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A HISTORY
OF
Hindu Civilisation during British Rule

BY
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL IN NATURAL SCIENCE."

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. III

INTELLECTUAL CONDITION.

CALCUTTA: W. NEWMAN, & Co.
LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.
BOMBAY: THACKER & Co. MADRAS: HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.
LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ,

1896.

PRINTED BY R. DUTT,
HARE PRESS:
46, BECHU CHATTERJEE'S STREET, CALCUTTA.

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Y73(Q2):1.2.M

C6.3

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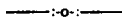
TO

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON,

WHO, DURING HIS VICEROYALTY IN INDIA,
LABOURED, WITH A LOVING HEART,
FOR THE WELFARE OF MY COUNTRYMEN,
AND WHOSE NAME WILL EVER BE CHERISHED BY THEM
WITH GRATITUDE, I RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.



P R E F A C E.



I have attempted in this volume to give some idea of the nature and operation of the influences which have affected the Hindu intellect under British Rule. In doing this, I have indicated, in a general way, how these influences have moulded the modern literature of India. It is my intention to present in the next volume a more complete account of the present intellectual condition of the Hindus as reflected in literature. Considering the diversity of the vernacular literatures of India, I am probably showing more presumption than discretion in undertaking this task ; and, I must say, its execution will largely depend upon the co-operation I may be fortunate enough to secure from those parts of India with the literary history of which I cannot claim more than a very super-

PREFACE.

ficial acquaintance. I am glad to be able to state, that several gentlemen have already come forward with such assistance, and that several more have promised it. For the present, I desire to thank them collectively. My obligations to them individually will be acknowledged in the next volume.

DARJILING }
November, 1895. }

P. N. BOSE.



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INTRODUCTION.

Hindu intellect had been in a state of arrested development for nearly six centuries when the foundation was laid of the British Empire in India. During that long period, the Hindus had produced nothing of a strikingly original character. The last great name in the annals of Hindu philosophy was that of Samkará-cháryya, who lived about the ninth century; the last great name in Hindu mathematics was that of Bháscará-cháryya, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century.

The decline was synchronous with the Mahomedan conquest and was no doubt facilitated by it. The depressing influence of foreign domination can never be otherwise than detrimental to healthy progress of a high order. But Hindu civilisation carried the germs of its decay within it. The Caste-system upon which it is based, rendered its continued development an impossibility, because it contravened the fundamental conditions of such development. It protected the different classes of Hindu society from the stress and strain of strenuous competition; but in doing so it rendered a halt in its onward march inevitable. It made life easy and contented; but it did so freeing it, to a considerable extent, from ceaseless struggle, the hard, inexorable condition of continued intellectual and industrial progress. It promoted spirituality and quietism, but it suppressed industrialism and combativeness which are among the principal motive forces of modern progress.

The Caste-system, however, does not deserve the large measure of odium which is usually cast upon it. It was probably the best solution possible, at the time it was formed, of the great social problem which is at present exercising the minds of Western philosophers,

the problem, namely, how to distribute the good things of the world so as to liberate the lower classes from the vices and miseries of destitution. No such solution is possible now. The Western proletariat have been given political equality. But no steps have been taken to secure to them that measure of economic equality without which political equality is worse than meaningless—positively dangerous. The policy of *laissez faire* hitherto pursued by the most advanced nations of the West has landed them in a critical situation; and some form or other of State Socialism is now being influentially advocated as a means out of it. Viewing the caste-system, as originally developed, in the light of recent Western developments and movements, we are inclined to think that it does credit to the head no less than to the heart of the Aryan sages of ancient India who conceived and constructed it, especially if we consider the condition of political morality which prevailed among the other civilised nations of the time. It is a system of organised inequality, but of inequality so adjusted as not to press very severely upon the classes affected by it. The dark-skinned aborigines of India were not made slaves; but they were assigned a well defined position, though that position was the lowest in the society of the Aryan

conquerors. The treatment which the Súdras received was no less humane, and infinitely less calculated to produce friction than the treatment which, at the present day, the "blacks" receive at the hands of the "whites" in parts of the United States after a century's war cry of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," and after so many centuries of the altruistic influence of Christianity.

The Bráhmans, as a class, did not seek material aggrandisement; government, trade, in short, every occupation calculated to further material interests they left to the lower classes, and thus they effectually secured themselves against the desire for encroachment. What they sought to restrict within the two highest classes, and especially within their own class, was spiritual and intellectual advancement; and that is of a nature which does not usually excite the jealousy of the mass of the people. This monopoly, however, was all the more detrimental to intellectual progress beyond a certain stage, because it was of such an immaterial character that the lower classes would not think it worth their while to contest. Competition artificially limited and secured within a well defined body restricted the range of favourable variation in intellectual development which was thus placed, to a great extent,

Caste specially injurious to the cultivation of physical sciences.

beyond the action of the law of natural selection—a law as supreme in the case of intellectual as in that of physical development. The isolation of the intellectual class was specially injurious to the progress of those branches of knowledge which increase the comforts, conveniences and luxuries of civilised life. The Bráhmans were averse to material progress. They looked down with undisguised contempt upon arts and manufactures, upon, in fact, all occupations which had not spiritual or mental culture as their primary object. Wrapped up in serene philosophic contemplation, taking but little interest in the struggles after material progress carried on by the lower classes whom they looked upon as the “vulgar herd,” they carried mental science to a high pitch of perfection, while they neglected physical science to a most serious extent.

Directly, the caste-system prevented, in course of time, the spread of knowledge beyond a small, privileged, hereditary class; and indirectly, it led to the neglect of the physical sciences. It is precisely because it did so, that the Hindu intellect has remained in such a condition of barrenness for so long a period, and the Hindu civilisation has remained stationary while other peoples, un-

Illustration how
caste hindered pro-
gress.

hampered by caste restrictions, have been making rapid strides towards progress. The claim of Western civilisation to intellectual superiority over Hindu civilisation—in fact, over all ancient civilisations—rests upon the unrestricted diffusion of knowledge and upon the advance made in physical science. It rests upon the increased enlightenment of the race, not upon the increased intellectual capacity of the individual. Intellectual progress under modern civilisation has spread over a wider area; it covers a larger variety of subjects; but, the mental power of the individual now is not higher than it was in ancient times. The great names in the intellectual world of the present day are no greater than the great names in the intellectual world of antiquity. The intellectual calibre of a Cuvier or of a Darwin cannot be said to be superior to that of a Kapila or of a Kanáda. The great men of the Western civilisation differ from the great men of the Hindu civilisation in the fact that the former represent the progress of a much larger body than the latter. The intellectual giants of the present day have been nourished not only by the accumulated knowledge of past civilisations,* but also by the acquired knowledge of the whole modern world. The sages

* "What the centuries have done for us" well observes Mr. Henry

of antiquity stand out as a few stupendous heights towering above a slightly elevated plain. But, the most prominent men of the present day are like peaks but slightly higher than innumerable other peaks surrounding them on all sides. True, to continue the metaphor, time will reduce—nay, plane away—many a peak that looks so majestic now. But, making all allowance for the destructive action of time, there can be no doubt, that the great men of the Western civilisation will, even after the lapse of many centuries, greatly outnumber the great men of the ancient civilisations. The eminent names that cluster round a single feat of the intellect at the present day are more numerous than all the eminent names connected with all the great intellectual efforts of ancient India. We can form some idea of the damaging influence of the caste-system upon Hindu progress, when we consider from what different ranks of the Western society have risen the men who have contributed to the building up or expansion of a modern scientific theory; how men who began life as indigent mechanics are ending it as great philosophers or honoured inventors; how the sons of parents altogether

George "is not to increase our stature, but to build up a structure on which we may plant our feet." ("Progress and Poverty" Book X, Ch. II).

unconnected with literature or science have risen to literary or scientific eminence.

The anti-caste influence of the British contact has given Hindu civilisation a fresh impetus to progress by relaxing the restrictions of the caste-system which, as we have just seen, was the primary cause of the halt which Hindu civilisation made about the time of the Mahomedan conquest. Foremost among the new forces which have come into play with the British rule is the doctrine of equality. It is no new doctrine. It is at least as old as Buddhism. But it is only in recent times that it has been endowed with sufficient vitality to be a motive factor in the world's progress. The tendency of legislation and of political movement in the West for the last century has been towards democracy. The goal has certainly not been reached. The greatest advance in political equality has so far only rendered more glaring the social inequality between the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the labourer. It should be observed, however, that the socialist agitation in the West, which is yearly gaining ground and attaining solidarity, will result sooner or later in new principles of progress. What these principles and their consequences will be

no one can predict. But whatever they be, they will rest upon a broader basis of altruism than what modern civilisation rests upon. Progress has, in the past history of the world, often shifted its principal seat, from the East to the West; and, in the West, from one portion of it to another. But it has always added to the totality of its past acquisitions. Modern civilisation has not only retained the achievements of ancient civilisation; but has added to them considerably; and the civilisation of the future, wherever its centre may be, is expected to do the same with regard to the civilisation of the present day. The altruism of the future civilisation is expected to be more real and more embracing than the altruism of the present civilisation.

* Mr. Pearson has indulged in a rather interesting speculation on this point. "The day will come," says he, "and perhaps is not far distant, when the European observer will look round to see the globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression or under tutelage, but independent, or practically so, in government, monopolising the trade of their own regions, and circumscribing the industry of the European. . . . We were struggling among ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought of as destined to belong to the Aryan races, and to the Christian faith; to the letters and arts and charm of social manners which we have inherited from the best times of the past. We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile, and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs." ("National Life and Character," 1893, pp. 84-85).

The present state of inequality between the different classes of Western society is by no means of a very exceptional character. Such inequality has existed from the remotest antiquity. It is, however, now so keenly felt, and is fraught with so much danger to Western society, because the proletariat now claim equality as a matter of right, and consequently chafe under a sense of injustice if the conditions of existing society make the many starve while the few roll in wealth and luxury.* Industrial evolution on Western principles has not yet

* A revolution, however, is impending. Modern civilisation has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. "Even the best of modern civilisations" appeared to one of the greatest exponents of modern thought, "to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion, that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want, with its concomitant moral and physical degradation, among the masses of the people, I shall hail the advent of some kindly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation. What profits it to the human Prometheus that he has stolen the fire of Heaven to be his servant, and that the spirits of the earth and of the air obey him, if the vulture of pauperism is eternally to tear his very vitals and keep him on the brink of destruction?" Huxley, "Method and Results," p. 423.

proceeded far enough in India to produce such enormous economic inequality as is observable in Western society; and the Hindu community has not yet been permeated by aspirations for equality to such an extent as to feel the injustice of existing inequality. The spread of the doctrine of equality in India is confined as yet to the educated community who form an insignificant fraction of the total population. It has not yet led to any serious disturbance of social order, not even to a strike worth the name. The evils which are exercising the minds of philanthropists and philosophers in the West have not yet shown themselves among the Hindus. In politics, the democratic spirit of modern Europe has not yet gone further than strictly constitutional agitation by educated men for a moderate share in the administration of their country partly by representation on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils and partly by admission into offices hitherto reserved for the British. In religion, it has led to movements like the Bráhma Samáj. In literature, it has wrested the monopoly of authorship from the hands of the Bráhmans; and writers of all castes from the highest to the lowest now join hands in literary comradeship. If the greatest novelist of modern Bengali literature is a

Bráhmaṇ,* the greatest poet and the greatest dramatist are Káyasthas.† In this respect, however, the spread of Western ideas of democracy has only intensified the change set on foot by the Vaishnava Revolution a few centuries ago which, to a great extent, abrogated caste-distinction.

