PROGRESSIVE INDIA

Being a brief record of Moral, Material and Political Progress made by India under British Rule.

BY ...

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PREFACE.

In this little book I have tried to rouse in the minds of my young readers that spirit of co-operation to which all the signs point as the spirit which will guide the coming age, and which alone may serve to repair the world-wide devastation of the Great War which will usher it in. Co-operation implies mutual respect, which is impossible without self-respect on both sides, supplemented by a mutual understanding. I have, therefore, not harped on obvious faults or defects, but have endeavoured to bring out those merits on which, it is my hope, the future will be broad-based.

December, 1918.

A. K. G.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

1. India's Unity in Diversity.

India, the land of our birth, to which we are all so proud to belong, is distinguished in several important ways from other countries of the world.

NATURAL BOUNDARIES :

First of all, it has a perfect system of natural boundaries, which afford it protection from aggression, but do not bar commerce with other parts of the world. It is bounded on the North by a great wall of mountains, the Himalayas, the highest in the world. But for certain gaps, called passes, between some of the peaks of this range, men could not have come across them into India from the North. On the other three sides there is water : on the East the Bay of Bengal; on the West the Arabian Sea; on the South the vast Indian Ocean. Along the East and West coast lines, which meet at a point in

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the South, there are good harbours in which merchant vessels can find shelter and load and unload their cargo.

EXTENT AND VARIETY :

From the Northern mountain ranges, in which the rivers of Hindusthan have their origin, to Rameshwaram, the Southernmost point of Indian soil, the distance is over 1800 miles; and from the unexplored wildernesses at the Eastern boundary of Assam, to the mountainous regions on the farther side, of the Indus, the distance is nearly as much. Within this immense length and breadth lies our great country, with an area of over 15,00,000 Square miles, and a population of 30,00,00,000 souls, living in over 7,50,000 villages and 2,000 towns, a world in itself, comprising many races of men, a great variety of animals, plants and mineral products, and every kind of climate, soil and natural scenery.

DIVISIONS :

India may be divided into 3 regions; (i) The Himalayan, which consists of the mountain ranges or the North along the whole of its length from West to East; (ii) the Gangetic, which comprises the fertile plains along its middle portion and is also called Hindusthan or Upper India; and (iii) the Deccan,

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or the Indian peninsula, a plateau between the different ranges of hills or *ghauts* along the Western coast.

The Himalayan Mountains are so high that their tops are covered with snow which never melts all the year round. Above this permanent line of snow men cannot live. Below the snow line the climate, though cold, is healthy and invigorating, and dry in spite of the rainfall which is perhaps the heaviest in the world. In the cold weather there are fresh falls of snow, which then comes down below the permanent snow line; in the hot weather this excess of snow is melted and flows down the mountain slopes in streams from which are born the great rivers of Hindusthan, which fertilise the immense plains through which they flow in their courses which end in the sea. This mountainregion is covered with forests of big trees which supply valuable timber; and in which all kinds of wild animals and birds abound.

To the west of the Gangetic plain is the desertlike tract of Rajputana, famed for its brave and chivalrous warriors. The Gangetic plain itself is very fertile and rich and contains most of India's best known cities, such as Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Benares, Ajcdhya (Fyzabad), Lucknow, Patna, Dacca and Calcutta,

The Deccan plateau to the south of the Mahanadi

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river, is a beautiful hilly region with a splendid climate. Several great kingdoms and empires of the past had their capitals in this part of the country, of which the latest was the Maratha Empire with its seat of Government in Poona.

VARIOUS TYPES OF INHABITANTS:

The inhabitants of India are of different temperaments and degrees of civilisation, according to their natural surroundings. Those who live in a rigorous climate or sterile soil, are sturdy and warlike; those inhabiting the rich plains, made fertile by the great rivers, have intelligent brains and skilful hands, and have produced great poets, philosophers and artists; but those who are secluded in inaccessible regions, or immersed in dense forest tracts, remain in a comparatively uncivilised state.

RELIGIONS AND LANGUAGES :

India is a land of many religions. The Hindus and Mahomedans form the bulk of the population. The Christians, also, are fairly numerous. Jains and Buddhists are classed with Hindus. Of languages and dialects there is no end in our country. In the middle part of Hindusthan or Upper India, Urdu in its western and Hindi in its eastern portion up to and

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including Behar, are the principal languages. In the East we have Bengali throughout Bengal, Assamese in Assam and Uriya in Orissa. In the West there is Gujrathi in Gujrat on the Coast, Sindhi in the Indus Valley and Pushtu along the frontier. In the Deccan we have Marathi in the North West, Canarese in the South West, Telegu in the North East and Tamil in the South East.

INDIA'S UNITY :

Nevertheless, in spite of all these diversities India, from the earliest times, has been one geographical whole, and its great distinguishing feature has, all along, been the slow but steady process of forming the different races who have come together in it, into one, grand, united people. In many countries it has happened that conquest by one race has meant the gradual dving out of, or loss of separate individuality by, the conquered race. In great Britain many different races have fused into one Nation tending more and more to lose their individual characteristics. But in India, from the time of the first Aryan immigration to the sovereignty of Great Britain, it is not the sword, but ideas and ideals which have been to the front, and thus while the special features of each race, together with the best qualities of their racial acquirements, have been preserved, the geographical forces, so to speak, have always been tending to bind them all in a common tradition of unity.

ENGLAND'S MISSION IN INDIA:

Now that India has become a part of the great British Empire, the whole British Nation is cooperating in this divine purpose of unifying India intoone harmonious whole, and is specially fitted to do so by reason of its own success, in the past, in fusing warring elements into a united nation within itself.

In this little book I want to tell you something about the principles upon and machinery by which Great Britain rules India, so that when you grow up to be a man you also may be able and anxious to assist intelligently in this glorious work, to which so many great men,—sages, poets, philosophers and statesmen, —born in this country have from time to time added their contributions.

2. India as the British found it.

Before beginning to tell you about what Britishrule has done and is doing, it would be better, first, to try and give you an idea of the stage to which the life of the Indian people had progressed before the British people came to be connected with them.

