of life, equality of men, the unity of God, the rejection of idolatry, and the abolition of caste. Virile and war-like, their soldiers are hard to surpass, and they are used as guards and policemen in many of the British colonies and legations. Inveterate haters of the Mohammedans, they were able in the 1930-1931 Round Table Conference in London to block the Hindu-Moslem truce on which the success of the whole independence movement at that time depended.

But the group most in conflict with Brahmanism is the Moslems or Mohammedans. Against idol-worship, child-marriage, and prohibition of remarriage for widows, and favoring the unity of God and the equality of men before God, the Moslems are bitter enemies of the Hindus. Furthermore they are meat-eaters, and their use of beef is to the cow-revering Brahmins the vilest of abominations. Their ructions with the Hindus, which frequently result in bloodshed, such as the Bombay Riots in 1929, have been some of the chief obstacles to the Independence movement.

Next to the Moslems, the so-called "Untouchable" presents the most serious problem. Not all the Sudras are "Untouchables"; there are segregations and sub-castes within the caste, and of the lower sub-castes or "Untouchables" there are 68 million. Their misery has for years been the tale on every missionary's tongue. To them are assigned the hardest and filthiest tasks. They are forbidden to worship in the temples, and in many places are forbidden to draw water from the public wells. Pollution tables are kept in certain provinces, tabulation of distances that must be kept between caste men and the

"untouchable"; some such creatures are defiling to a Brahmin at twenty feet, others at thirty, and some even at sixty-four!

That even under such terrible conditions men of fine character and sterling worth have developed is due largely to the work of our Christian missionaries. They have established mission-schools for these unfortunates and have opened up the world of ideas for them. They have installed experiment stations and taught them scientific agriculture. But more important than these gains, though a concomitant of them, has been the gain in self-respect and courage to fight for their rights in Indian statehood. Gandhi has taken up the cudgels for this class. At the London Conference Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar, an "untouchable," was Gandhi's most effective ally. There are college presidents, school principals, physicians, and lawyers who have come out of this hopeless group. But the caste rules of India demand their segregation irrespective of whatever they may achieve. Their plight may be conceived by any of us familiar with the negro question in the United States, only the negro's yoke is easy by comparison.

Subjects for Study

1. THE CASTE SYSTEM.

   Look up the legend regarding the origin of the caste system.
   Note the proportion of caste Hindus to Brahmins.
   Compare the lot of the lower castes with that of American Negroes.
   What is the attitude of our Christian missionaries toward the "untouchables"?
   Collect data on the influence of caste on daily life.

2. THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

   Why did the Brahmins seek to extirpate Buddhism?
   In what respects are Buddhism and Christianity alike?
   Note the attention paid to sex under Hinduism.
   State the main principles of the Sikh religion.
   What are the interesting features of the Parsees?
   Review the extent of Christian missions in India.
   In what respects do the Mohammedans differ from the Hindus?
   Discuss the terms swami and Yogi (p. 266 in *Yeats-Brown*).
   Discuss the *Radhasoamis* sect (p. 233 in *Yeats-Brown*).

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CHAPTER IV

WOEFUL WOMEN—CHILD-MARRIAGES, PURDAH, AND ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD

The higher education of Indian women . . . may almost be said to be beyond the scope of practical reform. No Hindu or Mohammedan woman of an orthodox type has ever joined a college or even read up to the higher classes in a school . . . The time is far distant when the Universities will be called upon to make arrangements for the higher education of any large or even a decent number of girls in Bengal. —M. M. Bhattacharjee

For your own sake, for the world's sake, one wants to cry to India, Learn to treat your women rightly. Are not the times more than ripe for Indian men to set their houses in order in this respect? Until domestic freedom is granted to women, the political freedom showing on the horizon is a mere sham. —M. L. Christlieb

One of the worst running-sores on the face of Indian society is the condition of its women. If Seignobos is right in his opinion that the treatment of its women may be used as an index to the enlightenment of any society, then India must rank close to the foot among peoples of the world. Ironical it is, that in a country where so high a degree of attainment has been reached along many lines, the women of that country should be so completely and inhumanly degraded.

Of the miseries that woman is subjected to in India, the worst and the most widely known is that of child-marriage. It grows out of one of their religious tenets that the only way to assure a woman's purity is to have the age of betrothal correspond with that of puberty. As a result, mere children have been parties to the marriage relationship, and before the law of 1891, which prohibited marital intercourse before the female had attained the age of twelve, many between the age of eight and fourteen gave birth to children. The moral and physical evil resulting can well be imagined. Weak and sickly children were brought into the world; thousands of Indian girls were denied a normal childhood and opportunity for an education; and it served to keep high a birth-rate which was already too high for the natural resources of the country. On this vital question there is disagreement among Hindus themselves. The more modern and enlightened wish to raise the marriage-age; but there are others who regard such a reform as a dangerous western innovation.

Purdah is the custom of isolation and seclusion of married women, introduced by the Moslems, but later adopted by the high-caste Hindus. The *purdah* is the curtain that divides the women's quarters (*zenana*) from the rest of the house. Not only does this custom block the intellectual advancement of women, but because the *zenana*

is often the most filthy part of the house, it injures their health as well. As education is extended to Indian women, *purdah* tends to disappear; at public meetings one can find unveiled women sitting alongside men.

But the worst of woman's handicaps in India is enforced widowhood. This, too, is a Hindu religious custom. In the old days it even went further; a rite called *suttee*, that of a widow burning herself on the funeral-pyre of her husband, was in vogue. This was abolished by Governor-General Bentinck in 1829. But the insistence upon eternal widowhood, a penance, according to their religion, for having been the cause of her husband's death, still prevails, and in a country where woman is so dependent upon man as in India, the invariable result is that she is subjected to drudgery and degradation. It is said that one-sixth of the women are widows, and that over one-fourth of them are under forty years of age. As a protest against this type of cruelty, such organizations as the Widow Marriage Association have been started in India with a view to encouraging the remarriage of these luckless widows. This evil, too, will decrease as women come to be educated. For one thing, they will be trained for gainful occupations, and the general enlightenment of education will tend to break down this strange tabu.

On the positive side it must be said that the mother in the home wields considerable influence, particularly with her sons, so much so that a British statesman has remarked that women are the pivotal point of the Indian question. They have a prominent part in the poetry and religion of the country, and are respected and venerated for faithfulness to the duties that are incumbent upon them. But in spite of women's suffrage, provided for in the Constitution, India is yet miles away from the attitude of western men, who regard women as their equals in every sphere of life.

Subjects for Study

1. THE CHILD-MARRIAGE QUESTION.
   - Note the sources of Miss Mayo's notorious book.
   - Read replies to *Mother India*, particularly that of Dr. J. T. Sunderland.
   - Follow the legislation passed on the subject.
   - Are the rank and file anxious for these changes?
   - What harm has England's policy of 'no religious interference' done in this respect?
   - Why could not Fred and Sarang (*A Marriage to India*) get along?