The progress of every community requires the suppression of individuality to some extent. But the ancient civilisations carried the suppression very far, and Hindu civilisation probably further than any other. The existence of the individual was made subservient to the existence of the community. Even in literature, the author often merged his individuality in his work. Huge works like the Mahábhárata, and many of the Institutes and the Puránas bear unmistakable evidence of being the compositions of numerous writers whose names even have not been preserved. The all but entire absence of historical literature in Sanskrit may be partly attributable to this suppression of the individual. When authors were so unmindful

* Bankim Chandra Chatterji, born 1838, died, 1894. Several of his novels have been translated into English.

† Madhusudan Datta, (1824—1873) and Dinabandhu Mitra (1829—1873).

of the preservation of their own names, it is not to be wondered at, that they should have cared so little to transmit to posterity the lives of kings whose works must, in their estimation, have been of far less value than theirs; and the memory of kings was left to be preserved as best as it might be in the ballads of courtly bards, or, in more enduring form, in grants and inscriptions.

The wide prevalence which modern civilisation has given to the doctrine of equality has put the individual forward to an extent unknown in ancient civilisation. The tendency of the suppression of the individual encouraged by the latter has been to exalt authority, and to discourage originality. During the last seven centuries the best of Sanskrit authors, with but few exceptions, have ventured only to write commentaries. They followed the lead of some ancient work of authority, though some of them were endowed with the keenest intellect, and could have produced, if they chose to do so, original works of exceptional merit. On the other hand, though there is much that is objectionable, and worse, in the obtrusive self-assertiveness of the individual in modern civilisation, it has, nevertheless, furthered intellectual progress to no small extent. It has sapped the foundations of ancient

authority, and relaxed the restraints of conventionalities sanctioned by immemorial usage. Ambition has a freer scope, and the intellect has been soaring into regions unknown in ancient civilisations. The Hindu intellect has ventured out of the accustomed and well-beaten paths of theology and metaphysics. Paths which had been used in ancient times, but which for centuries remained practically closed, have lately been not only reopened, but also widened and extended; and new paths have been coming into view which promise to lead in directions not even dreamt of by the sages of antiquity. The medical and mathematical sciences which had yielded such notable results to the ancient Hindus, but which received scarcely any attention, for nearly seven centuries preceding British Rule, are now being cultivated again on the improved methods of the West. History, biography, novel (in its modern forms), archæology, and the different branches of natural science are subjects almost entirely new in Hindu literature. It is true, the emancipated intellect has been producing much that is worthless and even mischievous; and the printing press makes such productions a source of positive danger to society. But evils like this are unavoidable under modern conditions of progress; and it would probably be no exaggeration

to say, that the English influence, of which the sense of individuality fostered by aspirations for equality is one of the main factors, has caused a renaissance of Hindu literature.

This renaissance is marked, however, rather by extent of surface than by depth. The range of vision of the Hindu mind has widened considerably. The works of the Hindus now treat of subjects which were beyond the conception of their forefathers. But, excepting a very few productions of genius, they are wanting in that depth and originality, that freshness and vigour of mind which always accompany healthy progress. The new life does not as yet appear to have acquired that strength which is essential for great works. To judge from the works that annually come out of the Indian press, there is undoubtedly an increasing amount of literary activity. But the activity is chiefly displayed in ephemeral tales and journalistic articles. Works with any prospect of occupying a permanent place in literature are very rare.

No doubt, in this dominant feature of superficiality, modern Hindu literature resembles, to a great extent, its prototype, the Western literature. The great majori-

ty of the books that appear in the West are also destined to live a short life. They are mostly written with the express purpose of affording amusement, of enabling the votaries of pleasure or of Mammon to while away an idle hour. But, there can be no denying the fact, that proportionately a great many more works of abiding interest appear in the West than in India.

One reason of this serious deficiency in Hindu literature is, no doubt, the transitional state through which the Hindus are passing at present. They must assimilate the progress made in the West during the stationary period of their civilisation, before they can produce anything of a strikingly original character. They must go over the ground already prepared by the Western intellect, before they can break new ground.

In the first stage of English education, its recipients showed, at least in Bengal, a marked and indiscriminating preference for Western habits and Western methods of progress. Everything Western was admired and adopted, and everything Eastern despised and rejected. In social polity, the tendency was observable in the aggressive attitude of the English-educated young

men towards the social institutions of the country. In religion, it was manifested in the conversion to Christianity of some of the most promising among them. The Hindu intellect was emancipated from the bonds of Hindu tradition only to put on the shackles of Western custom. For a time there was irrational, nay slavish, imitation. It was forgotten, that the lasting progress of a community depends not upon wholesale change, but upon gradual adaptation to new environment, not upon the total extinction of the force of tradition, but upon such an adjustment between it and the desire for change, that the latter will only have a more predominant influence than the former. But, a reaction soon followed which showed that the internal forces of Hindu civilisation had only been dormant, but had not become extinct. They have, for sometime past, exerted a rather healthy conservative influence, which is indicated, among other things, by a more diffuse respect for Sanskrit literature. The Vedas, the Mahábhárata, the Rámáyana, the Bhagavatgítá, the works of Charaka and Susruta, and the systems of Hindu philosophy are now far more extensively read than before either in the original or in translations. The desire for change is now restrained by the conservative influence of Hindu

tradition. The efforts of the Hindu intellect are beginning to be directed more towards assimilation than towards imitation of Western thought. But the process of assimilation is always slow and tedious. Before the many things in Western civilisation that are fit for assimilation are found out by experiment, many more things that are unfit must be rejected. In an experimental or transitional state like this, perfected forms of intellectual work must be excessively rare.

The renaissance of Hindu literature, if it is due to one thing more than to another, is due to English education. Nearly all the Hindu writers of note within the last fifty years have been English-educated men. Purely vernacular, or purely Sanskrit education has done but little to enrich vernacular literature. Bengali literature which at the commencement of the present century was much poorer than Hindi, and scarcely as rich as Míráthi, is now the richest of all the vernacular literatures; and it is in Bengal that English education has been imparted longer than in any other part of India.

But English education has not made English the sole literary language of India. In English schools, English is studied as the principal language, and the vernacular

or Sanskrit as the subordinate or second language. The educated Indians generally correspond in English. The work of the numerous political, social, and literary associations which have sprung up under English influence is usually carried on in English. Still, as a literary language, English holds a subordinate position. In the Bombay Presidency, there were published, in 1891, altogether 71 books in English, whereas the number of publications in Mārāthi and Guzerāthi amounted to 223 and 297 respectively. In Bengal, during the same year, there were registered 1,347 publications in Bengali, and only 385 in English. Readers, especially the most educated portion of them, prefer to read English books, because a knowledge of English is the *sine qua non* of worldly advancement, and because English gives one the key to the intellectual treasures of modern civilisation. Writers, on the other hand, prefer to write in the vernaculars, because they can express themselves better in them than in a foreign tongue.

One consequence of this anomaly is, that the number of authors is disproportionately great. There are not sufficient readers, especially of the cultured class, to support, appreciate, and honour them. The greatest and most popular of Indian

novelists, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, who would hardly suffer by comparison with any European novelist of the present day, scarcely made more than two thousand rupees a year from his novels. Except a very few writers of school books, no Indian authors can earn a living by literary labour. They are either busy professional men or Government servants. Considering the enervating nature of the Indian climate, one can hardly expect from such men works requiring long-continued application and research. A leisured class of literary and scientific men such as we have in the West has not yet arisen in modern India. The learned Bráhmans, especially at the principal seats of Sanskrit learning, formed such a class in pre-British India. They were supported and honoured by the Hindu community. They pursued literature and science, undisturbed by the cares and anxieties of a living, and stimulated by the appreciation of pupils and fellow-Pundits who formed the little world in which they moved. Their number, glory, and influence have diminished to such an extent, that they may be said to be practically extinct, at least for all purposes of modern progress. But a new class has not yet taken their place; and the want of a well recognised literary language combined with the circumstances to be

noted presently render the rise of such a class, at least in the near future, highly problematical.

The extreme poverty of the people is a serious obstacle to progress to an extent it is difficult to gauge. True, they have always been poor. It cannot be established, at least conclusively, that they have become poorer under British Rule. But their civilisation was well adapted to the conditions which determined it. Arts and manufactures thrived upon small capital. Tuition was paid for or not according to the means of the pupils. Books and appliances had not to be bought, or if they had to be bought, they cost very little. The style of living was very simple. The community maintained the institutions which were designed for the spread of knowledge.

Now, the Hindus have been brought into competition with a people the richest in the world. Their average annual income, according to the highest official estimate, does not exceed £ 2; and they have to compete in the struggle for progress with a people whose average annual income is no less than £ 33. They are vastly poorer

than the poorest people in Europe. Yet, they must advance upon European conditions or they must retrograde, which means going backward to a position for worse than what they occupied during the stationary period of their civilisation before the establishment of British rule. They are required to run a race with one of the swiftest peoples of the modern world, on paths hitherto unknown to them but familiar to their foreign competitors, without the requisite equipment. Their arts and manufactures must perish, they must allow their country to be drained by foreigners, because they have not the capital and the enterprise of the latter. And their case appears to be hopeless under present conditions because their poverty will not certainly diminish as the drain goes on. ✓

The general poverty of the people is also detrimental to higher intellectual work. Natural science is the intellectual speciality of modern civilisation. Its acquisition, however, is a matter of heavy expense. Well equipped laboratories are essential. But the people are too poor to afford them. The few that could endow scientific research do not do so, because they do not appreciate it. They would subscribe liberally to honour or to please high-placed British officials; but a cry for funds for the diffusion of scientific and technical education

would be a cry in the wilderness. The private colleges have to adapt themselves to the means of the people and charge very low fees—in Bengal, generally, only three rupees a month for lectures on all subjects. They cannot provide the requisite means for effective scientific education. Until quite recently, the education in the Government colleges was of a literary character. It is only within the last decade that attempts have been made by Government to spread scientific and technical education. Even now, such subjects as Zoology and Botany which are of such vital importance in connection with Western thought, are taught in only one institution in the Bengal Presidency—the Medical College of Calcutta. There too the teaching is subordinated to the immediate professional requirements of medical students and is unaccompanied by laboratory work worth the name. There is only one institution in the Bengal Presidency—the Presidency College of Calcutta—where a chair of Geology has been in existence since 1892. Thus, the people are too poor to afford effective scientific education in the institutions directly supported by them; and Government has hitherto been apparently too indifferent to place scientific education on anything like a sound basis. It cannot be said that

Government is not at all alive to the importance of natural science in modern civilisation. It has for sometime past carried on research by European agency in various branches of science. The educational or economic benefit of such research to the people of India has been so slight as to be almost inappreciable, compared especially to what it has cost them. It has benefited only a few members of the European community who can well afford its expense.

Poverty does not usually stand so much in the way of intellectual work of a purely literary character as it does in that of intellectual work of a scientific character. In India, however, it entails special disadvantages which are not felt in Europe. In European countries, there are rich libraries to which a poor man intent upon intellectual advancement can have easy access. In India, there are but few libraries worth the name. They are immeasurably inferior to the great libraries of Europe, and, besides, are not easily accessible.

The national poverty of the Hindus also tells seriously upon their literary development in other ways. They are engrossed by anxious cares how to earn a bare living. They have neither the means nor the leisure to pursue or encourage higher intellectual work.

Intellectual work on modern conditions necessitates a much greater strain on the nervous system, and, therefore, requires a correspondingly greater amount of nourishing food than in ancient times. The high-pressure work of the present day is not possible upon such a simple style of living as the Hindus have been accustomed to hitherto. That style was no doubt adapted to their civilisation. It is, however, a distinct disadvantage to them now, whether in the higher or the lower forms of intellectual work, as they have to compete with a people with a very much higher standard of living. Work performed by a constitution nourished upon twenty rupees cannot generally be so efficient as work performed by a constitution nourished upon treble that amount. It is true, a slightly lower standard of living gives a people some advantage in competition. But, the difference in the standards of living must not be so great as what exist between the Hindus and the English. Efficiency and success, under present conditions, demand a rise in the standard of living of the Hindus, so that it may approximate, though not equal, that of the English with whom they have to compete. The necessity is felt by the Hindus. But the cost of living has immensely increased of late; not,

however, the means to meet the increased cost. Work under new European conditions has to be performed upon such necessities and conveniences of life as were suited to the old environment. The inevitable consequence of such an anomalous state of things is apparent in the rapid spread of such diseases as diabetes among those who have to live by brainwork in some shape or other.