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EARLY INDIAN INSTITUTIONS :

Agriculture has always been the chief Industry of India. This has proved to be a very fortunate circumstance in the past, for both in the case of outside invasions for plunder, or internal struggles for power, the simple villagers were as a rule not interfered with, but left to advance-more or less unchecked on the path of civilisation.

Thus were formed the village communities of India, which were largely independent of conqueror or king, and managed their own affairs peacefully and efficiently, as is witnessed by their success in all the vocations of life. The land was famous for its yield, the workers for their skill, the merchants for their enterprise, the scholars for their simple life, deep learning and high ideals, which spread in peaceful conquest to Europe through Arabia, to inaccessible Central Asia, and to the farthest East. India is commonly credited with having given the Western world the decimal notation for numerals, and the first beginnings of Astronomy, Chemistry and Medicine. She gave China not only its chief religion but it was an Indian Brahmin who reduced the Chinese ideographs to an alphabet, and translated many Indian Shastras into Chinese. And from China, in turn, distant Korea and Japan drew their inspirations.

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The old Indian townships also used to look after their own internal affairs. The revenue due to the state was levied from the citizens for which the town was collectively responsible. The township controlled its own police, dealt out justice between citizen and citizen, punished its own officials, when at fault, and decided civil disputes in the first instance. It taxed its citizens to provide funds for its internal expenses, such as the repairs of the walls with which it was protected, the erection and upkeep of temples which represented both religious and philanthropric institutions.

Surviving remnants of water reservoirs, irrigation cannals, village grazing commons, main roads through the length and breadth of the country, forts, observatories and splendid buildings show that works of public benefit of different kinds were not wanting.

In the old days, sanitation and education were not matters for which an elaborate and costly organisation was deemed necessary. Simple rules laid down in the shape of moral injunctions and obeyed by the people as part of their religion, in which cleanliness was reckoned as next to godliness, sufficed to keep the homesteads clean and sanitary, the common water reservoirs pure, and all ordinary ailments properly attended to. Malaria was then hardly

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known, much less was it the scourge it is now, and people, they say, lived longer and healthier lives. The learned men considered it a duty to impart their attainments to seekers after knowledge, and each entertained a number of pupils as part of his own household. Itinerant bards and reciters carried the highest knowledge of the day, scientific, literary and philosophical, in the attractive form of plays and songs and stories, to the simplest of villagers and to the most secluded of women, so that all participated in a common culture.

THREATENING DECAY AVERTED :

Nevertheless, in spite of a wonderful system of pilgrimages which kept up a living consciousness of the geographical unity of India and bound the Hindu section of the population together in a common tradition; in spite of the growing friendship between Hindus and Mahomedans, who were losing all feelings of antagonism and were settling down to a neighbourly life side by side, a certain stagnation was setting in. The civilisation which had attained so high a level was getting narrower and narrower and failed to keep touch or pace with the progress of the rest of the world. And but for the timely arrival of British rule, with the unifying tendency of its pax

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Britannica, the awakening effect of its literature and history, the contagious energy and love of freedom of its people, Indian civilisation might have gradually degenerated too far, losing its living character in its material forms, and the great ideals which had been laboriously gained by its people, through centuries of steady civilised activity, might have been lost to them, and to the world, for ever.

MUTUAL DISTRUST DURING EARLY BRITISH RULE :

It is human nature to dislike what is new and unfamiliar. For this reason, in the beginning the newly-come Britishers did not properly understand the people, and the people did not appreciate or welcome British methods, so that the rulers and ruled did not always get on very well together. Nowadays, however, Englishmen have begun to study Indian .matters in right good earnest; many of them have written books on Indian subjects which are the admiration of all, Englishmen and Indians alike, and which have done us great service in giving us a better insight into our history, our economics, our language, and even our religion. So should we, in our turn, study British principles, policy and methods, as we find them in English History and Literature, so that we may join with them in coming to a better understanding of one another and co-operate intelligently

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and with mutual good feeling in the great Divine purpose which is moulding the History of India.

In the following chapters I propose to give you a sketch of the machinery by which India is ruled at the present day, and I am sure you will find much to admire in its liberal policy, humanitarian institutions and 'efficient organisation,' in spite of shortcomings which you may see here and there, or come to hear of. Defects are inseparable from human endeavour, and it is for you, of the next generation, to assist in rectifying them, as your contribution toward the Great Empire of which India is now a part.

CHAPTER II.

HOW INDIA IS NOW GOVERNED.

1. Home Government.

GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN :

The British Isles are governed, as you know, by the Ministers of the King. The functions of the King-Emperor himself in regard to actual government are of a formal character, and his other functions though important, do not concern us here. The Ministers of the King form a Cabinet who together decide all questions of gravity or complexity. Each Minister is entrusted with some special duty, such as. the Home affairs of Great Britain, Foreign affairs, Indian affairs, etc. The Minister of Indian affairs is called the Secretary of State for India. The King selects the Prime Minister from among the members of the Houses of Parliament, and the Prime Minister in turn, appoints the other ministers, likewise, from the members of the Houses of Parliament. The Prime Minister can only remain in power while the House st of Commons has confidence in him. If he goes out, 4- other ministers go out with him, and the King

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has to select another Prime Minister who has to get together another set of Ministers to form the Cabinet.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA:

Thus you see, so far as India is concerned, the head of the government is the Secretary of State, subject to the Cabinet. And the Cabinet is ultimately responsible to the British people who elect as their representatives the members of the House of Commons, who may be made to take interest in matters Indian in proportion to the interest we take in our own affairs.

The Secretary of State for India has to submit to Parliament reports of the moral and material progress of India, and to render an account of its Revenue and Expenditure. He can remove any important official in India from the Viceroy downward. No expenditure can be incurred from the revenues of India without his sanction, which for facility of business is largely delegated to the Government of India.

THE COUNCIL OF INDIA:

The Secretary of State is assisted in his government by a Council, called the Council of India, of from 10 to 14 members, holding office for a term of 7 years, consisting both of Englishmen and Indians. with experience of Indian affairs. In some matters it is necessary for the Secretary of State to have the majority of the Council in agreement with him. In others he is independent of his Council, who are in such cases merely advisory.

2. The Supreme Government, or the Government of India.

Next comes the Government of India, consisting of the Viceroy and his Council who must always act together, except in rare cases where the Viceroy may act on his sole responsibility.