2. PURDAH AND ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD.
   - Report on an account of a *suttee*.
   - Compare the widow remarriages of 1915 with those of 1925.

Read the story of Krishni, a widow, in *Stark India.*
Find out what you can about *purdah* conditions.
Collect figures on maternal and infant mortality in India.

Special References:

Ashby, L. L. *My India.*
Christlieb, M. L. *Uphill Steps in India.*
Craddock, Sir Reginald. *The Dilemma in India.*
Cumming, Sir John. *Modern India.*
Dekobra, Maurice. *The Perfumed Tigers.*
Hauswirth, Frieda. *A Marriage to India.*
Kendall, Patricia. *Come With Me To India!*
Lajpat Rai. *Unhappy India.*
Mayo, Katherine. *Mother India.*
McKee, W. J. *New Schools for Young India.*
Mukerji, Dhan G. *Visit India With Me.*
Pinch, Trevor. *Stark India.*
Sunderland, J. T. *India in Bondage.*
Wood, Ernest. *An Englishman Defends Mother India.*
Zimand, Savel. *Living India.*

CHAPTER V

ACCUMULATED WEALTH AND HUMAN DECAY— INDIAN INDUSTRIALISM

Every terror, and every crime occurring under or paralyzing our Indian Legislation, arises directly out of our national desire to live on the loot of India. —Ruskin (1884)

We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we should hold it . . . I am not such a hypocrite as to say we are holding it for the Indians. We are holding it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular. — Sir Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary, Baldwin Cabinet, 1926

In America we are becoming convinced that the farm problem cannot be isolated from that of the worker, that if workers are unemployed by the millions, farm commodities will be without buyers; and that with millions of farmers bankrupt and dispossessed, factories and industrial plants will close. In no part of the world is this lesson of mutual welfare or destruction to be learned so well as in India. Unfortunately it is the lesson of mutual destruction that India presents.

The original responsibility for this destruction rests with the British East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. It is estimated that in the decade 1747-1757 a total of $3,000,000 worth of Indian-made goods was exported to England, much of it being shawls, muslins, calicoes, and other fine woven goods. But the avarice of these early merchants knew no bounds; in fair-play and foresight they appear to have been completely lacking. Their policy completely annihilated the indigenous industries that had flourished in India, for, with the coming of modern machinery in the nineteenth century, India, lacking protective tariff against imports from England, could not compete with England's new technique and mass production. On the other hand British manufacturers demanded protection for their flourishing industries to eliminate competition of Indian-made goods. Thus from a flourishing home industry of the eighteenth century that supplied all home demands and provided a flourishing export trade, India was reduced in the nineteenth century to the status of an import nation. Furthermore, these imports were paid for in part with rice, grains, and other badly-needed food-stuffs. The extent of this economic loss is shown by Calcutta trade figures. In 1813 this city exported cotton goods to the amount of ten million dollars. In 1830 the same city *imported* the same type of goods to the

amount of ten million. It is no small wonder, then, that wealthy mill-owners in England are violently opposed to home rule for India.

The number of workers is decreasing steadily. In 1921 there was a decrease from 17.5 million of the preceding decade to 15.7 million, and in 1931 a further decrease to 15.4 million. Since most of these workers return to the farms, the result is a further increase in peasant misery, already pitiable. In addition to the economic loss, there is the disappearance of artistic, technical, and engineering skills caused by the destruction of the native industries.

Excluding thirty-four millions who may best be classified as handiworkers and artisans, there are about two million industrial workers, employed in about 7,000 plants. Their condition is pitiful beyond description. Only slowly are they advancing to a 60-hour week from the average 12-hour day (in jute-mills 15-16 hours) reported by the International Labor Conference. Child labor is rarely questioned. The annual wage is from $15-$34, with the former figure appearing more often than the latter.

Living conditions are what would be expected. Investigators in the Bombay area in 1921 found many workers' families living in single rooms—in one case six families with a total of thirty people living in a room twelve by sixteen feet. Seventy percent of the group lived in single rooms that averaged four people; thirteen percent had ten in a single room. Typhus, malaria, plague, and cholera take heavy toll. Indian life expectancy is estimated at twenty-four, as against that of the United States of fifty. The death-rate is 30.59 per 1,000, compared with 12.3 for America and 11.7 for England. One out of four, or about two million, babies die in their first year.

To break down this life-destroying British monopoly, the Indians have resorted to several measures. One is the attempt to set up a capitalist-controlled mass production in competition with that of England. Wealthy natives as well as British investors have favored this plan. Another is the encouraging of England's competitors, chiefly Japan. Six times since 1930 the British Indian government has had to raise the duties on Japanese imports, finally making them so prohibitive that in retaliation Japan laid an embargo on Indian cotton to Japan. Finally the government had to yield to a compromising trade with Japan. The inconsistency of England with regard to India's industries is implied in her own publicity of the slogan *Buy British* at the same time as she makes display of the slogan *Buy Indian* in India a misdemeanor punishable by six months in jail.

But the most colorful and in some ways most effective opposition that British officialdom has had to face is that of the *swadeshi*, or hand-spinning movement, fostered by Mahatma Gandhi. It is a widespread campaign to restore the ancient industries and crafts. All members of the Indian National Congress are members. It has promoted expositions to encourage the movement. Sensing the evils

of poverty and slums that follow in the wake of rapid industrial growth, the *swadeshi* group discourages the use of all machine-made goods, either native or foreign. And they point out constantly the spiritual gains that come to men who divert their minds for hours at a time while they occupy their hands with spinning.

The practical results are striking. In 1923 the hand-spinners produced goods to the amount of 949,348 rupees; by 1926 this had increased to 2,800,000 rupees. In 1923 India imported 17,719 tons of yarn and thread and 253,456 tons of piece goods. By 1925 these figures had been cut to 7,992 and 122,213. One reaction to this was the abolition by the British Indian government of the spinning schools. And the police have been most zealous in destroying spinning-looms.

A new voice, somewhat different from that of Gandhi or the Indian industrialists, is heard in that of the younger Jehru. His is the more modern attitude of developing industry to the full extent of national capacity, but seeking at the same time to keep it in control of the people, of regarding machine technique and mass production not as evils in themselves but destructive only because they are under a management that is mediaeval and antiquated.

Subjects for Study

1. PARALLELS TO AMERICA.
   - Compare trade regulations of colonial America with those relating to India.
   - The hand-craft industries of our southern mountains compared with those in India.
   - Our landlord system compared with land-tenure in India.
   - The dangers of a "live-at-home" policy.
   - Compare Puerto Rico as a colony with India.
   - Are colonies in our times a liability or an asset?
2. MODERN INDUSTRY IN INDIA.
   - Discuss mineral resources in India.
   - The growth of the cotton industry in Indian cities.
   - The sugar industry in India.
   - Review the history of tariffs with regard to India.
   - The evils of a part-time labor system.
   - Remedial legislation for labor.
   - Make a report on the industries of the Dayalbagh colony in Agra.
3. THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.
   - Look up the originator of it, Tilak.
   - Would such a movement be possible in the United States?
   - What value is it in producing solidarity among the Indians?
   - Collect other figures on its extent and success.
   - How does it assist in making a boycott more successful?
   - To what extent is Jehru justified in his criticism?