It should be noted, however, that the tendency of
 Influence of Eu- the introduction of the outer forms, the
 ropean luxuries. luxuries and amusements, of European
 civilisation has been to intensify the effects of the national poverty of the Hindus. People are but little guided in their mode of living by philosophy. Fashion rules them. Even the most rational men are found among the most irrational votaries of fashion. The desire for show appears to be almost innate in all classes in all parts of the world; and the Hindus are no exception to the rule. Formerly, however, the gratification of this desire was determined by the indigencus standard of luxuries which was well adapted to their material condition. But, at the present day, there is a marked tendency among the upper classes to adopt the Western standard of luxuries. In the West, modern civilisation has raised the standard of luxuries considerably. There, the rise-

has been attended by good as well as evil consequences. But, from the point of view of material progress, which is the special aim of Western civilisation, the former outweigh the latter. The multiplication of wants in the West has been partly the cause, and partly the natural outcome of the immense accumulation of wealth and of the remarkable progress in mechanical invention which have gone on there during the last fifty years. "In the atmosphere of luxury that increased wealth produces, refined tastes, perceptions of beauty, intellectual aspirations appear. Faculties that were before dormant are evoked, new directions are given to human energies, and, under the impulse of the desire for wealth, men arise to supply each new want that wealth has produced. Hence, for the most part, arise art and literature, and science, and all the refinements and elaborations of civilisation, and all the inventions that have alleviated the sufferings or multiplied the enjoyments of mankind."* All this is true in the West. In India, the spread of Western luxuries, without the previous accumulation of wealth or the preparation of mechanical talent as in the West, cannot imply progress, either present or prospective.

* Lecky, "Rationalism in Europe" Vol. II. pp. 366-367.

The Indians have neither the capital nor the mechanical knowledge and enterprise to compete successfully with the Western peoples. Free trade in their case means their exploitation by the West without any equivalent advantage to them. They do not even always enjoy an equality of opportunity. Anybody from the West, for instance, can establish himself anywhere in India and "develop" its resources or carry on trade as he likes. Such action, is, indeed, invited, encouraged, and even, to some extent, helped by Government. But, in English colonies in South Africa, Indians have recently been deprived of the rights which other British subjects exercise, and to which all subjects of Great Britain are entitled by international custom. In the case of the Europeans, their home markets failing to absorb their manufactures, and their own territories failing to afford sufficient scope for their ambition, energy, and the desire for the accumulation of wealth, they have for sometime past been subjugating weaker peoples outside Europe and annexing their territories—leaving, it should be observed by the way, the gospel of Equality and the banner of Liberty in their homes. In the case of the Indians, their industrial progress has not yet been sufficient to enable them to meet the demands of their own markets. And,

under present conditions, there is hardly any hope that they will ever be able to do so : they have to run a race with a people who have had the start of a century, and who are armed with all the advantages of long experience, accumulated capital, and invigorating climate. The development of tastes for European luxuries in the Indians, in the present state of their industrial development, means in those few who can afford it the further enrichment of the already rich capitalist classes in Europe and the corresponding impoverishment of the already poor industrial classes in India ; and in the case of those who cannot afford such development, but are led to it by pressure of fashion—and they are by far the most numerous class—it means also embarrassment and possible ruin, the sacrifice of necessaries to luxuries, of substance to shadow.

The features which distinguish modern civilisation from the ancient, which, in fact, constitute that civilisation in the popular mind—the railway, the electric telegraph, and various other comforts and conveniences of modern civilised life—have been gradually introduced into India under British rule. There is one conclusion

Outer forms of European civilisation : the railway &c.

sometimes drawn from the more striking among them which has only to be stated to show its fallacious nature. The rapid expansion of the railway system in recent times is not unoften pointed to as indicating the progress of India. A moment's reflection will show that it does not do so in any way.

All the railways have been surveyed and constructed by English Engineers; they are managed by Englishmen; the machinery and other plant required for their construction and maintenance almost entirely come from England. The capital, the enterprise and the education that are necessary for the construction and maintenance of the railways are all British. They loudly proclaim Western civilisation in India; but they do not indicate the progress of India in any way whatever. Not only so; their extension has, in one sense, been detrimental to the future progress of the Indians. The lines which are likely to be most remunerative have been constructed already. If Indians be ever able to undertake the construction of large railways themselves, they will find that the most promising outlets for their new-born enterprise have been closed already.

The railways have undoubtedly had some educational

value. "It is needless to point out," says Lord Ripon, "how improved communications and increased facilities for travel break down obstinate and long established prejudices and widen men's minds in a single generation The introduction of railway travelling has had a direct and necessary influence in weakening and in certain respects overcoming the distinctions and prejudices of caste." *

Every word of this statement is perfectly true. By facilitating intercourse railways have certainly helped social and political progress of the Hindus to some extent. They have been of great use in transporting food to those parts of the country which are affected by famines. They have also by facilitating transport developed the export trade in raw produce. The wheat trade especially has undergone considerable expansion of late. But the cultivator, if he gains at all, does not gain to the extent it is generally supposed. The yield from his land has not been sensibly affected by the railways. It is the same now as it was in pre-railway times, or even less. He unquestionably gets better prices for his crops.

* *Paternoster Review*, October, 1890.

But a portion of his increased profits is consumed in enhanced rent. A portion also goes to pay enhanced wages for labourers, though, unfortunately, the enhancement is not in the same proportion as that of the prices of food-grains. The profits which he has left after meeting these charges may be considered to be only the equivalent of the grain he would have stored, had not the introduction of railways offered him tempting prices to sell it. Whether he is any gainer for having cash instead of a store of grain is a doubtful point, especially when we consider that the temptation to spend money, when one has it in hand, upon festivities and upon various European articles which the railway has brought to his doors is very great. The danger of these articles consists in their attractiveness and comparative cheapness. The cultivator and his family probably make a better show of respectability than they ever did before. But when famine threatens, they find they have little money and scarcely any store of grain to fall back upon.

In considering the effect of railways upon the economic condition of India it must be borne in mind, that they have, while facilitating the transport of food to famine-stricken districts, have also facilitated the transport of European manufactures and thus helped to

destroy indigenous industries. The artisans whom these industries afforded occupation have been yearly swelling the number of needy peasants and labourers. No doubt, a portion of the artisan class finds employment in the railway workshops as smiths and carpenters ; and many more find work as labourers in the mines, factories and tea-estates which the railways have helped to develop. Their number is estimated at one million and a quarter. This is no doubt a set-off against the heavy loss which the industrial people have suffered owing to the extension of railways. But the testimony of District officers is almost unanimous in showing that the greater majority of them are driven to be labourers or agriculturists. Large towns with urban populations have dwindled into inconsiderable villages. The increase of agricultural at the sacrifice of artisan population is certainly not advantageous for India. It is true the mass of her people must from time immemorial have been mainly agricultural. But there can be no doubt that a great portion of her wealth depended upon her mining and manufacturing industries, as indeed the wealth of every country must do. No country that is purely agricultural can ever be rich. Down to the early years of the present century, India did not export her food grains,

but cotton, silk and various other manufactures. It was especially to participate in the trade of these manufactures that the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English came to India. About the end of the last century (1798—99) the value of piece goods and Organzine silk exported from India to England amounted to over a million and a half pounds sterling. No cotton goods were then imported into India; iron and steel to the value of only £36,530 pounds were imported. Now the relations have been reversed. She sends abroad her spare food, and imports foreign manufactures. Her people are dependent upon Europe for most necessaries of life except food, not to speak of luxuries. The clothes they wear come from Manchester; the ploughs with which they till their land, the axes with which they cut their trees, are made of English iron; knives, scissors, cooking utensils, matches, in fact most of their household requisites are of European manufacture. The almost wholesale ruin of indigenous manufactures has directly and indirectly helped to produce a most serious state of congestion throughout British India.

It is true, handmade things such as those which the Indians used to make could not have long competed

with machine-made articles. They might however, have gradually adapted to the new order of things. But cheap means of communication, amongst which railways are most prominent, did not give them the time. The present state of things in India is indeed very sad. No doubt, railways are not solely responsible for it. Free trade, which again, is one of the so-called benefits which have been conferred upon India, is also partly responsible. The Englishmen are now about the only people in the world who strictly follow the principles of free trade ; India (including Burma) is now the only extensive mart where English manufactures are admitted free of duty. The absence of a tariff combined with the extension of railways has helped to kill the indigenous industries, and has considerably handicapped the people in their endeavours to revive them.

We have already seen how railways have indirectly contributed to impoverish India by helping the substitution of foreign for indigenous manufactures. They have also done this directly, though to a very small extent. There are three kinds of railways in India : guaranteed, subsidised and State. For the guaranteed and subsidised railways, India has long had to remit to England a large amount as interest. "The country is

too poor to pay for its elaborate railway system and irrigation projects, and, being compelled to borrow in England, has incurred an ever-accumulating debt at what has unfortunately proved to be an ever-increasing rate of interest." * This does not represent the entire drain. The superior management of all the railways is in the hands of the British; the savings out of the salaries of the Managers, Traffic Superintendents, and other superior Railway officers, swell the annual drain from India.

The Indian railways generally traverse tracts of deep alluvium subject to floods and require very high embankments to keep them above the flood-level. These embankments obstruct not only surface-drainage, but also subsoil percolation to some depth; and obstructed drainage must add to the insalubrity of a place.†

* H. J. S. Cotton, "New India," p. 61. "The railways, so far from being a commercial success, have entailed the heavy burden of over £47,000,000 on the Indian tax-payer. . . . The Indus Valley, and Sind-Punjab and Delhi railways are the most signal instances of bounty-supported lines, but to a less extent all the wheat-carrying lines are only worked by the help of the State."—Connell on "Indian Railways and Indian Wheat," *Statistical Journal*, 1885, pp. 244—253, quoted in Pearson's "National Life and Character" p. 98.

† "There is too much reason to believe," says Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, "that they (the Indian railways) have, by the obstruction to drainage

We have dwelt at some length upon the influence of the Indian railway, because it is usually

Influence of Indian railways upon Hindu progress not considerable.

and influentially held to be one of the most important developmental forces in the progress of India. It would pro-

bably be no exaggeration to say, that if the benefits conferred by the Indian railways be weighed against the evils attending them, it is doubtful which way the scale will turn. Their influence upon intellectual progress has been indirect, and, on the whole, not very considerable.