THE VICEROY AND HIS COUNCIL :

The Viceroy is appointed by the King-Emperor on the advice of his ministers, and is usually a British nobleman with experience in administration. His Executive Council, called the Supreme Council, consists of 6 Ordinary Members, and the Governors of Provinces in which the Council may be held, and the Commander-in-Chief, who are, Extra-ordinary members. The Ordinary members hold office during 5 years and are appointed by the Crown. One of the Ordinary members is an Indian. In this, as in the case of the Legislative Councils, the British administration has tended more and more towards placing

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, confidence in the people of the country. From the traditions of his own country the British administrator is and ought to be a firm believer in taking the public into his confidence; for the more they know of the real facts, the more he may rely upon their support.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA :

The Government of India is the Supreme authority in India, subject to the Secretary of State, and supervises the administration of all the Indian Provinces and Feudatory states about which I will tell you later on. It has, by delegation, the disposal of all the revenues of India, and allots such part of them to each provincial government as it thinks fit. Its business is conducted by the following departments : Foreign, Army, Home (i.e. Civil Service, Justice and Police), Legislative, Revenue and Agriculture, Public Works (Irrigation, Roads and Buildings), Finance, Commerce and Industry, and Education.

ITS DEPARTMENTS :

The Foreign Department, which deals with independent states like Afghanistan and Nepal, and through specially appointed Residents or Agents with the Feudatory states ruled by the Indian Princes, is directly under the Viceroy himself. The Army Department is under the Commanderin-Chief who is the Military member of the Council.

The Legislative or law-making department is under a legal member who must be a barrister of standing.

The Finance Department which is concerned with income and expenditure, and the department of Commerce and Industry which includes trade, shipping, mines, factories, excise, customs, salt, post and telegraph, are usually under expert members, specially brought out from England. Railways form a separate sub-department of Commerce and Industry under a Railway Board.

The other departments are usually under members of the Civil Service who have special. experience of the work in question.

The Department of Education is at present under an Indian member, the two former Indian members both having been legal members.

THE CAPITAL OF INDIA :

The seat of the Government of India used to be at Calcutta, moving to the Simla Hills in the hot weather. Now the Capital is Delhi which has been taken out of the Punjab and made into a separate Province under a Chief Commissioner.

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3. Provincial Governments.

THE PROVINCES :

British India is divided into 9 major and 6 minor provinces. The nine major provinces are Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, Burma, Behar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam. Each of these is administered by its own local government or administration under the control of the Government of India.

The six minor provinces are the North West Frontier Provinces, Ajmere, Coorg, the Andamans, British Beluchistan and Delhi. They are governed by officers, called Chief Commissioners, under the control of the Foreign Department of the Government of India.

THE PRESIDENCIES :

Madras, Bombay and Bengal are known as Presidencies. Each Presidency is under a provincial government consisting of a Governor, usually appointed from England direct, with a Council of three other colleagues of whom two are civilians and one an Indian member. As in the case of Members of the Supreme Council, they are appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Secretary of State. The ordinary business of Government is distributed between the Members. The Governor can overrule his Council though, usually, the view of the majority prevails. The new province of Behar and Orissa has a government similar to that of the Presidencies, with a Lieutenant-Governor instead of a Governor at its head.

The other major provinces are governed by Lieutenant-Governors in the case of the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma; and Chief Commissioners in the case of the Central Provinces and of Assam. Both are appointed by the Viceroy but the appointment of the former is subject to the approval of the Crown. They are always promoted from the Indian Civil Service.

THE PROVINCIAL SECRETARIATS :

The heads of Governments, whether a Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, or a Chief-Commissioner, are usually assisted by five Secretaries, of whom three are Civil Secretaries, and two Public Works Secretaries. The Civil Secretaries are the Chief Secretary, the Revenue Secretary and Financial and Municipal Secretary. One of the Public Works Secretaries is in charge of Roads and Buildings, the other in charge of Irrigation and Railways. Except in the case of the Public Works, the Secretaries are drawn from the Civil Service. HOW INDIA IS NOW GOVERNED GOU

The unit of administration everywhere is the district. We have more than 350 districts in British India. The average area of a district is about 4,500 square miles and population about 2,50,000. They vary greatly in size and population. The largest in area are in Madras and Burma and the smallest in the United Provinces.

Each district is under a Collector who is also the Magistrate. In some parts of the country this official' is styled Deputy Commissioner. He is the local representative of the Government in its general dealings with the people. As collector he is responsible for the collection of revenue; regulates the relations between the Government and the agricultural classes, who form nearly two-thirds of the total population; and settles disputes between landlords and tenants.

THE COLLECTOR :

The Collector has to keep a careful witch over the general condition of the District. In times of famine or agricultural distress, relief and other remedial measures are under his care. It is his duty to guide and control the working of municipalities. Over some of the more important ones he is the

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presiding officer. He is also, usually, the Chairman ot the District Board.

THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE :

In his other capacity he is called the District Magistrate, and as such, is responsible for the peace of the District. He has a general supervision over the local police. He also controls the subordinate Criminal Courts and conducts a portion of the original and appellate criminal work.

THE SUBDIVISION :

Each district is split up into a number of subdivisions. They are in charge of subdivisional officers called Deputy Collectors and Magistrates, who are usually members of the Provincial Service, and in important subdivisions junior members of the Indian Civil Service. The functions of the subdivisional officer in his subdivision are practically those of the Collector in the District.

THE DIVISIONAL CHARGE :

In all the major provinces, except Madras, districts are grouped together into divisions under a Divisional Commissioner. He has the general supervision of work in these districts and is a Court of appeal in revenue cases. THE BOARD OF REVENUE :

The intermediate authority between the Commissioners and the Local Government, in revenue matters, is the Board of Revenue. Bombay has no Board, and of the major provinces, the Punjab and Central Provinces have their Financial Commissioners who perform the functions of the Board.

4. A few words about the Governed. The Pax Britannica :

The peace and freedom in which we live, the security with which we can go about from place to place, the facility with which we can get what we want, even from the most distant localities, the scope that we have for employing our energy and intellect to the best advantage, all these go to show the character and efficiency of the system of Government of which I have given you the outlines above. In this government of our country, we, its people, are progressively getting greater and greater opportunities of taking our share. This should not only be a matter of pride to those who have attained the privilege of holding high office, but also an incentive to all young men, at the outset of their careers, to fit themselves to the best of their capacity to take their part, be it great or small, in public life, and see to it, by the manner of the

performance of their duties, that more and more privileges should be made available to their countrymen.