Special References:

Brailsford, H. N. *Rebel India.*
Read, Margaret. *The Indian Peasant Uprooted.*
Underwood, A. C. *Contemporary Thought of India* (Social).
Yeats-Brown, Francis. *Lancer at Large.*
(Also references for Chapter IV.)

CHAPTER VI

THE BACKBONE OF INDIA—HER FARMERS

Go to the villages and you will find misery and despair written in the faces of the inhabitants. Both they and their cattle are underfed; mortality is on the increase, they have no resisting power when disease overtakes them. It is well known that malaria is not a disease to dread if one has quinine and a good supply of pure milk. Yet malaria carries away thousands of villagers year by year.

—Dhan G. Mukerji

I have heard an English officer say that the first thing one has to do with Indian recruits is to teach them to eat. The average "coolie" lacks the physique which instinctively resists wrong by an impulsive movement of the fists. Save in Punjab, even the peasants have only about half the muscular power of a European worker. Rebels do not start life with malarious spleens. —H. N. Brailsford

As a general rule, wherever India is a topic of conversation, whether in New York, London, or Calcutta, there is a tendency to over-emphasize the political aspect of the Indian question to the almost complete exclusion of a phase perhaps even more important, the agricultural and industrial life of the country. The fault has perhaps originated with Indian nationalists in whose minds *Swaraj* (home rule) is foremost as the solution of India's problems.

Contrary to the situation in our country, the primary economic endeavor in India is agricultural. Seventy percent of the people wrest their living from the soil. As was seen in Chaper I, the soil has retained a fair degree of productivity in spite of the heavy demands upon it by the teeming population. But there is no soil in the world which will not lose its fertility if the substances taken out of it by the annual crops are not replaced by some means. The Indian peasant, or *ryot*, as he is called, is not a very scientific farmer; he is not as thorough as the Chinese son of the soil, who faithfully replenishes his depleted loam with every available bit of waste matter. Of recent years, however, the introduction of new techniques and the wider use of prepared fertilizers is annually putting Indian agriculture upon a more scientific basis, under the direction and assistance of provincial departments of agriculture.

The fields of India are the key to its struggle with ever-recurring famine, and many difficulties stand in the way of adequate production to feed the three hundred and fifty million inhabitants. It has already been noted that severe periodical droughts may be expected annually over virtually all of the country. To stave off such calamity the use of irrigation has been fostered under native rule through the centuries, and to a much greater extent under the later British

government. Numerous modern irrigation projects, similar to those of our own arid western plains, have been inaugurated. An outstanding example is the great Sukkur dam on the upper Indus, completed in 1932 at a cost of $75,000,000, which has converted the vast Sind desert into arable land. Other noteworthy undertakings of this same nature are the Sutlej Valley project of the Punjab, the Canvery Mettur project in Madras, and the Damodar Canal in Bengal. In all, these large scale irrigation schemes total more than thirty million miles of canals, serving nearly fifty million acres. An area of approximately equal extent is irrigated by such primitive means as wells and tanks.

The continued development of irrigation will relieve two other sources of impoverishment of the Indian *ryot*, scarcity of land and concentration of land in the hands of irresponsible and absentee landlords. The fertility of such regions as the Fertile Crescent, as the Indo-Gangetic plain is called, makes possible the dense populations of southeastern Asia, but unfortunately the hungry millions have tended to pour too thickly into the most desirable areas. Since the middle of the last century, the scarcity of land has been severely felt by the Indian peasant, who not infrequently offers to pay rentals that render any satisfactory standard of living out of the question. In the northern part of India, where the peasants are mere tenants, the system of landlordism is known as *zamindari*. As a general rule, the landlords are a disinterested lot, who are only concerned about their one-tenth to one-fifth share in the gross produce. They give little direction and virtually no financial assistance, with the result that the tillage is done in a primitive, wasteful fashion by the *ryot*, his family, and his oxen. The only obligation of the landlord is to the government, which collects an annual revenue of from one-twelfth to one-twenty-fifth of the gross produce. The *zamindari* system was for many years fostered as a fiscal agency by native rulers and former British officials, before its inherent evil was recognized. In the south of India the land is held by the individual peasant under the *ryotwari* system. The peasant is a more responsible farmer, and, although the Land Revenue assessed by the government is greater than that collected from the *zamindars* of the north, the farmer's share of the crop is more substantial, because he is under no obligation to divide it with a parasitic landlord.

The agricultural population suffers under a multitude of other handicaps; one of the most vicious is the high interest charge collected by village loan-sharks. The marginal income of the peasant can not take care of such exigencies as crop failure, illness, and death. When misfortune strikes a family, it must have recourse to the village money lender who will see to it that he is richly compensated for his services.

The products of the fields of India consist of a wide range from tropical fruits to the cereal grains of the temperate zones. The country is agriculturally self-sufficient. Its acres are capable of producing an

abundance of raw materials for food and clothing of the kinds common in India. Even with the present maladjustment in Indian agriculture, millions of dollars worth of agricultural products are exported annually, though the benefit to the masses is somewhat questionable. In view of the apparent British policy of holding India to a pastoral economy, agriculture is more than ever the support and the strength of India in its struggle for self-development.

Subjects for Study

1. THE AREA UNDER CULTIVATION; IRRIGATION.
   - What is the percentage of tillable land? Compare your findings with statistics for other countries.
   - Identify on a map the agricultural areas.
   - Give the reasons why irrigation should be necessary in the presence of a heavy annual rainfall.
   - What are the principal means of irrigation?
   - Locate several of the largest projects.
   - What extent of the arable acreage is served by some system of irrigation?

2. LAND TENURE, LAND REVENUE AND FARMING METHODS.
   - Contrast the *zamindari* and *ryotwari* systems, giving the advantages and disadvantages of both.
   - State the range of the charges, the method of assessment, and manner of collection of land revenue.
   - Is the land revenue a rental or a tax? Give arguments for and against your answer.
   - Describe the primitive methods in use on a typical Indian farm.
   - What is the government doing in the way of agricultural educational education and experimentation?

3. FARM PRODUCTS AND THE MATERIAL WELFARE OF THE PEASANT.
   - Discuss in detail the agricultural activities and products of the various sections of the country.
   - Give examples of the isolation, sordidness, and poverty of life in an agricultural village.
   - Note the landlord's view of rural life and economy in Yeats-Brown, pp. 102 et sq.