It is true, without them such political movements as the National Congress would have been delayed. But we are not sure whether the delay would have done much, if any, harm; whether, in fact, slower development would not have afforded a firmer and sounder intellectual basis for these movements. Had railways been con-

which they cause in some places, materially injured the general health of the population. The new lines now under construction and contemplation which, if I may use the metaphor, break up inferior soil, are naturally supported by the local officials, whose isolated position is ameliorated by railway extension, and by engineering authorities for whom the railways find employment. The promoters of these railways, who most loudly insist on the profitable character of their speculations, are not, however, really deceived, for they will not invest their money without a guarantee from Government and other substantial privileges. If they believed in their experiments they would proceed in them without Government assistance." "New India," p. 63.

structed and managed by indigenous agency they would have indicated progress, and would have been a developmental force of immense value. But constructed and maintained by foreign agency, with foreign material, they are not such incalculable benefits to India, as they are often asserted to be. The cool assurance and placid self-complacency with which such assertions are made would make one suspect a vein of irony in them, had it not been well known as a habit of thought with all powerful nations of the world, that what they consider to be good for themselves and for their country must be good for every other people and every other country, however divergent the circumstances may be. There are benevolent Englishmen who cannot conceive conditions under which the products of their civilisation can be anything but unmitigated blessings.*

* There are a few reflecting men among them who think otherwise. Frederick John Shore of the Bengal Civil Service, for instance, wrote long ago :—

“ More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country ; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction, which in those days existed in the minds of the English population, of the blessings conferred on the natives of India by the establishment of the English rule. Our superiority to the native Governments which we have supplanted ; the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced ; our moderation ; our anxiety to benefit the

Any form of bureaucracy which determines and executes what is good for its subjects without consulting their wishes and taking their help, without, in fact, closely associating them with it, is not likely to succeed in its purpose. The failure becomes greater and more certain when the bureaucracy is a foreign one with a civilisation entirely different from that of the people. The truth of this proposition is so obvious, that it is incredible it should be so generally forgotten by the Western nations generally in their dealings with uncivilised peoples or peoples with civilisations different from their own, in Asia, Africa, and America; so incredible, indeed, that one cannot help suspecting the sincerity of their altruistic professions.* The methods of the political or

people—in short, our virtues of every description—were descanted on as so many established truths, which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country; but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed, was almost sufficient to appal the boldest."

* If the present aggressive policy continues, it is possible that the East would in the end be absorbed by the West. "There has been no period in history" observes Benjamin Kidd "when this ascendancy [that of the Western peoples] has been so unquestionable, and so complete as in the time in which we are now living. No one can doubt that

commercial missionary of the West are such as may well create such suspicions and make the realisation of the dream of Peace descending in a "drapery of calico" dreamt of by the Manchester politicians as remote as ever. It is, indeed, strange that he should ever seriously think that he is civilising peoples while he is depleting their resources, giving them shadows while taking away their substance, or even striking at the very root of their existence.

Suppose you take possession of the estate of a man who is without your capital and your mechanical knowledge— - we shall not inquire into the defensibility of the means. You effectively prevent thefts on the property, and develop its resources, taking the whole of its yield as the price of your labour and the interest of your capital, except the wage of the proprietor who works as your labourer. A good portion, if not the whole, of what is left after discharging the cost of his food, is spent upon clothing and little attractive fineries which are manufactured by sections of the community to which you it is within the power of the leading European peoples of to-day—should they so desire—to parcel out the entire equatorial regions of the earth into a series of satrapies and to administer their resources, not, as in the past, by a permanently resident population, but from the temperate regions, and under the direction of a relatively small European official population."—"Social Evolution" Ch. X.

belong. You do not settle upon the estate, you do not in any way identify yourself with the community to which the owner belongs. All the wealth you acquire is spent in a way so as to benefit yourself and your community, except an insignificant fraction of it which is paid for the menial services of the members of the owner's community. You have, it is true, relieved him of the responsibility of defending what little property he can now call his own, and, even perhaps disburdened him of the arms he possessed. It is possible, that with your fineries, which it is your interest to sell him, he assumes a more "civilised" appearance than he ever did before. It is possible that he has, now and then, the comfort of a ride on a railway which you have built, and which you maintain with the proceeds of his estate. But, notwithstanding all this, can the condition of the owner be said to be better than when, though he had to defend his estate from occasional depredations with his own arms and the help of his own people, he had still all the actualities and all the possibilities of real ownership? Would it not be a mockery to tell him that he might compete with you if he liked, knowing very well that he has neither your industrial experience, nor your capital—augmented not a little, be it remarked, by the

profits from his estate—nor the prestige and the numerous other advantages conferred by the possession and administration of his estate?

In one sense, it was no doubt advantageous to India that she came under British Rule just about the time when Europe was, so to say, modernised; for, she was thus brought under the renovating influence of modern civilization. In another sense, however, the circumstance was distinctly disadvantageous to her. As in the case of organisms, the union of highly specialised civilisations, if possible, is seldom fertile. Western civilisation is of a type markedly different from the Hindu civilisation. The discordance between the two is enormous; the former is as remarkably material as the latter is spiritual. There can be but little real sympathy between them; and it still remains to be seen whether their union will lead to any abiding result, unless the character or structure of one or both undergo considerable modifications so as to diminish the amount of the existing specific difference between them. The British by getting out of the ancient into the modern stage of progress about the end of the last century, placed a gulf

between them and the Hindus which it is difficult to bridge over. Had they advanced less along the path of modern material progress, there would have been greater sympathy. As it is, the Hindus have not yet been even partially assimilated into the British system of administration. The tendency of every civilised nation is to depreciate every other civilisation which is different from their own. The greater the difference, the greater is the depreciation. The inhabitants of the Celestial empire are not more dogmatic in considering all outsiders as barbarians than the inhabitants of modern Europe. Even such a cautious and thoughtful writer as Walter Bagehot considers the Western civilisation to have failed in producing a "rapidly excellent effect" in India, because it is "too good and too different." * Too different it undoubtedly is, but whether it is "too good" or not is at most a highly controvertible question. It is true, many of the British administrators are actuated by a noble sense of duty towards the dumb millions committed to their care. But, the altruistic development of Western civilisation does not appear yet to have proceeded far enough to invest the sense of duty with the motive force of living sympathy, and to

* "Physics and Politics," fifth edition, p. 145.

make it superior to self-interest. The British have always been credited with being an eminently "practical" people. Though this feature of their character has not been appreciated by some of their foreign critics, it has, no doubt, contributed largely to their national prosperity. But, success, such as it is usually understood, is certainly not in direct ratio to altruistic development, generally, indeed, it is securable by a process directly antagonistic to the ethical process, by a disregard, or, at least, by a not very scrupulous regard for the well-being or the rights of others. The ultimate question between every two nations, even more than between every two human beings still is, in the highly expressive, though somewhat exaggerated language of Carlyle: "Can I kill thee, or canst thou kill me?"

These brief considerations afford, we believe, the explanation of the exclusive and unsympathetic policy of British Rule in India, though the reasons usually assigned for it are, as we shall presently see, somewhat different. The Mahomedans certainly had not such a high standard of administrative efficiency as the British have. But their civilisation was more akin to Hindu civilisation; and the Hindus were consequently, more *en rapport* with their Mahomedan rulers, than

they are with their British rulers. "In many respects," admitted Lord William Bentinck half a century ago, "the Mahomedans surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges: the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this, cold, selfish, and unfeeling."

The order maintained under British Rule throughout the length and breadth of India is undoubtedly favourable to progress. Its importance, however, as a condition of progress must not be exaggerated. As in the case of the individual, so in that of the nation, perfect tranquillity is not incompatible with a state bordering upon lifelessness, the negation, if not the reverse of what is usually understood by progress. The tranquillity maintained by a Government in which the people have a substantial share not only indicates advancement, but also aids it materially in various ways. But the tranquillity maintained by such an exclusive system of administration as the British in India can be neither indicative nor pro-

Tranquillity maintained by British Rule favourable to progress.

But to a small extent owing to its exclusive policy.

motive of progress, at least beyond a certain point. It is true, since the close of the last century, especially since the time of Lord William Bentinck, the British administration has been pervaded more or less by the liberal spirit of modern Europe. The statute of 1833 declared, for the first time, that no Indian "shall by reason of his birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment" under the British Government. The administration of Lord William Bentinck, who was Governor-General of India at the time, is memorable for a number of important steps taken by it in Indian interest, one among which was the admission of the Indians to posts of greater responsibility than what they had held till then, since the commencement of British Rule. The next decided step in this direction was taken in 1853, when the institution of an annual competitive examination in England for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service opened it to the Indians. Since then, especially since the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, a certain amount of local self-government has been granted, and quite recently steps have been taken to secure representation, though in a very restricted and obviously tentative form, in the Provincial as well as Imperial Legislative Councils.

Even now, however, the British administration is practically exclusive to an extent which **Present extent of the exclusion.** is seriously detrimental to progress.* The people of India are entirely excluded from the Military and Political departments which are recruited by competition in England to which they are not eligible. The Covenanted Civil Service, or the Imperial

* The liberal spirit of modern civilisation appears just now to be diminishing instead of increasing in intensity, at least as regards its application to peoples outside Europe. The impulse given to liberalism by the democratic struggles in Europe in the beginning of the present century appears lately to have been losing its energy. It is but seldom that members of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy give such free and bold expression to liberal sentiments as men like Macaulay did half a century ago. "Are we to keep these men [Indians] submissive?" urged Macaulay "or do we think we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? or do we mean to awaken ambition and provide it with no legitimate vent? who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the people of India from high office. I have no fear, the path of duty is plain before us, and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, and of national honour." True there are at the present day a few statesmen of the stamp of Macaulay, at least in Europe. Humanity owes a large debt of gratitude to them. But theirs is a cry in the wilderness. It has not for some time past led to any effective action. Forty years of agitation for even such a measure of bare and obvious justice as the holding of the open competition for the Civil Service of India in India as well as in England has not only come to nought, but principles are being laid down, and in part acted upon, which are undisguisedly antagonistic to the liberal spirit of the Charter of 1833, and of the Queen's proclamation of 1858.

Civil Service as it is sometimes called, is open to them. But, the fact of the preliminary competitive examinations being held in England acts as a very serious deterrent in their case. They do not certainly enjoy an equality of opportunity with the British subjects of Her Majesty. So serious and so obvious is their disadvantage, considering their extreme poverty and other circumstances, that Sir Stafford Northcote, who was for sometime Secretary of State for India said: "It seems a mockery to tell them to come and compete in Westminster if they like." The result is, that they are still practically excluded from the higher services the entrance to which lies through competition in England. In 1892, the Imperial Civil Service was composed of 939 members of whom only 21 were Indians.* From a parliamentary return issued in 1892, it appears, that the total amount, at that time, of annual allowances of not less 1,000 rupees for each person, of Europeans,

Indians, for instance, who entered the Public Works Department by passing examinations in India were formerly eligible, at least theoretically, to the highest grades. There was no distinction, at least theoretically, between them and those who entered the department by competition in England. Quite recently, however, the latter have been constituted into an Imperial Service with pay and prospects much higher than those of the former who would form only a Provincial Service.