ODIUM OF GOVERNMENT :

It has been truly said that there is always in every country such a thing as the 'odium of government'. There is all the more an "odium" of foreign government. So there will always be found some people to find fault with and criticise the actions of government in season and out of season. But the people of India on the other hand have, fortunately, been taught to look upon governments as paternal bodies, and loyalty to Kings has been a religious instinct with them. Nor has there ever been in India that intense aversion to foreign rulers which is characteristic of countries which have been conquered.

INDIA'S TRADITIONAL LOYALTY:

India was taught to look upon the whole world as one, and so to an Indian there is nothing jarring in the thought that the rulers of a particular country should be provided by some other part of the world. Hinduism has always taught respect for rulers, whoever they may be. Mahomedanism, although encouraging religious proselytism, never countenanced disloyalty to any form of *de facto* government. The

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people of India, therefore, are peaceful by nature and not apt to harbour ill-feeling against any government merely because it is alien. Thus the elements which disturb the peace of European governments are as a rule absent in India altogether, and under normal circumstances such a thing as combined and organised disaffection is out of the question.

On the other hand, as I told you in the beginning of this Chapter, it is ultimately British Democracy which is at the helm of Indian affairs, and the Democracy there will not be slow in the future, as it has not been in the past, to recognise real merit in the people here, whenever that becomes evident.

CHAPTER III.

SELF GOVERNMENT.

1. Feudatory States.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS FEUDATORY STATES :

Nothing can be worthier of its best traditions than the policy pursued by Great Britain in the case of the Feudatory States governed by Indian Princes belonging to the old ruling Houses. The words of the Royal Proclamation are :---

> "We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted, and will be scrupulously, maintained; and We look for the like observance on their part.

> We desire no extension of Our present territorial Possessions and while We will permit no aggression upon Our Dominions or Our Rights, to be attempted with impunity, We shall sanction no encroachment upon those of others.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

"We shall respect the Rights, Dignity, and Honour of Native Princes as Our Own; and We desire that they, as well as Our Own subjects, should enjoy that Prosperity and social Advancement which can only be secured by internal Peace and good Government."

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The policy actually followed, however, has been even more liberal, for, not long afterwards, Mysore was voluntarily restored to its old ruling house without the pressure of any agitation, after it had been under British rule for 50 years. And, again, more recently, the Maharaja of Benares was granted the rights of a Feudatory Chief over his extensive possessions. Where the British Government has had to interfere in the internal affairs of any Feudatory State, it has always done so with the object of correcting abuses or improving its solvency.

SUCCESS OF BRITISH POLICY :

It is a circumstance on which Indians may congratulate themselves, that this policy has been well justified by results, and many of these states are now organised and equipped in accordance with the most up-to-date standard. They have produced, or given scope for the display of, a high order of statesmanship on the part of those of our countrymen who have acted as Ministers.

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Some Procressive States :

Hyderabad under the Nizam has maintained its own Postal System and Currency and State Insurance for its officials; Art and Industry have been stimulated by State patronage; and no difference is made between its subjects of different religions. Mysore has developed Engineering and Agricultural enterprises, and the co-operative combination of its people, in an admirable manner. Baroda is well 'known for its liberal institutions and its free education. The Maharajas of Bikanir and Patiala had the honour of taking part, on behalf of India, in the Imperial War Conferences recently held in London.

THEIR SPECIAL FACILITIES :

The Feudatory States in India can do many things which the British Government cannot. Some of them have already fostered in their people instincts of Self-government. In Industrial enterprises they may go far ahead of the British if they choose, and provide object lessons for the people of British territories, as the British Government is not in a position to co-operate with Indians in semi-commercial enterprises. Social reforms can always be brought about by them, for unlike the British Government they are not apt to be suspected of harbouring a desire to

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subvert the peoples' religious beliefs. They can always be sure of the sympathy of the people, for the Ruler of the State is one of them. The Feudatory States are eagerly watched by the Indian people, for they have a great race to run. And it is becoming more and more clear that the Feudatory States have a glorious part to play in the political future of India.

2. Local Self Government [Rural].

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE :

In British India, also, the ultimate aim of the Government of the people by the people has been enunciated from the very beginning. Let me put down here for you the noble words of the Marquis of Hastings, at one time Governor General of India.

> "A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone

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in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest."

As I have said, the people of India had a natural aptitude for governing themselves, and the system devised by them remained substantially unchanged, in spite of repeated invasions which sometimes resulted in the conquerors gradually imposing on them their cruder customs and ideas of government. This capacity of the Indian people has been recognised by the government of the British people than whom no people have the political instinct more keenly developed, and our ancient institutions are gradually being remodelled to suit modern conditions.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES :

In the three principal provinces—the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal,—a complete chain of local authorities has been established. All over the country the village constitutes the first stage, or territorial unit, of Government organisation. And groups of villages go to form the larger administrative divisions such as tabsils, sub-divisions, and districts. The typical Indian village has a central residential site, with an open space for a pond and a cattle stand.

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Around this nucleus stretches a cultivated area, and sometimes common grounds for grazing or wood cutting. The inhabitants pass their life in the midst of these simple surroundings, welded together in a little community with its own organisation and government (differing in character in different types of villages), its body of detailed customary rules and its little staff of functionaries, artizans and traders. It should be noted, however, that in certain portions of India, *e.g.*, in the greater part of Assam, in Eastern Bengal and in part of the Madras Presidency this kind of village does not exist. The people there live in small collection of houses or in separate homesteads.

VILLAGE INSTITUTIONS :

The village, all the same, remains the unit of administration and it has been the aim and object of the Government to foster a common village feeling and interest. In order to do that attempts have been made to revive the village council, tribunal, or *Panchayat* of old. A Royal Commission has definitely laid down recommendations to the effect, that the system should be gradually and tentatively applied, according to the different degrees of homogeneity or natural intelligence which the villagers possess, the Panchayats having, to begin with, limited

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powers of control, their powers being gradually increased as they grow more and more fitted for them. A beginning has accordingly been made in some of the more advanced villages all over the country. There is first the village 'Union' which corresponds to the English parish. It consists of an important village, or a group of villages, with a small council of prominent residents at the helm of affairs. The most important function of the 'Union' is to see to the improvement of sanitation. They are required, as far as possible, to find their own funds, for which purpose, they are empowered to levy a small tax on houses.