Special References:

Ashby, L. L. *My India.*
Cumming, Sir John. *Modern India.*
Fisher, F. B. *India's Silent Revolution.*
Hauswirth, Frieda. *A Marriage to India.*
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CHAPTER VII

TOMMY ATKINS IN INDIA—DEFENSE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

Without the British army, not a virgin or a rupee would be safe in India.
—Anglo-Indian Platitude

There is one policeman in India to every 1250 of the population; there is one hospital bed for every 50,000 of the same population.
—From Government Reports

British officialdom frequently sets forth as one of its chief excuses for being in India the fact that she can defend that helpless and chaotic area against foreign aggression. This, of course, demands the presence of a huge military establishment. On the other hand, there are not wanting Anglo-Indian administrators who frankly admit that the primary purpose of the military in India is its police function. They declare that under normal conditions the ordinary police can maintain civil order, but that frequent political, racial, and religious clashes are beyond the control of the police, as has been many times demonstrated. That they are correct in this judgment is evident—more than half of the British regiments re-enforcing the troops of the Indian army are assigned to the duty of internal security.

In the troubled frontier districts the administration is rather thoroughly military. Armed police and military constabulary are backed up by strong garrisons of British and native troops, as well as detachments of the Royal Air Force. Administrators are usually officers of the Army. All of this watchfulness and force is directed immediately against civil disturbance and predatory raids by the fierce, unsubjected nomadic tribes, such as the Wazirs and Afridis, that inhabit the mountain wastes in the hinterlands and frontier provinces.

There remains for consideration the possibility of unveiled foreign aggression. To the Anglo-Indian this means a physical invasion of India through the northwest passes by Russia and its central Asian allies. To most impartial observers such an assault seems as improbable as current predictions by rabid patriots of the impending capture of California by the Japanese; both events are conceivable, but they appear only as remote possibilities. Present day Russia is not likely to extend its domains by force of arms; instead, it is the penetration of Russian economic and social philosophy into India which is the real threat to the *status quo* in the subjugated country. Energetic attempts at the suppression of Communism, culminating in the outlawing of the Communist party of India in 1935, show that this reality is claiming the attention of British officialdom. Great Britain also lays great stress upon its maintenance of the so-called life line to India *via* the Suez Canal. Because of Indian commerce, the preservation of the freedom of these waters is admittedly of vital

importance to India, and it is to be admitted that the rapid growth of Italian air power in recent years constitutes a grave threat to British supremacy in the Mediterranean. To Great Britain's credit it should be said that although India bears the entire cost of all troops serving in its territories, the only contribution it makes to naval defense, aside from the upkeep of the insignificant Indian navy, is a moderate annual subsidy to the British Admiralty. A danger not so much to India as to British sovereignty is the possibility of widespread Moslem disaffection, both in and outside of India. British treatment of Arab nationalist aspirations in the former Turkish dominions has caused the Moslems to regard with embittered skepticism Britain's avowals of friendship for Islam. Granting the humanitarian accomplishments and aims of the British, and also the present inaptitude of the peoples of India for an independent, unified national existence, one must conclude that the British conquered India by force, and that, using force at this point and concession at that, they are muddling through their paramount task, the retention of as firm a hold as the circumstances permit.

Subjects for Study

1. THE ARMED SERVICES.
   Give the composition of the armed forces in India, including the air force and the navy.
   What significance do you see in the extensive employment of British and Gurkhas (Nepalese) in these forces?
   Are the native troops recruited from India as a whole or from particular sections? Why?
2. CIVIL DISTURBANCES IN THE INTERIOR.
   Note the extensive use of the armed forces as a reserve in the preservation of law and order.
   Discuss the nature and causes of these civil disturbances. How frequently are they directed against the British rule?
3. THE UNRULY TRIBES OF THE FRONTIER AREAS.
   Note the subjection of the civil authority to the military.
   What is behind the tribal unrest, nationalism, primitive predatory instincts, fanaticism?
4. THREATS OF FOREIGN AGGRESSION.
   Discuss the seriousness of these threats.
   Do you consider these possibilities more dangerous to British supremacy than to the Indian peoples?

Special References:

Cambridge Shorter History of India.
Craddock, Sir Reginald. *The Dilemma in India.*
Cumming, Sir John. *Modern India.*
India in 1932-33. (Government Report) "Defense and Emigration."

CHAPTER VIII

SWEEPING UP IGNORANCE AND DIRT—EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Cholera, bubonic plague, hookworm, and tubercle rage with a fury unknown in the West; but the grimmest of man's foes is malaria, and the mosquito which carries it is the most inveterate and indomitable enemy of Indian progress . . . His happy hunting-ground is the unsavoury margin of the village pond, the heaps of refuse at the village doors; and his destruction would require a revolution in the domestic habits of the people. —Lord Meston

Democracy . . . involves the seeking out of the wisest and best for leadership. Since these leaders are to come from no particular class but are to be the wisest and most capable available, it is necessary to give all persons large opportunities for development and then to select the best. —William J. McKee

From the ancient forest schools, or *asrams*, which stressed religion, philosophy, and virtuous living, came native teachers who later returned to their home communities to set up village schools for the training of the three upper castes. Each race and religion had its schools—the Hindus, the Moslems, and the Sikhs. It was this system, with its emphasis on Hindu and Moslem classical culture, that the East India Company sought to encourage when the Government in 1813 decreed that the corporation should expend a lakh of rupees on "the revival and improvement of literature." But in the meantime the demand for western education continued to grow. Many natives desired an equipment that would enable them to hold positions under the English, and the missionaries felt that the dissemination of English would help them in propagating the gospel. The Hindu college at Calcutta emphasized western learning, and in 1818 the first missionary college was founded. At the same time there were not wanting both missionaries and officials who felt the importance of fostering the native literature and culture.

But this latter group was struck a mortal blow by way of the famous Macaulay minute of 1835, later put into action by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General. With all the power of his windy rhetoric, Macaulay urged the abandonment of what he called the fantastic Sanskrit and other Indian literatures and the substitution of western learning, with emphasis on the new thought and science of the nineteenth century. By that process he and his fellow-enthusiasts hoped to make the Indians Englishmen in every respect but color. The problem of primary education was side-stepped as being too gigantic a task, it being Macaulay's idea that the education given to the higher classes would finally permeate through the whole social body

down to the masses. The result of this policy was a wide-spread 'mimic Anglicism' and the fading out of the ancient culture without anything to replace it. The revolt against this soul-destroying tendency has been one of the chief spiritual forces of the *swaraj* movement. It may be remarked, too, that when the British opened up their school-books to Indian school-children, they placed in the hands of their exploited subjects a powerful weapon with which to fight for independence.

Before long the school system of India gave evidence of being an inefficient hodge-podge that, far from Macaulay's sanguine predictions, was hardly making any difference in the literacy level. Consequently, in 1854, Sir Charles Wood ordered a thorough overhauling of the whole set-up. Chief among the reforms resulting was a new emphasis on primary education and the granting of aid to elementary schools meeting certain conditions. Furthermore, universities were set up in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, for the purpose of setting standards for the secondary schools, and a department of public instruction, with inspectors, was provided for each province.