* Strachey's "India," 1894, p. 58.

whether, resident or not resident in India, was about 170,000,000 rupees (taking payments in sterling at 1s. 1d. per rupee), nearly a fifth of the gross revenue of India. The fact is significant when it is remembered, that the total allowances received by the Indians in the service of their government do not amount to more than a fifth of the total allowances paid to the European servants of the Government.†

That the existence of a government is for the good of the governed is now a well recognised maxim of European politics. The validity of this principle even in the case of the Indian administration has long been admitted, at least since the time of Lord William Bentinck; and the exclusion of the Indians from responsible administration has hitherto been generally justified on the ground of their

† Proceedings of the House of Commons Feb. 1895. The total amount of annual allowances to Europeans, at less than 1,000 rupees for each person, is not known. The late Secretary of State in the course of a debate in the House of Commons said, there were in the civil establishments of the Government 7,991 Europeans, 5,347 Eurasians, and 119,514 natives. It was pertinently asked, however, "what do you pay to each?" The 119,514 "natives" no doubt include the pettiest clerks, and probably even peons at Rs. 7 or 8 a month.

supposed unfitness.* Determination of fitness or unfitness can seldom be strictly impartial when it is left to the judgment of officials who have not much in common with, and are more or less prejudiced against, the parties to be judged, and who are themselves deeply interested in the result of their decision. The ground of unfitness is, however, not heard of so much now-a-days, except in the case of a few comparatively small departments the dark recesses of which have not yet been held up to the light of even such public opinion as there exists in India. The exclusion of the Indians is now usually justified upon the ground of policy. Sir John Strachey, for instance, says :—

“Let us give to the Natives the largest possible share in the administration. In some branches of the service there is almost no limit to the share of public employment which they may properly receive. This is especially true of the Bench, for the performance of the judicial duties of which Natives have shown themselves eminently qualified, and in which the higher offices are equal in importance and dignity and

* The Government has been likened to a “paternal” government looking after the people as a father looks after his children, keeping them off from the exercise of responsible functions of the State lest such exercise should do them any harm. The analogy scarcely holds. The great test of affection—and paternal affection is no exception to the rule—is self-denial. The father gives more to, than he takes from, his children. However, though the analogy does not hold, and is, perhaps, not meant seriously, it undoubtedly assumes the claim of the people to be governed in their own interest.

emolument to almost any of the great offices of the State. Even on the Bench, however, there are important administrative duties for which some degree of English supervision is necessary, nor would it be *politically wise* to place this great department of the government altogether in Native hands. Prejudices of race may be regretted, but they cannot be ignored, and it would be a dangerous experiment to give to native judges too wide a power of control over English Magistrates. Subject to these limitation, I would grudge to the Natives few judicial offices. *But let there be no hypocrisy about our intention to keep in the hands of our own people those executive posts—and there are not very many of them—on which, and on our political and military power our actual hold of the country depends. Our Governors of provinces, the chief officers of our army, our magistrates of districts and their principal executive subordinates ought to be Englishmen under all circumstances that we can now foresee.*" *

"The claim to a larger share of the highest offices" says Sir George Campbell "might be considered in the double aspect of the fitness of the literary native as compared to the European, and the political effect. Again we come to the question, do we desire to prepare the natives for political freedom? And again we are not yet prepared to answer it." †

One of the consequences of the "unshared rule of a close bureaucracy from across the seas" as Sir C. Dilke designates British rule ‡ has been to retard material development, and therefore indirectly, intellectual develop-

Depression of material condition, a consequence of the exclusion.

* "India," 1894, pp 389-390. The italics are ours.

† "The British Empire," p 84.

‡ "Problems of Greater Britain" P. 146. Sir W. Hunter writing in 1880 said: "I believe that it will be impossible to deny them [the Indians] a larger share in the administration. There are departments, conspicuously those of Law and Justice, and Finance, in which the natives will more and more supplant the highly paid imported officials from

ment as well. The British officers, while in active service, have to make large remittances home. While in retirement, large payments have to be made from the Indian revenues for their pensions in Europe. The drain on the resources of India due to these remittances is considerable, and repeated year after year must ultimately tell seriously on her material condition. The process of depletion is slow, but it is none the less sure. It is sometimes contended, that the drain is the price of the peace and tranquillity which India enjoys at present. Undoubtedly, it is so. But, the price is too high for the substantial benefits it secures, and is beyond the means of the people. The foreign element is reducible within much narrower limits than at present, and with it the drain it necessitates, without any serious detriment to Indian interests. But even if it were not, it would be better for the Indians if their Government

England. There are other departments, such as the Medical, the Customs, the Telegraph, and the Post Office, in which the working establishments now consist of natives of India, and for which the superintending staff will in a constantly increasing degree be also recruited from them." ("England's Works in India" Madras edition, pp 118-119). The course of events within the last fifteen years has not justified Sir William Hunter's belief.

were to conform its standard of "civilised" administration to their means.

What Sir George Cornwall Lewis wrote half a century ago holds good even at the present day; and he was not, it should be observed, a sentimentalist, or mere theorist, but a practical politician who had occupied high and responsible offices of the State: "It is lamentable to think how little good has hitherto resulted to them [the people of India] from the acts of a government which has of late years been, perhaps, the most benevolent which ever existed in any country."*

Tranquillity is only a subordinate condition of progress which, in the absence of other Alleged indications of material prosperity—Expansion of trade. and more important conditions, can do but little good; and one of the most important antecedents of intellectual progress, especially on modern methods, is material progress. The importance of the subject demands our earnest attention.†

* "On the government of Dependencies" by Sir G. Cornwall Lewis (originally published in 1841). London, 1891, p. 265.

† The subject has been further treated of in Ch. V. of this volume. See also Introduction to Vol. I, and Book IV.

The great expansion of the trade of India in recent years is pointed to as irrefragable evidence of equivalent material development. The expansion when analysed is found to consist principally in the exports of food grains and in the imports of cotton and iron manufactures. With regard to the former, the production of land, acre for acre, has not increased; if anything, it has decreased.* Scientific agriculture has as yet made no progress. Its adoption is beyond the means of the people. The food grains that are exported are supposed to represent the surplus left after meeting the requirements of the country. "It may, however, be alleged with some truth, that if the whole population ate as much as they could, this surplus would not exist. The grain exports of India represent many hungry stomachs in India.....If all the poorer classes in India ate two full meals every day, the surplus for export would be much less than at present. That surplus only proves that the yearly supply of food in India is greater than the effec-

* "Wheat-land in the North-Western Provinces which now gives only 840 lbs. an acre, yielded 1140 lbs in the time of Akbar.....The average return of food grains in India shows about 700 lbs per acre; in England wheat averages over 1700 lbs." Hunter "England's Work in India," Madras Edition, p. 88.

tive demand for it." * It is true, a good deal of land, which had either never been cultivated before or had run to waste during the troublous times consequent upon the disruption of the Moghul Empire, has recently been brought under cultivation. But the additional land thus cultivated is hardly sufficient to meet the demand of the additional population. Besides, already, "the clearing and cultivation of the jungles have been carried to such an excess in some parts of India as to seriously alter the climate. For forests, and the undergrowth which they foster, not only husband the rainfall, but they appear to

* Sir W. Hunter "England's work in India," pp. 75-76. A speaker in the course of a debate in the House of Commons last year observed :

"In the Colonies and in European countries there was an excess of imports over exports. In the United Kingdom for the past ten years--1883 to 1892--the excess had been 32 per cent., in Norway it was 42 per cent., Sweden 24 per cent., Denmark 40 per cent., Holland 22 per cent., France 20 per cent., Switzerland 28 per cent., Spain 9 per cent., Belgium 7 per cent., and so on. Anyone with common sense would of course admit that if a quantity of goods worth a certain amount of money were sent out an additional profit is expected in return. If not, there could not be any commerce; but a man who only received in return 20 of the 100 sent out would soon go into the bankruptcy court. . . . On the average of 10 years (1883 to 1892) India's excesses of exports every year, with compound interest, would amount to enormous sums lost by her. Could any country in the world, England not excepted, stand such a drain without destruction? They were often told they ought to be thankful, and they were thankful, for the loans made to them for public works; but if they were left to themselves to enjoy what they produced

attract it." "The pasture grounds of the villages have also, to a large extent, been brought under the plough and the cattle in many districts have degenerated from insufficient food. The same number of oxen can no longer put the same amount of work into the soil."*

The expansion of the import trade in cotton and iron manufactures can hardly be considered a gain to India, considering that they have displaced the indigenous cotton and iron manufactures without giving rise to any other manufactures to compensate for the loss. During the ten years 1883 to 1892, the exports of India averaged about 770,000,000 rupees per year; the annual average of imports, on the other hand, amounted, in round num-

with a reasonable price for British Rule, if they had to develop their own resources, they would not require any such loans, with the interest to be paid on them, which added to the drain on the country. Those loans were only a fraction of what was taken away from the country. India had lost thousands of millions in principal and interest, and was asked to be thankful for the loan of a couple of hundreds of millions. The bulk of the British Indian subjects were like hewers of wood and drawers of water to the British and foreign Indian capitalists. The seeming prosperity of British India was entirely owing to the amount of foreign capital. In Bombay alone, which was considered to be a rich place, there were at least £10,000,000 of capital circulating belonging to foreign Europeans and Indians from native States. If all such foreign capital were separated there would be very little wealth in British India." Dadabhai Naoroji, Proceedings of the House of Commons, August 14th 1894.

* Hunter *op cit* pp. 65-66.

bers, to 940,000,000 rupees. The result of this annual trade deficit of about 170,000,000 rupees is that a "large part of the increased production is not retained by the Indian peasant."*

It is true, the last census returns show a small increase of population. But, it should be observed, that in a country like India, where marriage is almost universal,† where multiplication far from being kept under prudential restraint is, on the contrary, considered by the greater portion of the people a sacred duty, and where easy climatic conditions render subsistence upon little food possible at least up to a certain point, the growth of population is by no means a good test of national prosperity. "Looking at the prevalence of marriage" says Mr. Baines, late Census Commissioner for India "it is clear that more than the existence of a

* Sir George Campbell "The British Empire" p. 70.
 † "Of women in India between 15 and 25 years old, 87 per cent. are married; but in Europe the highest proportion, to the west of the Leith, is in France, where it is only 22. In the remaining period, from 25 to 40, the ratio of wives in India falls to 81 per cent., whereas in the West, it advances to about 70." The Census of India, 1891, General Report, p. 60.

few millions of widows more or less, is required to account for the comparatively slow growth of the population under the impetus of so enormous a number of births. The clue is to be found in the accompanying high mortality. The birth rate is, indeed, very far above that of any European country, if we except Russia, and reaches nearly 48 per mille on the whole country. But the death rate is equally abnormal, even if we omit the more frequent occurrence of famine and epidemic disease in India, and may be taken to reach, on an average, 41 per mille." *

Growth comparatively small.

The increase is comparatively small, as will be seen from the following table :

Country	Annual Increase per cent.	Country.	Annual Increase per cent.
1. New South Wales...	5.10	15. Germany ...	1.07
2. Queensland ...	4.39	16. Canada ...	1.07
3. Victoria ...	3.22	17. Greece ...	1.05
4. United States ...	2.48	18. Belgium ...	0.99
5. Saxony ...	2.00	19. Denmark ...	0.99
6. New Zealand ...	1.70	20. India ...	0.93
7. Algeria ...	1.56	21. Austria ...	0.76
8. South Australia ...	1.40	22. Switzerland ...	0.64
9. England and Wales ...	1.28	23. Bavaria ...	0.65
10. Egypt ...	1.25	24. Italy ...	0.62
11. Holland ...	1.18	25. Norway ...	0.60
12. Prussia ...	1.15	26. Spain ...	0.55
13. Portugal ...	1.14	27. Sweden ...	0.50
14. Hungary ...	1.08	28. France ...	0.06

* "Census of India, 1891, General Report, p. 62.

A part of the increase shown by the last census is **Partly due to,im-
proved enumera-
tion.** due to improved enumeration. The total increase in Bengal is 7·3 per cent. "But," observes the Census Superintendent, "if we exclude that part of it due to more accurate enumeration, it probably does not exceed 6 per cent., and may be less."* The Census Superintendent of the Punjab says, "that a certain unknown proportion of the increase recorded is due to better enumeration."† Commenting upon the increase, the Census Commissioner for India observes: "It is indeed an open question whether the actual rate is not a little below this (9·3 per mille.) There are persons especially amongst the forest tribes, who now appear for the first time in the return, though, no doubt they should have been in that of 10 years back also."‡

The increase has mainly been in outlying parts of the **Growth mainly
in outlying parts
of the country.** country where the pressure of population is not felt as yet.

"With a few exceptions" observes the Census Commissioner, "such as the groups with a density of from 10 to 33 per cent. above

* "Census of India, 1891" Vol. III.

† "Census of India, 1891," Vol. XIX.

‡ "Census of India, 1891, General Report" p. 73.

the general mean, which contain several of the famine districts of Madras where the increase has been abnormal, the rate of increase varies with remarkable regularity inversely as the specific population. The most thinly-peopled tracts, such as those of Sindh, Lower Burma and the Assam Hills, show a rate nearly double the mean. This diminishes to about one and a half times that rate as the North-West and Central Province hills, the Western plains of the Punjab, and the Southern portion of the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, come on to the list: and here it remains, until the mean density is nearly reached. Just above that point, there is a drop, caused by the preponderance of the Berar districts with a few of those in the South of the North West Provinces. The fall continues through the next group, where the non-famine districts of Bombay are strongly represented. Then follows the rise consequent on the rebound from scarcity in Madras. The decline then continues, and takes a sudden drop again where the average density is 434, that of the water-logged tract of the North-West Provinces, where there has been a slight recession of the population."*

Taxation in India judged by the amount it realises is

Taxation in India, why heavy. certainly not heavy; yet, the people of India are generally considered, even by high English officials, to have been taxed nearly to the utmost extent of their resources.† The taxation would

* Census of India, 1891, General Report p. 75.