LOCAL AND DISTRICT BOARDS :

Next above them are the Local Boards, one in each subdivision, corresponding with the English District Councils. The Local Boards have enlarged powers. At the head of all these are the District Boards which take rank with the English County Council, the most important local institution in the political system of England. The powers of the District Boards are very full and complete, but their exercise is always subject to the supervision and control of the Government, for which purpose it retains a certain amount of control over their affairs.

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DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS :

The year 1871 saw a wide development of these Local and District Boards. This was as much owing to local needs as to the decentralisation scheme of Lord Mayo. The law thereafter empowered them to levy rates and administer their funds. Later on, Lord Ripon reorganised and expanded the whole system and under the orders of 1881-82 we have now Boards all over the country. Each member of the Local Board is expected to have local knowledge of and interest in his administrative unit. The Local Boards are under the general control of the District Boards to which they are entitled to send delegates.

INTRODUCTION OF ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE :

The principle of election is the basis upon which the District, the Local, and the Union boards are founded. The Board is elected every three years. In the total, more than half the Board members are elected, the rest being nominated by the Government so that the non-official element preponderates. In thus allowing the members to be chosen in accordance with the wishes of the majority of voters in the district, we find the seed of representative government in India.

The elective principle has moreover been introduced in varying degrees everywhere; except in the North West Frontier Provinces where it has been abolished since 1903. The illiterate and turbulent character of the people of that province is a convincing proof of the fact that they are not yet fit to enjoy a privilege the exercise of which demands self-control and an abiding respect for law.

The powers which these Boards exercise are delegated to them by the central or the provincial authority, which may also take them away, as has occasionally been done in cases where the Boards or the Municipalities have grossly mismanaged their affairs. They are therefore all subordinate to the central authority. The Boards derive their revenues from local rates as also from grants from general revenues.

RELAXATION OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL :

The Government of India has recently adopted the most salutary policy of proposing to minimise government control over Municipalities and District Boards. On the one hand the method of election of members and selection of the Chairman, the executive head, is to be so reformed as to avoid interference with the representation and authority of the people concerned; and on the other, the restrictions in connexion with government sanction for the raising and

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expenditure of funds are to be relaxed. This points both to the generous spirit of the government as well as to the progressive fitness of the people

· FUNCTIONS OF THE BOARDS :

The duties of these Boards are various. They are called upon to spend their revenues for the construction and improvement of roads and bridges. Hospitals, vaccination, drainage, water supply, primary education, markets and rest houses are also committed to their charge. The public roads of the district are under their control, and are kept in order by them. The drainage of the district is constantly looked after by inspectors whose duty it is to report anything wrong to the District Board. The existence of any infectious disease within the district, or the local area, must be notified to the District or the Local Board, whose duty it is to see that proper precautions are taken to prevent the disease from spreading.

BOARDS AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS :

The Boards are linked to the Legislative Councils by a system of direct representation on them, and thus afford ample scope for the public spirit of their members to rise to the greatest heights.

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3. Local Self Government (Urban)

We now come to the self government of larger towns. From very early times in British Indian history the Presidency towns had some form of municipal administration. Originally they were established under Charters and subsequently recognised by Statute. The term 'Municipality' is now very familiar to those of us who live in towns and cities where there is a municipal organisation, but we should, be careful not to mix up Municipalities with District or Local Boards of which we were speaking in the last section.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS:

Every Municipal town is governed by what is called a Corporation, consisting of a Chairman and a Council. The Council is usually subdivided into committees each one of which controls some particular branch of municipal business, such as the town funds, the drainage, the lighting of the streets, sanitation etc. In these Municipalities the elective element has been introduced on the well known British principle of "no taxation without representation."

EARLY CORPORATIONS :

Under the East India Company local committees

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were formed for the management of local affairs in the districts of some of the provinces of India. In towns similar bodies called Panchayats or "Councils of five elders" still survive. These bodies, however formed, and of whatever age, had no administrative powers. They could only advise, but their advice might not have been followed. In the first stages of self-government it is but proper that the people should receive a training in the art, and larger powers be given to them as they become more experienced. Originally the members of these bodies were nominated by the Government, but even then they had not the final control of local affairs in their hands, lest they should mismanage them, and thus delay the gradual introduction of real Self-Government. The Commissioners were, however, empowered to manage municipal affairs and to levy various taxes.

A WIDER SYSTEM INTRODUCED :

In 1870 a wider system of Municipal Government was initiated. Laws were passed for every province of India under which urban affairs were placed in the hands of local bodies. They were partly nominated from among the people themselves. Roughly speaking about half the members of the municipalities were elected. The rest were nominated by the Government whose business it is to see that the affairs of the country are being managed well. The elective principle has since been extended and the tendency of the Government is to extend it still further, with due regard to the capacity of the people of the localities concerned.

FUNCTIONS OF MUNICIPALITIES :

The municipal bodies are empowered to raise funds with the advice of the government for local purposes. They are also in receipt of grants of public money from the Government. All the general principles of Local Self-Government apply to the administration of the municipalities. Their expenditure however, is subject to the law and to the general control of the Government. The general functions of Municipalities are many and varied and are similar to those of District and Local Boards. Questions, of health, of management and maintenance of hospitals, of construction and up-keep of roads. of the founding and control of schools and other local affairs are all entrusted to their charge.

PUBLIC LIFE :

A seat on the municipal board carries with it considerable honour and prestige, though it is attended with no pay or gain of any sort. It is a responsible

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position and a member of a municipal board, if he does not choose to be only a figure head, has opportunities of making himself a highly useful member of society. So in the larger towns the municipal elections are generally keenly contested. The greater the contest the more the evidence of life in the people and of the interest they take in their own affairs. If England is great it is because every Englishman takes an interest in local affairs and does his duty to his own parish or village.