Since that time almost every decade has seen the appointment of a new commission and the introduction of new bills seeking to rationalize the educational system and to put it on an effective basis, but the present year finds the school set-up of India one of the worst in the world, as measured by its relation to the population in point of leading its people to self-government and a higher order of living. To illustrate: by comparison with the most illiterate state in our country, Louisiana, with 21.9 percent in 1921, India had in the same year 92.2 percent illiterate. Hawaii in 1920 had 18.9 percent illiterate. Figures for 1920 are cited because no later data are available for India. And in the light of the statement in the Simon report to the effect that women are the pivotal point of India's problem, since, with the mother illiterate and backward, what a boy learns at school comes into sharp conflict with what he learns at home, it cannot escape our attention that education for women has made slow progress and that in 1921 over 98 percent were illiterate!

One problem of those in charge of Indian education is to break down the indifference of the masses towards education. This indifference is the natural reaction of a proletariat shackled by economic exploitation and religious caste; an Indian peasant might well ask why his son should quit the field to acquire academic learning that his status will never permit him to use. It has been estimated that 80 percent of the village school children of South India become completely illiterate within ten years of leaving school, for the simple reason that they have no activity that calls the meagre learning they have acquired into practice. And of those that enter, a discouragingly small percentage ever reach the Class IV that enables them to be classed as literate.

Another problem is that of making elementary education practi-

cal, relating it to the life and occupation of the pupil. As it is, too often the school is looked upon as a stepping stone to civil service position or clerkship, with the result that an air of unreality has been imparted to the whole procedure. Consequently an increase in the enrollment in the upper schools, although looking good on paper, has often meant the lowering of standards to meet the low capacity of the ambitious young Indians that apply for entrance. Once the universities and colleges lower their standards, it means a corresponding fall in efficiency in the lower schools.

The conclusion that Sir Charles Wood came to years ago is still the judgment of experts on Indian education, such as Professor William J. McKee; namely, that the common schools should make closer contact with the workaday lives of the people, that they should build upon the traditions of the past at the same time as they endeavor to lift the native to a higher order of living by means of western standards. That this can be done only by paying due attention to primary education appears to be the general opinion of those who have made an intelligent study of the problem.

The dirt and filth found in most oriental countries, especially in the cities, is a shock that the western traveler soon experiences. India is no exception. A mile walk through Indian streets—the drains teeming with filth and manure, cows and human beings drinking from polluted wells, people with infectious and even contagious diseases going about without let or hindrance—is enough to make the visitor doubt the very germ-theory of disease, but it will help him on calmer reflection to understand the high mortality rate. And in the face of these conditions, declares Lord Meston, "in no civilized country does the hand of the witch-doctor lie so heavily on the people as in India." Not only is their system of medicine obsolete, a combination of herbalism and quackery, but it is not even in the hands of adequately trained practitioners.

Here the government can and does make its hand felt, although the odds against it are tremendous. Doctors, nurses, health centres, health education, hospitals, field physicians—it is this type of army that is needed in India more than companies of soldiery to mow the people down with rifles. It is reported that when all the hospitals in India are counted up, there are not more than enough to represent one bed for every 50,000 people. Nor is there much encouragement for the young Hindu to enter practice, for here again he meets with the indifference of his people. For under the older religion disease was sent of Brahma and was to be accepted without grumbling. So that here, too, education is needed, a health education that will teach young Indians that much of their physical suffering is preventable if they but learn a new way of living.

Subjects for Study

1. THE SCHOOLS OF INDIA.

   Read up on the controversy over education in Macaulay's time.
   Report on Professor McKee's Training School in Moga.
   Cite instances of the more practical turn of education in late years.
   What recommendations does McKee make for the schools of India?
   What has been the effect of the civil-service on Indian education?

2. MEDICINE AND HEALTH.

   Describe in some detail the crudity of native medical practices.
   Show the importance of an efficient medical service for India.
   Predict possible effects of an improved medical service on religion and caste.
   What would be the best way to arrange a program of health education for India?
   Discuss health instructions as prescribed in the Yoga Tantra Sanhita.

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CHAPTER IX

THE STORY OF SUCCESSFUL CRIMES—FAMOUS ANGLO-INDIANS

By God, Mr. Chairman, when I consider the opportunities presented to me for enriching myself, I stand at this moment astonished at my own moderation. —Clive (during his trial)

I own that I am amazed that private interest could make so many individuals forget what they owe to their country, and come to a resolution that seems to approve of Lieutenant Clive's rapine.

—George III

Not a single prince has come in contact with the Company that has not been sold; not a single treaty have they entered into that has not been broken; not a Prince or State has trusted in them without being ruined. —Burke (in the trial of Hastings)

As one follows the history of the British in India, he is constantly reminded of the biblical text as to not letting the right hand know what the left hand doeth. On the one hand there are the humanitarian forces demanding that Indians be given the same rights as Englishmen and that the government lend its strong arm to the struggle for economic independence and self-government; on the other is the shameful record of bribery, corruption, treachery, and merciless exploitation that was accepted as a matter of course in the early days of Anglo-Indian affairs. As one historian puts it, it was "the chief business of those who went out to India to wring fortunes from the natives, and then go back to England to live like *nabobs*, and spend their ill-gotten money in a life of luxury." Sometimes, as in the case of Macaulay, the Englishman sought to combine the two. That famous Englishman in his period of Indian service promoted the cause of Indian education, upheld the principle of equality before the law of Europeans and natives, and defended the freedom of the press. At the same time he had no compunction against looking to India as the most convenient place to recoup the family's sinking fortunes and thus to provide for himself and two spinster sisters. In this latter he appears to have done well, returning after four years of service with an accumulation of something like a million and a half dollars.

It is to Robert (afterward Lord) Clive that England is indebted for saving India against the threat of the French under Dupleix. Going out to India as a boy of eighteen to become a "writer" for the East India Company, Clive fell into low spirits and twice sought to kill himself. The seizure of Madras by the French gave him his opportunity for fame. Escaping from the French, he resigned his clerkship and enlisted as an ensign in a force that the Company was raising to

be used against the French. In the war in the Carnatic, Clive displayed surprising military ability, and his victory at Arcot in 1751 gave the British control of Southern India.

Shortly afterwards Clive returned to England because of ill-health. In the meantime the native prince of Bengal, instigated by the French, had marched upon Fort William outside of Calcutta. The tragedy of the "Black Hole of Calcutta," in which one hundred and twenty-seven out of one hundred and fifty English prisoners were diabolically smothered to death, roused all England to fury, and upon receipt of the news Clive again sailed for India. Gathering up his former troops, he quickly recovered Calcutta, and in the great battle of Plassey (1757) his guns and cavalry threw the huge army of the Dowlah into confusion and the natives broke into headlong retreat. The Plassey victory laid the foundations for the Empire of England in India.

The war over, graft began on a large scale. Small-calibred English clerks found themselves lifted to heights of power they had not dreamed of, and their avarice and corruption soon bled the provinces white. Clive himself did not pass up the opportunity, but when he saw the results of this unbridled exploitation, he returned to India in 1765 and in the face of formidable opposition put British officials out of the trading business and forbade their accepting bribes from native chieftains. To ease his own conscience and to set an example, Clive returned a sizeable gift that had been made to him by the Prince of Bengal. The committee appointed by the House of Commons to look into the conduct of Indian affairs condemned the record of corruption and treachery of Clive's time, but when they came to the matter of Clive's own part in it they remarked antidotally, "That Robert Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." A cynic might remark that stealing is not so bad if you allow your country to share in the plunder.