† The contrary is sometimes asserted by people who ought to know better. But "all who are acquainted with Indian finance know" as Sir Auckland Colvin says "that the burden of taxation is in danger of be-

not have been such a drain upon their resources, and would not have been felt so heavy, had not such a large part of the revenue, the entire amount raised from those two objectionable sources—salt and opium—gone clean out of the country without any equivalent return. Had the revenue been spent in the country, the entire community, especially the industrial classes, would have been benefited in some way or another; and increased prosperity would have rendered enhanced taxation less burdensome and less exhausting.

It speaks well of the vitality of the civilisation of the Hindus, that they have stood so well as they have the domination of such an excessively industrial and exploiting community as the British. They have not become extinct, nor have they bordered upon extinction like savage races in a somewhat similar situation. It is true, in former times, hordes of barbarians, like those of Central Asia and Central Europe occasionally committed serious

coming excessive, and that the further margin of resource to which taxation can be applied is incredibly small, both in itself, and from pressure of political considerations." (Letter in the *Times* in reply to a speech delivered by Mr. Fowler on January 28th at the Northbrook Indian Club).

Lord Mayo said: "A feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction exists among every class, both European and Native, on account of the constant increase of taxation which has for years been going on. . . . My belief is that the continuance of that feeling is a political danger, the magnitude of which can hardly be over-estimated."

depredations. But the depletion of weaker peoples accomplished by the nations of modern Europe is none the less serious, because it is effected more slowly and with civilised weapons. These weapons are none the less dangerous because they are usually not seen, and are wielded none the less effectively, because they are wielded by civilised and knowing peoples pleading the inexorable necessity of the sacrifice of the weaker peoples for the cosmic progress of the stronger.

There are already signs of exhaustion. Whatever test is applied, whether it be the test of **Signs of material depression.** taxable income,* of trade, wage-rate,†

* Mr. S. Smith M. P. in moving for a full inquiry into the finances of India said (August, 1894):

"Only one man in 700 comes within the category of £50 a year. I will make a further statement. The right hon. gentleman is well aware that in this country one penny in the income tax yields £2,000,000 sterling. In India it yields considerably less than £200,000. India contains 220,000,000 of people under British rule. These people yield on the income tax less than one-tenth of what 38,000,000, yield in the United Kingdom. The meaning of that is that every million of the people in India yield just one-sixtieth of what a similar number yield in this country. If this is not conclusive of the poverty of the people, nothing will satisfy the most exacting mind. It is indeed difficult to realise the small amount of wealth that there is in India."

† Wages have risen in some places, but very slightly, certainly not in proportion to the rise in the prices of the staple food grain, see Book V, ch. V.

death-rate,* or increase of population, it will be seen that the material condition of the people of India is highly depressed at present; and the existing conditions leave but little room to hope for its prospective improvement. The British Government is no doubt very anxious to secure India against foreign encroachment, and the old natural frontiers have in recent years

* The following figures show the death-rate between 1880 and 1891: 1880, 20·98; 1881, 24·05; 1882, 23·93; 1883, 23·17; 1884, 26·44; 1885, 26·12; 1886, 25·34; 1887, 28·35; 1888, 25·74; 1889, 27·98; 1890, 29·99; 1891, 28·09. This increase is all the more significant, as during the decade 1883 to 1892, there were no cases of widespread failure of crops. The death-rates in all the provinces were higher—and in the great majority of cases considerably higher—in 1894 than in the previous year, as will be seen from the following statement:—

				1894.	1893.
North-Western Provinces	...	...	...	42·51	24·10
Central Provinces	...	...	...	37·22	27·70
Punjab	...	...	...	36·52	28·18
Bengal	...	...	...	34·88	28·21
Bombay	...	...	...	36·26	27·20
Assam	...	...	...	30·69	30·28
Madras	...	...	...	20·0	19·3

It is true, the figures are not equally reliable for the different parts of India. But they may be supposed to represent the truth approximately, or else they would not be published by the Government.

The Commissioners of the Calcutta Municipality observe in their last annual report:

"The health officer attributes the increased mortality from fevers in Calcutta almost entirely to the defective state of the sewerage. But it is difficult to accept this explanation unreservedly as it will be observed, on a reference to the annual reports of the sanitary commissioner for Bengal, that there has also been a corresponding rise in the death-rate from

been greatly extended. But all such extension adds to the exhausting drain from India. The good is prospective and problematical, the evil is present and certain. It is hardly any advantage to a man to have the most effective means for securing his property against possible depredation, if it means the certain diminution of the property to an amount which it is not worth securing even against more imminent danger.

The British administration is no doubt pervaded by the humane impulses of a civilised government. But, the measures taken by it to alleviate misery or promote happiness have somewhat the effect, so pithily expressed by a Bengali poet of "sprinkling water on the top of a tree while it is being cut away at the root."

The exclusive policy of British Rule has been no
 Moral effect of less unfavourable to progress morally
 the exclusive policy. than it has been economically.
 Its tendency has been to add to the enervating
 influence of a tropical climate and foster mental passivi-

fevers in other parts of Bengal during the same period, and that being so, it is only reasonable that the increased mortality is in part to be attributed to some other cause of a general character, applicable alike to Calcutta and the country around rather than to any local peculiarities."

ty. "The nation as a whole, and every individual composing it, are without any potential voice in their own destiny. They exercise no will in respect to their collective interests. All is decided for them by a will not their own, which it is legally a crime for them to disobey. What sort of human beings can be formed under such a regimen? What developmet can either their thinking or their active faculties attain under it?

* * * A person must have a very unusual taste for intellectual exercise in and for itself, who will put himself to the trouble of thought when it is to have no outward effect, or qualify himself for functions which he has no chance of being allowed to exercise. * * * * *

The public at large remain without information and without interest on all the greater matters of practice; or if they have any knowledge of them, it is but a *dilettante* knowledge, like that which the people have of the mechanical arts who have never handled a tool. Nor is it only in their intelligence that they suffer. Their moral capacities are equally stunted * * * *

Leaving things to the Government, like leaving them to Providence, is synonymous with caring nothing about them, and accepting their results when disagreeable, as visitations of nature. * * It is an inherent

condition of human affairs, that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interests of others, can make it safe or salutary to tie up their hands. Still more obviously true it is, that by their own hands only can any positive and durable improvement of their circumstances in life be worked out." *

We have nothing to add to these forcible words of one of the greatest thinkers of modern Europe to show their application to the case of the Indians. Some of the new conditions introduced by British Rule are as unmistakably favourable to progress as there are others antagonistic to it. The more notable among the former are the diffusion of Western education and of the doctrine of equality along with it, and the tranquillity which pervades the length and breadth of India. Among the adverse conditions we have noted the transitional state through which Hindu society is passing at present, the present anomalous position of English among the literary languages of India; the excessive poverty of the Hindus as compared with the people with whom.

* "Considerations on Representative Government" by John Stuart Mill, Ch. III.

they have to compete ; the great discordance between the Hindu and the English civilisations, which has given rise to want of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled ; and the exclusive policy of British Rule. So long as the influence of the unfavourable conditions is not minimised, so long sustained intellectual efforts of a very high order must be very rare.

The present depressed state of the Indian mind—a state which is always unfavourable to sound intellectual development—may be realised by reversing the existing conditions.

“ Let us conceive the leading European nations to be stationary, while the Black and Yellow Belt, including China, Malaysia, India Central Africa, and Tropical America is all teeming with life, developed by industrial enterprise, fairly well administered by native governments and owning the better part of the carrying trade of the world. Can any one suppose that, in such a condition of political society, the habitual temper of mind in Europe would not be profoundly changed? Depression, hopelessness, a disregard of invention and improvement would replace the sanguine confidence of races that at present are always panting for new worlds to conquer. Here and there, it may be, the adventurers would profit by the tradition of old supremacy to get their services accepted by the new nations, but as a rule there would be no outlet for energy, no future for statesmanship. The despondency of the English people, when their dream of conquest in France was dissipated, was attended with a complete decay of thought, with civil war, and with a

standing still, or perhaps a decline of population, and to a less degree of wealth. The discovery of the New World, the resurrection of old literature, the trumpet of the reformation scarcely quickened the national pulse with real life till the reign of Elizabeth. Then, however there was revival because there were possibilities of gold-en conquest in America, speculative treasures in the reanimate learning of Greece, and a new faith that seemed to thrust aside the curtain drawn by priests, and to open heaven. But it is conceivable that our later world may find itself deprived of all that it valued on earth, of the pag-antry of subject provinces and the reality of commerce, while it has neither a disinterested literature to amuse it, nor a vitalised religion to give it spiritual strength."*

* C. H. Pearson, "National life and Character," 1893, pp. 130-131.

Appendix A.

I am indebted to Kaviraj Bijyaratna Sen Kavirajan of Kumartuli, Calcutta, for the following information about the present condition of the study and practice of the Hindu system of medicine in a few districts of Bengal (see Chapter IV. p. 108) :

In Calcutta and its suburbs there are some 125 physicians practising the Hindu system. The number in Dacca is about 100, and in the districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum and Midnapur, about 300. The physicians all spend a part of their time in teaching. The number of pupils receiving instruction in the Hindu system of medicine in the localities just mentioned has been estimated at about 3,150.

Appendix B.

EXTRACT FROM THE EVIDENCE OF MR. A.O. HUME, C.B.
BEFORE THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION—(SEE
CHAPTER V. P. 143).

"At the close of December, 1857, under Lord Canning's direct orders, I raised a local force of 500 infantry, 350 cavalry, and five guns (all natives, of course) who thenceforth were continually employed, and so comported themselves as to obtain on two occasions, the battles of Anantram and Harchandpoor, the honour of an entire Gazette to themselves. During the first few months of the year I had the assistance of Colonel (then Lieutenant) Sherriff, and later of Lieutenant Laughlan Forbes, two gallant young officers to whom our great successes, and considering the circumstances they were really great, were due. But I had charge of the whole force, was with them throughout, and was in a better position than even most military men to judge what natives are capable of in the way of pluck and dash. For we were wholly isolated, we were always opposed to great odds, and we had no European troops with us except when Colonel Riddel's column moved down about the time of the taking of Calpee, within seventy miles of us. And it was not only of mere pluck that I had experience but of administrative capacity. In June 1857, after the wing of the 9th Native Infantry had

mutinied, the Gwalior authorities being afraid of the first Gwalior Grenadiers, to get rid of them, sent them over to garrison Etawah. There they mutinied also, and I was obliged to leave the station with the officers of that regiment. But let me note, before proceeding further, that during the mutiny of the 9th N. I. my townspeople stood by us to a man.

My life was saved the night of the mutiny when, after getting off the rest of the people of the station, I had remained behind to see if anything could be done, by two natives, who passed me safely through two successive parties of sepoy, who were especially on the look-out to shoot me, they having the idea in those days that they could not safely make off with the treasure without first killing the District Officer. It was a bright moonlight night, my only disguise was a large chudder, over a native pagree—native shoes over dark stockings and my trousers pulled up out of sight. I had no particular claim on these men—one, Gysdeen, was a Chuprassi, one was a townsman. Had I been detected, they, as well as myself, would certainly have been shot and this they perfectly knew, yet they walked with me one on either side, chatting together, through the sepoy, who luckily paid no particular attention to us and answered unconcernedly a question as to whether it was known what had become of the Collector (myself) by the remark, that he was said to have gone into the city to try and rouse the townsmen. I don't think that I am more of a coward than most of my countrymen, but at that critical moment I could not for the life of me have answered in that cheery unconcerned manner.