There are now over 800 municipal towns in all India with a total revenue of over four crores. The largest municipal towns are Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon, and between them they contribute not less than 40 per cent. of this total revenue. The municipalities are connected by a system of representation with the legislative councils, each divisional group returning one member.

POWERS OF LOCAL BODIES :

The most important power which is vested in the various forms of Local Self-Government—Unions, Local Boards, District Boards and Municipalities, is the power to raise money from the electors by means of what are called *rates* or *cesses*. Rates and Cesses are imposed upon the people of a locality by local

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authorities for local purposes only. They differ from taxes in that the latter are imposed by the central authorities upon the whole country for national purposes. One is collected by local officials, the other by government officials.

EXTENSION OF ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE :

It may be noted here that the elective principle of Self-Government has been extended to other public institutions, such as for instances, the Senates of Indian Universities. In every sphere of our activity the system of Self-Government is thus sure to go on developing with the intellectual and moral development of the people.

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CHAPTER IV.

FINANCE AND REVENUE.

You have now had an outline of the system of Government by which India is governed. I will proceed to give you a few details in regard to some of the important functions, on which I have touched and which every government has to perform, showing you the nature of the concrete progress which is being made under British rule.

1. Imperial Finance.

FINANCIAL SYSTEM-PAST AND PRESENT :

With the exception of a system of finance introduced by Raja Todar Mull under the Emperor Akbar, India has not known a financial system during several centuries. Even under British rule the system has gradually had to grow to what it is. Before 1858, the entire control of all the finances throughout India, was in the hands of the Supreme Government. A messenger worth Rs. 5 a month could not be employed without the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council. Detailed projects of the pettiest or most urgent works had to be submitted to the Government of India for approval and sanction. THE BUDGET SYSTEM :

It was in the year, 1860, that the system of annual budget estimates was introduced by Mr. James Wilson. It included sanctioned grants for each subhead in every province and district. Under this system which is now in force, budget estimates for the Indian Empire are compiled from the sanctioned estimates for each province and department, and the final estimates are made public before the beginning of the year, being laid before the Legislative Council and discussed by the popular representatives there, who are entitled to make suggestions or offer criticisms.

Every department and official is bound to keep expenditure within the sanctioned grant. Failure of crops, or famine, or sudden outbreak of war, may prevent the fulfilment of the sanctioned estimates of revenue. In any of these cases the department, or the official, has to report to the authorities at once, for orders. Without such orders he may not make any outlay in excess of the sanctioned grant, even if the same is necessary. Hence all expenditures are under the control of the Government of India and behind it there is the control of the Secretary of State for India in Council. As for the Legislative Council, which

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to some extent represents the people, no tax can be increased or reduced without its consent.

2. Provincial Finance.

DELEGATION OF FINANCIAL POWERS TO PROVINCES :

In 1870 Lord Mayo decided that larger financial responsibilities should be given to Local Governments. He made over to the provincial governments the entire management of certain heads of civil expenditure, allotting to each fixed grants to provide the necessary funds, and leaving them full discretion to spend those grants to the best advantage. All this of course, is subject to Government of India rules and to the final authority of the Secretary of State. Local Governments have thus come to have a complete control over expenditure from all funds raised for local purposes. The introduction of the system saved much correspondence and friction, and led to efficient and economical administration, by creating direct interest in the Local Governments. The provincial system has now been carried beyond that point, in that the control of all expenditure is delegated to the Local Governments. The permanent interest of the provincial authorities in the growth of their revenues is secured, for they have the management of all heads of revenue in their hands.

Reserved Revenues :

There are however certain revenues which have not been allowed to go out of the control of the Supreme Government, such as Opium, Salt, Customs, Post Office, Telegraphs, Mint, Currency, Tributes, etc. Nor does the provincial finance system deprive the Secretary of State or the Government of India of their control and responsibility, for they retain the right to modify the provincial financial arrangements, either at given periods, or when special need arises.

LARGER DELEGATION PROPOSED :

It has been the consistent policy of the Government of India to give more and more power to the Provincial Governments over their own finances, and we are now on the eve of realising a Provincial Autonomy so complete that, when it comes into operation, it will have given the provinces of India by a stroke of the pen what it has taken other parts of the world years of arduous struggle and even bloodshed to attain.

3. Land Revenue.

AKBAR'S REVENUE SYSTEM:

The object of Akbar's revenue system was to obtain a correct measurement of the land, to ascertain

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the amount of the produce of each unit of land and to fix the government demand. For the first object he introduced a uniform standard of measurement. He also improved the instrument of mensuration and took steps to make a complete measurement of all the cultivable lands of the Empire which were divided into three classes according to their productiveness. The amount of each sort of produce yielded by a unit of each class was ascertained. The average of three years was assumed to be the produce of a unit, and one-third of such produce formed the Government demand. The quantity of produce due to the Government being settled, it was commuted into a money payment. All these settlements were at first annual, and afterwards were made for 10 years. because the annual system proved vexatious and expensive.

THE BRITISH SYSTEM :

Under British rule during the past fifty years revised settlements of land revenue demand have been made for even longer terms of years, on moderate and equitable principles. At these settlements careful surveys have been made of all holdings and records of rights in the land. As in Akbar's time so, under the British the periodical settlements proved vexatious and expensive. To avoid this a system of village records was introduced with the help of which the settlement officers can do their work with the least inconvenience and trouble to the people.

REVENUE SETTLEMENTS:

Settlements are made now in a comparatively short time and are less expensive. So moderate is the Government demand that even in thinly peopled tracts like Burma and Assam the cultivated area has doubled itself within 50 years. During the same period in the Central Provinces, Berar and in parts of Bombay it has increased from 30 to 60 per cent. Even in the thickly peopled province of Oudh it has increased 30 per cent. The general rise of prices, partly due to the facilities for trade and commerce under the British regime, has moreover enabled the agricultural classes to pay their land revenue more easily than before.

AKBAR'S SETTLEMENT :

The famous land settlement of Hindusthan made by Akbar was based on one-third of the gross produce of each field. The present assessment of the Punjab represents from one-tenth to one-fourteenth of the gross produce. In British India the present

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land revenue represents an average charge of eight annas a bigha of cultivated area. Fifty or sixty years ago land revenue formed half the total public income of the country. It is now less than one-fourth.