Under the Regulating Act of 1773 Warren Hastings, who like Clive had begun his Indian career as a clerk, was appointed Governor-General. Hastings' work was to complete the conquest that Clive had begun and to organize and stabilize that conquest. Carefully playing certain native princes against others, Hastings met with amazing agility attacks from the West and the South. He faced a dogged opposition in his own council and in the Company. Finally both the Mahrattas and the armies of Hyder Ali in the South were overcome. He had preserved for England, despite her colonial war, what Clive had won, and had added vastly to it. As a reward he returned to England to face charges of bribery and corruption brought by Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan. The trial dragged through seven years. Hastings was acquitted in 1795, although he was financially ruined by the expense of his defense. But the victory was an empty one, for it laid bare a record of corruption and unscrupulous dealing that is hard to match among countries that prey upon other nations. Even one of

Hastings' apologists soberly states that the Governor-General was able to send home to the Company every year a surplus of half a million (pounds) without losing the good-will of the natives!

Space limitations will not permit extended mention of other prominent Anglo-Indians: Wellesley (afterward Duke of Wellington), who put down a threatened French menace during the heyday of Napoleon; Lord William Bentinck, famous for his educational reforms and for abolishing *suttee* (self-cremation of women on the death of their husbands) and for suppressing the Thugs; Lord Ellenborough, who effected the conquest of the war-like Sikhs; Lord Curzon, who did much to modernize the government and civil service of India; and Lord Minto, who was the first viceroy that had to face the difficult problems of the autonomy movement.

Subjects for Study

1. ROBERT CLIVE.
   - Compare his career with that of Stephen Austin or Sam Houston.
   - Was there any principle at stake in the British-French struggle for India?
   - What is the value of "outrages" in campaigns of this kind?
   - What were the admirable qualities of Clive?
2. WARREN HASTINGS.
   - Why was Hastings the logical successor to Clive?
   - Read the details of the charges laid against him.
   - How much of a part did politics play in his trial?
   - Compare the Hastings method with that being employed by Japan in China.
3. THOMAS B. MACAULAY.
   - Why was Macaulay so blind to the merits of Indian culture?
   - Would he have approved the attitude of Hastings and Clive? (Read his essays on these two men.)
   - Note the good work done by Macaulay in the service.
   - Was his faith in education for India justified?

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CHAPTER X

THE CAULDRON BOILS OVER—POLITICAL AGITATION

The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress of the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery, then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad, but slavery is worse. —Jawaharlal Nehru

I realized that my force was small and to hesitate might induce attack. I immediately opened fire and dispersed the mob. I estimate that between 200 and 300 of the crowd were killed. My party fired 1,650 rounds.

—General Dyer, (In his official report on the Amritsar Massacre)

When India passed to the Crown, in 1858, the royal office issued a soporific statement of which there have been many counterparts since. Called by the apologists of British imperialism the "Magna Charta of India," it promised in vague and anguillary phraseology both religious toleration and self-government for the Indians. But as late as 1875 the crown government continued to drive native leaders from their thrones, if their policies threatened to impede the march of British aggrandizement of India.

Upon associations for promoting self-government, however moderate they might be, the imperial government looked with fear and panic. The formation of the Indian Association, organized by Mr. S. Benerji in 1876 and having as its objective the bringing together of Hindus and Moslems to discuss the prospects for home rule, was in a great measure responsible for the passing of a law (in 1878) restricting the possession of fire-arms and curbing the vernacular press. Such high-handedness gave the radicals their chance, in spite of the warnings of the moderates in the Indian National Congress of 1885. In 1890 Mr. B. J. Tilak, a high-caste Brahmin, appeared as a fiery opponent of the Age-of-Consent bill, a measure calculated to correct the evils of child-marriage. A violent anti-Westerner, Tilak stirred thousands of Indians to a frenzy by appealing to Kali-worship, the service due to the "Great Mother" goddess, and he justified violence against British officials by the sacred Hindu scriptures. Of a more practical nature was his campaign for *swadeshi* (use of home-made goods). When two British officials were murdered in 1897, Tilak was sent to prison on a charge of sedition.

But Kali-worship and *swadeshi* continued to spread. In the early nineteen-hundreds two capable brothers named Ghose took up the radical cause. Like Tilak, they appealed to the ancient Hindu writings, and they organized athletic societies as a cover for their revolutionary activities. The success of Japan in her war with Russia

raised new hopes for nationhood in the hearts of India's masses. Viceroy Curzon, a capable administrator but a poor psychologist, met this new mass feeling by dispersing the Bengal Provincial Congress in 1906. His successor, Lord Minto, reaped the fruits of this folly. Though at heart more sympathetic with Indian aspirations than Curzon, he was forced to embark on a reign of tyranny in which trial by jury, public assembly, freedom of the press, and other human rights were trampled under foot. To get rid of Tilak, who had by this time been liberated, an old statute of 1818 was revived and under it Tilak was sentenced to be transported for a term of six years.

The moderates in the movement now became alarmed. The Congress of Surat (1907) expelled Tilak and the Ghoses and replaced them by more conservative leaders. But the government continued its policy of repression. In turn the violence increased, culminating in an attempted assassination of Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy in 1912. This led to the passing of the Rowlatt Act, which allowed the Executive powers to suspend all civil liberties at will.

The World War made the officials even more jittery and high-handed. Returning from Africa, Gandhi joined Mrs. Annie Besant in a Satyagraha (Soul-force) or civil disobedience movement, and thousands of enthusiastic followers rallied to their standard. In the midst of this campaign a brutally thick-headed British general named Dyer ordered his soldiers to fire into an Indian assembly at Amritsar, with a resulting slaughter of three hundred and forty-nine men, women, and children, and over a thousand wounded. Meanwhile, dissatisfaction with the treaty of Sèvres caused two Moslem brothers named Ali to begin agitation against the government. Gandhi tactfully came to their aid, and unity between Hindus and Moslems began to look like a possibility. The Non-Coöperation movement, with its slogan "*Swaraj* through *Swadeshi*," that is, "Home rule through home-made goods," and its extensive boycott of British goods and institutions, was launched in August, 1920. In March, 1922, Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six-years' imprisonment (he was released after twelve months). With Gandhi's incarceration, the non-coöperation forces weakened. C. R. Das and others began to advocate parliamentary methods. On the death of Das the right-wing of the Swarajist party withdrew and, calling themselves Responsivists, urged "Coöperation when possible; opposition when necessary." From 1927 on, the *Swarajists* have been known as the Congress party. Meanwhile the Moslems have drifted farther and farther away from the Hindus, and from 1923 up to the present time there have been almost annual clashes between the two groups. The Independent Congress Party under the leadership of L. L. Rai, formerly a pro-Moslemite, was formed as a special co-operating party having in mind the promotion of Hindu aims as against those of the Moslems.