The sepoy of the 9th Native Infantry, having mostly gone off to Delhi, with the little treasure that remained (the bulk of it I had previously sent safely into Agra, by the aid of my friend Raja—then Kour—Lutchman Singh and Kour Zor Singh of the Chohan House of Pertabnere), order was speedily re-established. I should say, however, that several native officers of the 9th Native Infantry and about twenty sepoy had remained faithful under a good old Ahir (note the caste) Soubadar, and were with and protecting the whole body of the fugitives down at the Jumna Ghat at the time of my own fortunate escape.

On the restoration of order and the advent of the first Gwalior Grenadiers, I found myself with some thirty women and children. All my

native friends told me (they were many of them Brahmins and so warmed themselves into the confidence of some amongst the sepoy) that the Grenadiers would certainly soon mutiny, and were only waiting for the word from the rest of the Contingent at Gwalior, to do so. So I determined to send the women and children at once into Agra. By that time things were looking very black, for tidings of disaster on disaster "followed fast and followed faster," till even our most sincere well-wishers believed that our Raj was at an end. But even at that time, though the intervening country was up, and outside my own district villages, where everywhere burning and anarchy prevailed, Rajah Lutchman Singh and our mutual friends, Kours Zor Singh and Anup Singh, volunteered with their own people to escort our ladies and children into Agra. Kour Zor Singh was at first, dead against it; he begged and prayed me not to send them to Agra (where he conceived that sooner or later, as at other places, all would be massacred), but to join them myself and let him escort us all through Central India, to the chiefs of every State in which he was in one way or another related or connected, safely to the sea. But when he saw that my mind was made up, he fell in with the scheme, and he and his brothers, Anup Singh, and Lutchman Singh personally safely escorted the ladies (this was in June) into Agra, and there is no lady living of this party but will testify to the chivalrous courtesy and watchful care with which these noble gentlemen fulfilled their dangerous and self-imposed task. • • •

Then came the battle of the 5th of July, and it was some little time before anything like order was re-established in Agra. But throughout this time communications were reaching me from my district begging me to make arrangements for its proper administration. Then I devised and Government sanctioned this scheme. The district comprised five very large Tahsils. I constituted each a Soobahship, and appointed one native gentleman, Kour Zor Singh (Chohan Rajpoot) for Etawah; Rajah (then Row) Juswunt Row (Brahmin) for Bhurtenan; Lulla Laik Singh (Senghur Rajpoot) for Bidhona; Chowdhree Ganga Pershad (Kayat) for Puhpoondh; and the Tahsildar of Oreya, an elderly Bania of Muttra, for Dullelnugger as Soobah to each, making them suitable allowances to keep up the necessary armed retainers and establishments—all Government officials (of course many had fled) who had thus far remained.

at their posts being included in these latter. We had here men of very different castes—Brahmin, Rajpoot, Kayat, Bania, yet each and all rose to the emergency, and during the next troublous five months, in the very centre of the outbreak, maintained order throughout their jurisdictions, and so maintained it that in after times no man ever complained of any injustice, any abuse of power—no man had ever anything but good words to speak of their administration. They kept me informed weekly of all that passed, they kept up for us communication with Cawnpore. Through them we got the first news of Neil's arrival, and more than all, directly he did arrive, they collected 700 camels, and under their own men, the Cawnpore district being "up" like the whole of the rest of the Doab except Etawah, escorted these to Cawnpore, and thus rendered an immediate advance on Lucknow possible, which, but for this, must have been much delayed. Moreover, whilst all over the country Government revenue was being realized by all kinds of pretenders, dacoit leaders and the like, not a rupee was thus made away with. My orders were that every man should retain his revenue until I returned and then to pay it to me, and these orders were carried out to the letter.

I do not know how administrative capacity could have been better demonstrated than it was by these five gentlemen. I doubt if any Englishman living could have administered one of those Soobahships at that time as cleverly and satisfactorily as every one of these native gentlemen did, and I am quite sure that no Englishman could have proved himself more heroically faithful to the trust reposed in him than did the Tahsildar of Oreya. He was only a Bania; an elderly man, very stout and good tempered, the last man from whom heroism was to be expected, and yet he gave up his life and underwent torture rather than betray his trust. The facts are these. When the Jbansi Brigade of mutineers were known to be on their way towards Oreya, *en route* I believe to Delhi, the Tahsildar by night removed in small parcels his records and treasure to the forts of certain loyal zemindars whom he could trust in the north of the Pergunnah. Only one or two of his men on whom he could rely were in the secret. The rest of the establishment got to know that the things were gone, but they did not know where they were concealed. It was a small matter, but no Englishman could have managed this much. He reported this to me. At the same time

as this Brigade was a powerful military force, against which our people with only matchlock men could do nothing, I ordered him and officers on the line of march, in order to prevent the looting of bazars and murder of villagers, &c, to receive it civilly, furnish the required supplies and keep matters as straight as possible. The Tahsildar remained at his post and did what was necessary. All would have gone well had not some rascal betrayed to the mutineers the fact that the Tahsildar had hid away his treasure and records. They had taken it for granted that like all other Tahsils at that time, it had long since been looted and had made no inquiries, and the Tahsildar passed as being now Soobah on the part of the Maharaja of Gwalior, whose territory marched with the greater part of the Tahsil. When they learnt the truth they seized him and called upon him to tell them where the treasure had been hid. He refused to tell them, making of course all kinds of excuses. Then they threatened to hang him, and when he still remained firm even prepared to do so; but he was a kindly looking old man, and even they, mutineers as they were, seemed to dislike the job, and so they tied him on to one of their brass guns, telling him they would let him go if he chose to tell them. It was in July I think, possibly August. He would not tell and he was dragged on the gun the whole distance to Etawah. When he arrived there, he was insensible. By the intercession of people in Etawah he was released there and carried to his home at Muttra, where he died. He was only a fat old Bania, like thousands of others whom most Englishmen considered the incarnation of selfish cowardice, but he knew how to suffer and be strong and die rather than be faithless to his salt.

I have mentioned already my dear old friend Rajah Lutchman Singh, and I should like to say something more of him. The Commission examined him at Allahabad I think, but none of them probably guessed what a daring and gallant servant of the State that modest little elderly gentleman had shown himself in more stirring times. He is a Rathore Rujput, a distant cousin of the Raja of Awa, and born of parents by no means overburdened with worldly possessions, he entered the office of the Board of Revenue in 1854, or thereabouts, as Translator. Poor Christian there became acquainted with him, and when he took charge of the Etawah district appointed him to a Tahsildarship, in which I

found him when in January, 1856, I relieved Christian. There is an idea that Indians are no riders; that they are not active. Now Agra is seventy miles from Etawah, Lutchman Singh's wife and children were in Agra (respectable officials in those days never took their families with them on service), and with my permission, Kour (as he then was) Lutchman Singh used on the Saturday afternoons to ride into Agra, spend the day there, and on the Monday morning ride back again to his Tahsil, where I always found him fresh and at work by 10 a. m. I don't suppose we have a covenanted Assistant or Joint Magistrate, now-a-days at any rate, who could do as much. Later a specially good Tahsildar being wanted somewhere in the Jhansi Division, he was, much to my regret, transferred thither. Just before the mutiny broke out, he obtained leave in order to visit his family. His only road lay through Etawah, and he halted there to see me. Then came the bad news, and instead of going on he determined to stay with me (he was well known to and greatly respected by the people of Etawah) and endeavoured to assist me. There through all our troubles, he remained, always hopeful, always cheerful, and ready for anything, until I sent him along with Zor Singh in charge of the ladies to Agra.

Of his services in the Civil department to me as regards my Etawah arrangements and the Government generally, during the rest of the year 1857, I need not speak, but one point I must dwell upon. Towards the close of September, and in the beginning of October, Agra was threatened by a large military force from the South; they came within nine or ten miles of Agra, and were encamped just on the other side of Kuarly Nandi.

That the force was very large and had many guns was known, but Government could not get particulars. In the Gwalior arsenal were mortars, shells, and all requisites enough to knock the old fort of Agra about our ears in half an hour. Had this force got any of this war material? What guns had they really got? Had any part of the contingent joined them? Government sent out spies in vain; that some had been promptly hung, and that the others had either funked it and abstained from going or been disposed of was known, but this was all. At this juncture Lutchman Singh volunteered to get the required information. The danger of the attempt was extraordinary; he was a native of Agra, known by sight to every one in the place, known too as a

faithful Government servant. About 3,000 of the Agra budmashes were in the rebel camp; if one of them detected him, his immediate death was certain. Yet he went, disguised as a fakir, stayed there two or three days and brought back the fullest and most accurate information—information which, but for the marvellous misunderstanding between the Civil and Military authorities, would have rendered impossible the great surprise, a few days later of the 10th of October, of which all that needs now be said is that "All's well that end well." Now I know of no pluckier exploit than this of Lutchman Singh's; no not in those fighting times when plucky deeds were as plentiful as blackberries on a Devonshire hedge.

When in December I was allowed to return to Etawah he accompanied me, and was with me throughout as one of my righthand men and all I can say is that a more *preux chevalier* in the field, or a bolder and yet wiser adviser in Council, never breathed. * * *

When the news of the destruction of the Tahsil [Shamli] and the massacre of its defenders reached Muzaffernagger, the head quarters of the district, the Collector, a good little gentleman, but of unwarlike tendencies, was greatly troubled, and in the dusk of the evening, getting into his buggy, he quietly started down the road to Meerut. But his servants guessing what was happening, ran at once to the Serishtadar and Tahsildar, and these being both strong men, and knowing well that if the news of the flight of the Collector got abroad, the budmashes would have the city on fire in a dozen places before dawn, and then all would be anarchy, pursued him on horseback, brought him back, took care he made no further attempt to escape, issued an encouraging proclamation in his name, posted off a special messenger to the Collector of Saharunpur, explaining the circumstances, and begging that some competent officer might be sent to take charge of the district, and till this officer arrived carried on the administration with the utmost vigour. When that officer came, the non-fighting Collector was safely guided to Meerut, whence with the earliest convoy he found his way down country, sailed for England, and India knew him no more.

So it is not always the native gentleman who runs away or shows incapacity in moments of danger for high executive office and it is not always the English gentleman, even when like the officer I have referred to he comes of a blue-blooded stock, who is able to rise to the occasion."

APPENDIX C—EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.

TABLE I.

RESULT OF EXAMINATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA, FOR ENTRANCE,
(MATRICULATION) DEGREES, &c.

YEAR.	ENTRANCE.		FIRST ARTS EXAMINATION.		B. A.		HONOURS IN ARTS AND M.A.		LAW		MEDICINE.		CIVIL ENGINEERING	
	Candi- dates.	Passed	Candi- dates.	Passed	Candi- dates.	Passed	Candi- dates.	Passed	Candi- dates.	Passed	Candi- dates.	Passed	Candi- dates.	Passed
	CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.													
1867-68	1,507	814	388	188	212	99	25	15	82	54	64	21	6	6
1877-78	2,720	1,166	791	253	228	68	62	28	62	30	227	118	34	11
1887-88	4,305	1,907	1,241	481	813	323	82	43	356	238	85	41	16	9

Year	Entra. Exam.		F. A. Exam.		B. A.		M. A.		Law		Medicine		C. Engineering	
	Candi- dates	Passed	Candi- dates	Passed	Candi- dates	Passed	Candi- dates	Passed	Candi- dates	Passed	Candi- dates	Passed	Candi- dates	Passed
	MADRAS UNIVERSITY.													
1867-8	1,069	338	350	117	24	14	—	—	14	10	1	1	—	—
1877-87	2,495	807	516	191	157	52	4	—	26	11	9	8	4	2
1887-88	6,589	1,963	1745	516	831	437	12	4	123	40	125	46	6	4
	BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.													
1867-68	539	163	69	21	40	24	12	6	6	3	9	3	7	—
1877-78	1,049	217	150	61	87	30	6	3	14	4	86	41	45	28
1887-88	3,012	823	519	123	407	176	7	3	63	26	213	106	50	27
	ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY.													
1891-92	2003	747	529	161	223	112	20	15	37	14	—	—	377	150
	PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.													
1891-92	1161	619	214	109	45	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE N. •
Expansion of the different grades of education in India between 1886 and 1892.