The above facts go to show how unfair is the charge, so lightly levelled by irresponsible people, of India being bled white by the extortions of British rule. No doubt an efficient government such as we now enjoy, must be paid for at a higher rate than one less efficient; but, as the children of the soil, who can afford to do the same work at a less charge, can more and more replace imported administrators, this cost will 'automatically diminish. The process is already to some extent going on, but its complete development needs must take time to perfect.

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I. Administration of Civil Justice.

EFFICIENCY OF JUDICIAL COURTS :

The improvement that has taken place in the administration of Civil Justice in India under British rule is remarkable. It may now bear comparison with the efficiency of any system existing anywhere in the world. The laws have been simplified and codified and it is a settled rule, never departed from except in very backward provinces, to appoint to judicial offices men of high education and upright character, who before their appointment have received a sound legal training. In nearly 90 per cent. of the causes before the Courts, Indians are the Judges.

EARLY JUDICIAL COURTS :

Sixty years ago there were two superior courts sitting in each Presidency town, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. They were the Supreme Court and the Sudder Court. The Supreme Court had no appellate powers, but exercised original jurisdiction

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over residents in the Presidency towns, and in cert in cases, over European British subjects outside those limits. The Sudder Court had no original jurisdiction but was the highest Court of Appeal in this country. Appeals lay before them from tribunals all over the country, except those in the Presidency towns.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM :

The present system which gives us a High Court, or a Chief Court, or a Judicial Commissioner's Court, in full control over all courts, civil and criminal in the province is a greatly improved one. The judges of the High Courts are appointed by the King and may be removed by him only, so that they are beyond the control of the Local or Indian Government. Thus, even when the people have claims against the Government itself, they may be sure of an impartial hearing. The strongest bulwark of British Rule in' India is this impartial administration of Justice.

JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS :

According as a province has advanced in education, justice is separated from executive or police administration, leaving no direct connection between the two. Burma is the only province where the administration of Civil Justice is not altogether dissociated from executive, police and revenue work. Minor criminal cases are tried in all provinces by officers who exercise executive and revenue powers. Everywhere the District Magistrate has the police, revenue and executive work in his charge. He has, moreover, an executive control over all subordinate magistrates within his jurisdiction. This is a system which has often been found fault with, though it is admitted that it has its advantages too. Moreover, it is not a creation of British rule in India, but is as old as the East itself. The British system is the most perfect to be found anywhere in the world. There the stipendiary magistrates are a body apart from the executive staff. It is to be hoped that the British system will in time be extended to India.

CHEAP JUSTICE :

Not very long ago, civil actions about small sums of money were so expensive that poor people chose to suffer injustice rather than go to law. Courts have now been provided where Civil Justice can be had at as little cost of time and money as possible. These inferior Courts have been found so useful that people are well satisfied with them. The simplicity of their methods has made them popular.

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VARIOUS GRADE'S OF COURTS :

Under the present system, if you want the help of the Law Courts to realise any small sum of money due to you, you have first to go to the Munsiff. If you are dissatisfied with his decision, you can appeal to the District Judge. And if you are still dissatisfied, you may place the matter before two Justices of the High Court, or the Chief Court, or the Judicial Commissioner's Court, as the case may be. But if the sum in question happens to be a large one, you begin with the Sub-Judge or the District Judge, and then go on to the High Court, and finally to the Privy Council the members of which are all men of great legal learning. From the decision of the Privy Council there is no further appeal. Thus you see, that in order to guard against possible errors of judgment all Civil cases may be tried no less than three times over.

No legal system is perfect. "Going to law" is perhaps a more expensive business than it ought to be. People should therefore, think twice before taking their differences to the Law Courts. Every effort should always be made to settle all kinds of disputes by a reference to good sense, mutual accommodation and friendly arbitration.

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2. Administration of Criminal Justice. CRIMINAL JUSTICE UNDER THE MOGHULS:

Now let us turn from Civil Justice to Criminal Justice. The Moghul arrangement was, that all capital cases should come before the Nawab Nazim himself at headquarters, and other cases of an important nature should go before the Naib Nazim. Fouzdars and Kotwals had jurisdiction over offences of a minor nature. In the Mofussil the Zamindars exercised unlimited criminal jurisdiction. They were required to report decisions of capital cases only to the Nawab. In all others there was no check or control over them.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE BROUGHT TO OUR DOOR :

Since India came to be under the direct rule of the Crown, the number of Criminal Courts has largely increased, so that we have not now to travel far to seek redress from wrong. The Penal Code has simplified the law of Crimes, as the Criminal Procedure Code has put the method of enquiry and prosecution on a systematic footing. The higher Courts are there to keep the lower Courts in check. It is no small privilege for our countrymen that they should have obtained the benefit of the system of "trial by jury" without any of the troubles which the



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English themselves had to suffer to get it. It secures them the right to be pronounced guilty, or declared innocent, by the verdict of their fellow-citizens. The Jury are judges of facts, and the Judge is the judge of law. Where trial by jury has not been extended there are Indian assessors who help the Judge to arrive at a correct conclusion on the facts of the case. In the case of the Jury their verdict is binding upon the Judge, but he may or may not accept the finding of the assessors. Thanks to 'Lord Ronaldshay, there is no district in the Presidency of Bengal where the system of Jury trial does not prevail now.

CRIMINAL TRIALS :

The results of the present system of Criminal trials and appeals are highly satisfactory. With the progress of the training of the Magistrates the length of Criminal trials has become less, and with the growth of their education and the increase of their salary has come a much higher standard of honesty and sense of duty. Fifty years ago there was only an honorary magistrate here and there. We have now over 5,000 of them in all India, dealing with petty crimes in towns and rural tracts. Their decisions, as a rule, give satisfaction. Their procedure is fairly correct, and a great many of them take a real interest in their public duties. THE NET RESULT :

The administration of Criminal Justice has deterred violent crimes in India, while its healthy influence upon minor crimes is even more marked. Religious or caste disputes are not of frequent occurrence in our day. Minor officials are purer than they ever were before, and commercial dealings are carried on with a higher sense of honour.