Simultaneously the leadership of the Extremists has passed to the Nehrus, father and son. The elder Nehru succeeded C. R. Das

as leader of the Congress Party, and although he himself favored the All-Parties Conference Report which drafted a constitution for India on a dominion basis, his brilliant and capable son, Jawaharlal Nehru, has stuck to the slogan "Complete Independence" through thick and thin. In the Congress meeting at Lehore, Christmas 1929, the younger Nehru carried the day for the Extremists, and in his presidential address openly declared not only for complete independence but for a socialist government as well. Special mention is made of the younger Nehru here because he is a sign of the times. The earlier bitter-enders like Tilak based their opposition on religious and anti-western grounds; the newer type accepts modernism with its fullest implications and would detach the home-rule cause completely from that of religion and tradition.

In March, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi began his spectacular salt-campaign. In the disorder that followed Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu, and the two Nehrus were arrested. That same year the long-looked for Simon Report was published. Though not without merit as an analysis of the Indian problem, it failed as respects India's dominion status to be "clear, unequivocal, or convincing." Throughout the deliberations of the All-India Conference in London, agitation continued at home. In spite of Gandhi's truce with the Viceroy, Nehru and Vallabhai Patel continued their opposition. "Red Shirts" and "New Youth Leaguers" alarmed the government and caused the prohibition of the All-Indian Congress. In 1933 Gandhi undertook a long fast in behalf of the Untouchables. In August of that same year he was arrested for urging non-coöperation. In 1934 the Government outlawed the Communist Party in India, prescribing a three-year penalty for membership and six months for giving such party financial or other assistance.

Subjects for Study

1. MODERATE OPINION IN INDIA.
   - Look up some of the public statements of Mr. D. Naoroji, the veteran Parsee.
   - Make a report on S. Benerji's autobiography, *A Nation in the Making.*
   - Find out what you can of native industrialists like R. Mukerjee and Sir J. N. Tata.
   - Has the British government made the best use of these conservative forces?

2. THE MOSLEM AGITATION.
   - To what extent are the difficulties of Moslem-Hindu coöperation due to religious differences?
   - Find out as much as you can about the Treaty of Sèvres and the Ali brothers.
   - In what way may the Moslems in their relation to the Indian question be compared to the Ulsterites in Ireland?

3. EXTREMISTS AND REVOLUTIONISTS.

Note Tilak's opinions on rat-destruction in connection with the plague.

Collect material on the following movements: *Siwaji; Brahmo Saj; Arya Saj.*

Tell the story of the Ghose brothers and their revolutionary activities.

Collect the opinions of the younger Nehru. How would they be regarded in the United States?

Trace the main steps in Gandhi's career (see last chapter).

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CHAPTER XI

SUCCESSFUL ENGLISH MUDDLING—THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The proposed Federal Legislature is the worst Legislature that has ever been planned, and as for the Constitution in its entirety it will shackle India with the worst aspects of capitalism.

—Winston Churchill

It is, I am sure, a crude slander to say, as Indians usually do, that the bureaucracy consciously stirs up strife between the two communities. Its tradition is above that baseness. But it is keenly aware of the advantage to be derived from their divisions. The intense anxiety of the English Conservative press to preserve separate communal electorates has been most illuminating. —H. N. Brailsford

The development of constitutional government in India is divided into three stages. The first is concerned with the battle between Parliament and the East India Company for control of India. Affairs were somewhat stabilized by the Regulating Act of 1773, establishing a Governor-General and Supreme Court. Pitt's India Bill of 1784, although reserving wide commercial powers for the Company, placed the political affairs of India in the hands of a Board of Control. With its President directly responsible to Parliament, Indian affairs virtually became a cabinet department. Gradually the home government encroached upon the native authorities until by the Act of 1858 Indian authority was delegated to a parliamentary Secretary of State with the advice of a Council. In this same period developed the institution of the Governor-Generalship in Council, as it was then called, under which this officer became the directing head of the whole territory with minor officers in immediate authority.

The second period, which extends to the World War, is marked by the further developing and defining of the relation between the states and the central Indian power as well as between India and the home government. There is also a tendency, as seen in the Indian Councils Act of 1892 and in the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, to extend to Indians the right of participation, though they are never given complete power over legislation or the right of responsibility for the government. In this period, however, the privilege of discussing measures, questioning executives, and passing resolutions affords Indian citizens splendid practice in governmental training.

The third period, from the World War down to the present, is concerned with the struggle between Indians and home government over the right of Indian citizens to home-rule, a constitutional government, and dominion status. Up to the secretaryship of Mr. Montagu, the government of India had remained an efficient but essentially

autocratic machine; in 1917 the Secretary announced his intention of making such revisions as would increase the Indians "in every branch of the administration and gradually develop self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." His recommendations, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, were embodied into law in the Government of India Act of 1919.

Under this law the national legislature was made bicameral by the addition of a new body, the Council of State, to the Legislative Assembly. The representation was also rearranged so that in both bodies the Indians had a considerable majority. But since the Home Government had grave misgivings as to how the legislative body might exercise its power, it reserved for the Governor-General the right to "certify" as essential to the public weal any measure rejected, introduce it into the Council of State, and if sustained there make it the law of the land. The most marked departure, however, was in the Provincial executive councils. Public affairs were classified under two heads, "reserved subjects"—those regarded as of critical importance, such as law courts, prisons, police, land revenue, canals, and finance; and "transferred subjects"—public health, education, industries, local government, and agriculture. Over the former the Governor in Council was to have authority; over the latter were to be Indian ministers responsible to Provincial Legislatures. This arrangement has come to be known as "dyarchy."

On August 2, 1935, the New Government of India Act received the royal assent, and thus was established parliamentary government for over one-fifth of the human race. It is a bold experiment, this new Constitution, but its framers have hedged it about with safeguards. The gloomy outlook presented by the 1930 Round-Table Conference was dispelled when the Indian Princes, who, it had been predicted, would oppose the measure, of their own volition came in. From this time on the Conservatives threw their support to the Act, and after what seemed endless discussions the Act took final form.

What are its main features? Each of the provinces is to have a legislature. If this body is unicameral, its members will be popularly elected by voters subject to a property qualification. Women will not be disqualified. If it is bicameral, the lower house will be popularly elected, and the upper chamber elected by propertied voters or by the lower assembly. Above these Provincial Legislatures will be the Federal Legislature at Delhi. This will be a bicameral assembly, with three hundred seventy-five members in the lower house and two hundred sixty in the upper. The native princes will be represented in both houses; in the lower in proportion to the population of their states, and in the upper according to the number of guns used in their official salute! The British Indian members of the lower house will be elected for terms of five years by the members of the Provincial Legislatures voting as separate communal electorates (Moslems, Sikhs,

non-Brahmins, etc.). In the upper house they will serve nine years and be elected by a small electorate of 100,000 with a high property qualification.