GRADE.	1885-86.		1891-92.		Percentage Distribution.				
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.		Girls.		
					1885-86.	1891-92.	1885-86.	1891-92.	
Collegiate {	Arts ...	8,119	8	12,940	45
	Professional ...	2,384	27	3,261	31
High ...	35,290	375	57,462	926	1	2	...	...
Middle ...	109,993	4,348	125,014	6,105	4	4	2	2	
Upper Primary ...	321,052	15,641	343,734	19,920	12	11	6	6	
Lower Primary {	(a) Reading ...	1,567,944	132,023	1,819,889	178,477	57	60	57	58
	(b) Not Reading...	691,804	77,444	658,758	100,616	25	22	34	32
Technical...	2,269	234	16,125	461	...	...	...	...
Normal ...	4,289	660	4,327	819	...	...	...	...
TOTAL...	2,749,144	230,760	3,041,510	307,400					

TABLE III.
Progress of education in India between 1855 and 1892.

PROVINCE.	Earliest Year.			1870-71.		1881-82.		1891-92.	
	Year.	Institu- tions.	Pupils.	Institu- tions	Pupils.	Institu- tions.	Pupils.	Institu- tions.	Pupils.
Madras	1856-7	13,766	204,856	16,749	263,685	18,136	441,659	23,204	693,985
Bombay	1855-6	2,875	106,040	6,134	265,793	9,664	437,746	12,272	634,438
Bengal	1854-5	25,378	527,731	41,430	878,401	59,892	1,099,767	67,824	1,531,965
Assam	1854-5					1,950	56,483	2,800	83,638
North-West Provinces..	1854-5	3,920	52,952	10,174	246,424	13,595	292,069	10,862	282,570
Punjab	1856-7	5,621	44,291	16,125	139,039	8,423	195,409	9,408	260,227
Central Provinces ...	1862-3	1,169	21,353	1,949	83,999	1,430	81,212	1,988	117,483
Berar	1866-7	247	8,644	454	16,441	915	35,840	1,322	51,483

TABLE IV. RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS FOR THE FIVE YEARS 1886-87—1890-91.*

	Universities,		
	Calcutta.	Madras.	Bombay.
A.—Examined for Matriculation †...	100'00	100'00	100'00
{ Failed	52'26	73'13	74'59
{ Passed	47'74	26'87	25'41
Examined for Degree in Arts	20'59	10'37	12'87
" " Law	7'06	1'80	2'44
" " Medicine	2'30	1'53	6'66
" " Civil Engineering	0'55	0'16	2'97
Total examined for Degrees	30'50	13'85	24'94
{ Passed	13'97	6'80	11'78
{ Failed	16'53	7'05	13'16
Total not appearing for Degrees	17'24	13'02	0'47
B.—Passed the Matriculation	100'00	100'00	100'00
Examined for Degree in Arts	43'13	38'61	50'66
" " Law	14'79	6'68	9'62
" " Medicine	4'83	5'64	26'21
" " Civil Engineering	1'13	0'61	11'67
Total Examined for Degree	63'90	51'54	98'16
{ Passed	29'25	25'32	46'35
{ Failed	34'65	26'22	51'81
Total not appearing for Degrees	36'10	48'46	1'84

* The Census of India, General Report, p. 225.

† The actual figures are, Calcutta, 21,238; Madras, 34,393; and Bombay, 14,774.

END OF VOLUME III.



A
HISTORY
OF
HINDU CIVILISATION
DURING BRITISH RULE

BY
PRAMATHA NATHA BOSE, B.SC. (*Lond.*) F.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c
Vols. I & II.

Some Press Notices.

A very interesting and instructive work written with considerable knowledge, and in a liberal and impartial spirit. The author, as a Hindu has practical acquaintance with Indian manners and customs such as could hardly be acquired by a foreigner, and in collecting his information he has drawn equally from native and foreign sources. * * He is careful about his facts, sober and sensible in his judgments, and simple, clear, and direct in his modes of expression.—THE TIMES, *October 4th, 1894.*

These two volumes contain useful and accurate information packed into a moderate compass.—THE SATURDAY REVIEW, *November 3rd 1894.*

The author is a very learned and deeply read man. * * That he writes English perfectly and that he knows his subject well go without saying.—THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, *April 1895.*

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The author has laboured diligently to present an adequate picture of the varied conditions of his extensive subject. He has the great

advantage of treating the matters with inside knowledge, and his scientific training has materially helped to give value to his exposition. He writes with simplicity and clearness. His work can not fail to be extremely serviceable to all who wish to understand the conditions of Indian life, and specially to English students of the great problems of modern Indian development.—INDIA, *April 1895.*

This work raises many questions of intense interest for us, and as the expression of the opinions and views of a highly educated Hindu is of special importance we look forward with pleasure to the remaining promised volumes.—*The Westminster Review, May 1895*

"J'aime mieux remercier M. Bose de tout ce qu'il a réuni d'informations utiles dans ces deux volumes. J'ai déjà signalé, celles qu'il a données dans son premier livre sur les mouvements religieux contemporains. On lira de même avec profit ce qu'il dit dans le deuxième sur les mariages précoces, sur les abus du koulinisme, sur l'abolition du suicide des veuves, sur les aliments défendus, sur l'interdiction, des voyages outre-mer et dans le troisième livre sur la position faite faire la femme, sur la famille Hindoue, sur les jeux et divertissements, sur l'alimentation, le mobilier et le costume, Meilleurs encore son les chapitres du quatrième livre sur l'agriculture, sur les métiers et les arts industriels, sur la grande industrie, sur l'industrie minière.

A. BARTH IN *REVUE Critique* 2-9 *September 1895.*

Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose has written a book which is in many ways remarkable. In the form of "A HISTORY OF HINDU CIVILISATION UNDER BRITISH RULE" he has given proofs that there are exceptions to the rule that Hindus are incapable of turning out original literary work. * * * Without expressing entire concurrence with all the opinions to which he gives expression, we are free to say that his book reflects laborious research and most painstaking efforts to drag truth up from the bottom of a very deep and dark well.—*THE MADRAS TIMES, Wednesday, October 31st 1894.*

A HISTORY OF HINDU CIVILISATION DURING BRITISH RULE deserves to be read by all those who take the least interest in the progress of the people of this country,—*MADRAS STANDARD, Wednesday, October 17th 1894.*

The work is in two volumes, and exceedingly interesting. It is written in excellent English, and must have cost the writer much time and much research. * * * The work like the one published by Mr. Bose is calculated to attract the attention of all who have the welfare of India at heart—those who wish to see the country improve, whether Natives or Europeans.—*THE EVENING MAIL, Bangalore.*

We most cordially welcome the first two volumes of this work which Messrs. Newman & Co., have just published and which the English-knowing public owe to the patriotic literary efforts of Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose.—*THE HINDU, Friday, September 7th, 1894.*

The chapters on the religious condition of India show a just appreciation on the author's part of the labours of the Sanskritists and Orientalists.—*THEOSOPHIST, December 1894.*

The volumes contain such a valuable collection of useful, interesting, and rare information on a variety of social and industrial topics, that they have a distinct claim on the attention of the educated public. We hope that Mr. Bose's patriotic efforts will receive due appreciation in every way from his countrymen and from those English speaking peoples in other parts of the world, who sympathise with our efforts for an improved national state.—*THE HINDU, September 14th, 1894.*

It is very interesting, and we would strongly recommend all those interested in the welfare of India not to fail to purchase a copy.—*THE EVENING MAIL (Bangalore) November 20th 1894.*

His work seems to us to be written fairly and impartially, and in a spirit that must make it most valuable as a work of reference. Not only to Englishmen and to his countrymen will it be of interest, but scholars in all lands will be instructed and edified by it.—*THE ADVERTISER (Maulmein) 20th September, 1894.*

It would be almost impossible to find any author—European or Native—better qualified to undertake the work of describing "HINDU CIVILISATION UNDER BRITISH RULE" than Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose.—*THE BOMBAY GAZETTE, September 1st, 1894.*

This is the title of a remarkable production from Bengal, which is a credit both to the printers and to the author. What Mr. Bose has achieved in the half of his work already published, will, we trust, make

the reading public, eagerly desire the early publication of the remaining half. • • • Mr. Bose's work does not confine itself only to chronicling those new ideas and the movements, many of them very short lived, into which they developed. In dealing with every phase of the society and before giving an account of the changes made under British rule, he takes a brief, but masterly review of the India that has passed away, of the India that developed under the Aryans from the Vedic times, and the Indian that deteriorated in the 9th to 11th centuries.—*THE INDIAN SPECTATOR, October 7th 1894.*

Mr. Bose has indeed performed the task, he sets before him, as well as probably it is possible for any one to do in the present state of our knowledge and in the present condition of the country. The work he has given us is a credit to himself and will no doubt be highly esteemed by the literary world.—*THE INDIAN SPECTATOR, October 14th 1894.*

Mr. Bose has brought out all these facts prominently in his book and if we cannot subscribe to everything that he says, we must say that he has put before the readers the forces which are moving the hitherto dormant mass of Hindu social organism. *THE INDUPROKASH (Bombay) January 21st 1895.*

The object of the book is to give a history of the changes which our religion, our society and our industries have undergone and are still undergoing, during the British rule, a subject interesting enough but which has been rendered still more interesting by short accounts which the author has given of every subject from the very beginning of civilisation, so that we have in one view, as it were, a history of our institutions from the earliest time, so far, of course, as such a history is available.

The book has been written with singular impartiality. Whatever remarks the author has to make, he has made them in his introduction and they show an originality of treatment and thought. In the body of the book, he has confined himself to merely narrating facts, and there are many interesting anecdotes, related of our last generation, which form delightful reading, but a somewhat disappointing one in as much as there are not more of them.—*THE INDIAN MIRROR, September 4th 1894.*

The book has been written in quite a new and original plan. It professes, as its name implies, to give an account of the changes which our

institutions are at present undergoing; but it really gives us much more than that. We have in it accounts, historically drawn up of the several institutions, religious as well as social, from an earlier period, which cannot fail to be interesting. The subjects so treated are so many as almost to give the book an appearance of a cyclopædia.—*THE BENGALER, September 22nd 1894.*

The subject is a large one, and there is much in these volumes which will be of considerable value to English readers. There is a particularly interesting account of the rise, growth, and the final predominance of caste.—*THE INDIAN DAILY NEWS, September 26th 1894.*

Judging by the two volumes placed before the public credit will be freely given to the author for honest and conscientious work, prolonged and patient labour in the gathering of materials, and in every possible instance to bring the information down to date. * * * The work is deserving of high praise and is an important contribution to contemporary Indian history of the right sort.—*THE TRIBUNE, October 3rd 1894.*

We have now gone—although cursorily—over the whole field of Mr Bose's two volumes, and shall await the publication of his remaining two volumes with interest. From what we have stated above, our readers will see that Mr. Bose is eminently fitted for the task he has undertaken. He is not a theorist and he is not an enthusiast: he advocates reform, but can appreciate what was good in the past; and above all, he can let facts speak for themselves. A laborious enquirer he is at the same time a pleasant narrator and his style is simple and pleasant, chaste and perspicuous.—*CALCUTTA REVIEW, January, 1895.*

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