The new Constitution has many weaknesses. The Moslems are given a greater representation than their numerical strength merits. The plan of separate communal electorates likewise gives undue power to the Moslems as well as to other special groups. Certain powers are granted to the native Princes but not to the Provinces. Throughout the whole document the Government has provided too dense a hedge of "safeguards," and many public matters conceded to legislative assemblies the world over are denied the Indian Legislature. So marked are these weaknesses that a prominent nationalist has remarked that in relation to Indian independence the new constitution is like "a cup of milk for a hungry lion."

Few are satisfied with the act as it stands. Gandhi recommends a continuance of *swadeshi* and non-coöperation until the objectionable features are removed. The fiery young Nehru declares that it is "time to quit spinning and begin fighting." Latest reports of these two leaders tell us that Gandhi is coöperating with Nehru and has put the young radical in active charge of the agitation. Nehru declares that only a Peasants and Workers republic will satisfy him and his followers.

Subjects for Study

1. STEPS TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONALISM.

   Note the conservatism of the Morley-Minto Reforms.
   Study the Simon Report in some little detail.
   Evaluate the work of the Congress party; of the Moderates.
   Gandhi's attitude toward the Extremists.

2. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

   Is the Indian situation parallel to Ireland or Canada?
   What just claim has the Home Government to control of the revenue?
   Predict what would happen if the British withdrew entirely.
   Discuss the difficulties of assigning representation.

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CHAPTER XII

A NON-CHRISTIAN PRACTICES CHRISTIANITY: MAHATMA GANDHI

In reality, as soon as force was admitted into love, there was no more love; there could be no love as the law of life; and as there was no law of love there was no law at all except violence, that is, the power of the strongest. So lived Christian humanity for nineteen centuries. It is true that in all times people were guided by violence in arranging their lives. —Gandhi

When I read in the Sermon on the Mount such passages as "Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," and "Love your enemies; pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven," I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The *Bhagavad Gita* deepened the impression, and Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* gave it permanent form. —Gandhi

Gandhi, a shriveled little ninety-pound Hindu, successfully pitting himself against the teeth and claws of the British imperial lion! The metaphor, however, is none too apt, for on Gandhi's part there has been no fighting. Perhaps a more appropriate figure would be that of the saint sitting silent in prayer and meditation, whilst the mighty lion roars and gnashes, surprised and enraged by an enemy that refuses to fight back.

Time and again—in the ten-year campaign for the rights of Hindus in South Africa (1894-1914); in the non-coöperation revolution in India (1919-1922); in 1930, in the so-called "salt-war"—the world has been startled at the effectiveness of Gandhi's "passive resistance." He and his followers have presented to the British constabulary something that officialdom has never before witnessed—the spectacle of mobs running *towards*, not *away from*, the policeman's stick for the privilege of receiving the blow. "I often wish you took to violence like the English striker," a South African official remarked to Gandhi, "for then we should know how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness." "Resist not evil," says the Sermon on the Mount, but in India it is not Christians but Hindus that take the text literally.

According to his own statement, Gandhi has been influenced in the main by three occidental writers: Carlyle (*Heroes and Hero Worship*); Ruskin (*Unto this Last*); and Tolstoy (*The Kingdom of God is Within You*). With these three thinkers, he regards as futile all reform emanating from people who are only self-seeking; he declares

futile what Carlyle called "spiritual mechanics" where "spiritual dynamics" are lacking. Gandhi, with a full sense of the difficulties involved, would build on a changed human nature; his own philosophy is the result of the bitterest mental anguish and physical suffering. In it are three cardinal principles—*Satya* (Truth); *Ahimsa* (Loving-kindness); and *Brahmacharya* (Inner Purity). Out of the first comes the belief that no good can spring from evil, that two wrongs can never make a right. Out of the second, that evil forces must be overcome with gentleness and the hand of love; hence the insistence on non-violence as a means of redressing political wrongs. But the last, the principle of Inner Purity, like Charity in the Pauline epistle, is the greatest of the three, for on it lean the other two. On the physical side, sexual continence, abstinence from milk and meat, and prolonged fasting; on the spiritual side, refusal to harbor, even for an instant, an unkind or hateful thought—such are the methods by which Gandhi has sought to achieve inner purity.

Satyagraha (non-violence) grows out of these principles. Hindus hope to rid their country of British rule by ignoring their oppressors. No follower of Gandhi pays taxes, holds a civil office, sends his children to a British school, buys a yard of British cloth; nor will he, until *Swaraj* (Home rule) is acquired. Arrest and even martyrdom are courted. Every act of aggression on the part of his followers is deplored by Gandhi, who warns that such tactics are out of key with *Ahimsa*. "Resist not evil," is the burden of his gospel; "turn the other cheek" is the gist of his practice.

He is the type of man who is always a puzzle to his own dissembling generation, the man who lives, as well as preaches, the highest ethics. To make a saint of such a one when he dies is easy; the problem is what to do with him while he is alive. Clive can slaughter the Madrasans, and Hobson can shoot down the Delhi princes with his own hand, but Gandhi they dare only throw into jail while they ride down his followers. And each time from the jail comes the same report: Gandhi fairly radiates love: doctor, warden, fellow-prisoner alike seek his company and vie with one another to make him comfortable.

He has come out of a fast that the English feared would kill him. This time he fasted in behalf of the Untouchables, a protest against his own people for their treatment of the Untouchables. But he is far from giving himself the "well done, good and faithful servant." Nothing short of perfection will satisfy him. "After all," he declares, "however my sincere strivings after *Ahimsa* have been, they are still imperfect and inadequate."

Smug editorial-writers, confident of western superiority, have been too quick to dispose of oriental leaders and movements by a few pat references to ancestor-worship, prayer-wheels, and protracted fasting. Such short-sightedness is unfortunate. Westerners must try to find

something in Asia's lashing of the flesh other than sheer freakishness and fanaticism. For before our eyes one-fifth of the world is coming out of a hopeless chaos into full-fledged nationhood.

Suggestions for Study

1. Gandhi's Early Days.
   - His own child-marriage.
   - His experience with meat-eating.
   - His despondency and the *Ahimsa* following.
   - His fondness for Ruskin and Tolstoy.
   - His life in London.
   - Later experiences in India.

2. The South African Period.
   - Note his success as a lawyer at this time.
   - Read Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is in You.*
   - The Asiatic Registration Act.
   - Gandhi's experience with race prejudice.
   - Read his *Confession Of Faith,* written about this time.
   - His participation in the Boer War.

3. The India Period.
   - The Amritsar massacre.
   - His relation to the Moslems.
   - His fast against separate electorates.
   - Gandhi in London.
   - The Salt March and imprisonment.
   - His attitude toward the Untouchables.

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Gandhi, M. K.	*His Own Story.* 1930. (10, 11, 12)	Macmillan	2.50
Hauswirth, Frieda	*A Marriage to India.* 1930. (2, 4, 6)	Vanguard	o.p.
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