3. Police.

THE ANCIENT POLICE SYSTEM :

The ancient police system of India consisted of a headman and a watchman in every village. They formed the backbone of the police machinery. They do so, even now, in a large measure. The headman was more of a Magistrate under whom the watchmen worked. The duties of the watchman were to keep watch at night, and find out all arrivals and departures. He had to observe all strangers, and report suspicious persons to the headman. He was expected to know the character of every man in the village. It was his business to detect the thief in case of a theft in the village. If he traced the thief to another village to the satisfaction of the watchman there, his responsibility ended, the watchman of the

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new village taking up the enquiry. The watchman of the last village to which the thief was traced was answerable for the stolen property, or else the villagers themselves. Their office was hereditary and they were paid by the produce of an *inam* (free grant) land, and by a small tax on each house in the village. The watchman, therefore, was the servant of the whole community. This ancient system answered its purpose fairly well.

THE MOCHUL POLICE SYSTEM:

The Moghuls retained the system, but appointed at the head of a group of villages a supervising officer, usually a revenue officer, who was also a Magistrate. The spies under their system, however, were not quite the same functionaries as the detectives of the present day. With the decline of the Moghul power their police became hopelessly inefficient. Petty Chiefs and Zamindars did pretty much as they liked, and even harboured criminals or winked at crime for a share of the booty. The watchman was no longer responsible for stolen goods or for their value. The village organisations lost all their power of selfprotection.

This was the order of things when the British came, and they at once set themselves to work to bring about an improvement. **PRESENT POLICE SYSTEM:**

Though still capable of further improvement, our modern Police system has largely helped to secure the safety of our lives and property. The Criminal Procedure Code carefully defines the powers of the several grades of police officers. It limits the number of cases in which the police may arrest. It restricts the time for which they may detain suspected persons without bringing them before a magistrate. So generally, the law keeps the Police under proper order and control.

The present Police system was begun in 1861, and comprises a Chief Officer at the head of the district police. He is separate from the judicial staff, but is subject to the control of the chief executive officer of the district, the Magistrate. He directs and manages the police and their work all over the district. Great improvements have been made in the status, the pay, the education and behaviour of the force. The position of the village watchman has not been lost sight of. His duties are now clearly defined and regular payment of his monthly wages is secured to him. Recent laws have made the village policeman a member and servant of the village community. He is always under the legitimate control

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of the "village elders". The urban watchmen have been, under British rule, united into a body of town police with duties confined to their respective towns." In time of trouble and pressure, well-to-do and respectable townsmen and villagers are expected to work as constables. Among their other duties the police are to see that municipal and sanitary rules are observed by the people and excise, forest, infanticide and criminal laws are not broken.

MODERN POLICE EFFICIENCY :

Thanks to the Police administration of the British, the country is now free from the gangs of dacoits and thugs and professional thieves which used, to infest it. The days when men could commit murder with impunity are gone for ever. Gang robbery is fast becoming a thing of the past.

These merits of the system should enable us to put up with equanimity with the admitted defects due to the personnel of the police force, who have not yet risen to a high level of civic consciousness. It might help us to do this when we remember that most of them are after all our countrymen, and the higher the moral heights to which we rise as a people the better will become the character of those who will be paid to police us.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES OF PUBLIC BENEFIT.

1. Irrigation.

IRRIGATION CANALS :

The most important public works in British India have been the canals and other irrigation works. By them water is carried to the fields in parts of the country where the climate or character of the agriculture requires it. Flood waters are kept from washing the fields by embankments. There are the Sone and Orissa canals in Bengal. The Lower Ganges, the Agra and the Betwa canals in the U. P., the Periyar and Kurnool canals in Madras, the Nira canal in Bombay, the Sirhind, the Chenab and Ihelum canals in the Punjab. and the Jumna Canal in Sindh. These have converted waterless and desert tracts : into prosperous agricultural : colonies. The ryots have not only been enriched by them, but are protected from famine and loss of cattle which drought always causes. In fact Punjab and Sindh depend for their very life upon canal irrigation inasmuch

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as 98 per cent. of the area cultivated in those two provinces depend upon canal water. Altogether an immense tract of country, which used to remain barren, has now, been converted into a veritable granary of luxuriant crops.

Systematic Extension of Irrigation :

In addition to further bold projects of irrigation which, when completed, will surpass even the achievements of the past, the British Government, which is nothing if not both practical and thorough, has left no sources of water supply or water-storage neglected. In each province, the means of water supply best suited to it,—canals, tanks or wells—are scientifically investigated and mathematically laid down, so that we may have a continuous programme which may be pursued in ordinary years, as an insurance against bad years when they come. Thus a sustained policy of hydraulic works, the best protective against famine, is secured, and if, as the Hindus say, no merit is higher than that earned by the gift of water, the British in India have earned it in a pre-eminent degree.

2. Railways and Roads.

RAILWAYS ;

The most striking of England's achievements in

India are the railways. They carry food from prosperous districts to famine-stricken provinces, and convey the surplus products in different parts of the country to big trading centres or seaports, and thus enable them to find the best market. In short, we cán now turn over our money ten times as fast and profitably as when we had not these advantages, to say nothing of the increased security of transit and transport. Lastly, railways give the country a great addition to its military strength by furnishing the means for a rapid movement of troops and supplies.

Travelling has a great educative value both for mind and heart, and the growing fellow-feelingamongst the different parts of the country is due to the facilities for travel which we now enjoy. We go now 400 miles instead of 10 miles a day, and at onesixth of the old cost. The rates charged for travelling compared to European charges are very low,—in the proportion of one to four. It has been estimated that the producers, traders, and passengers of India benefit to an amount equal to Rs. 10,00,000, by reason of this cheapness alone. The saving of time is also not an inconsiderable pecuniary benefit.

Lastly the railway service gives employment to nearly 6,00,000 persons of whom over 5,60,000 are our countrymen. Moreover railways in India are not

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merely commercial enterprises, but they have been laid along tracts of country where they do not pay their way, only as a protection against famine.

ROADS :

The construction of roads, also, has not been neglected. There are the trunk roads, which are the arteries of communication. These with their feeder roads facilitate access to railway stations, and the whole country is now covered with a supplementary network of roads carrying on the good work being done by railways.

3. The Post office.

THE POSTAL SYSTEM :

The Indian Postal system has several unique merits. In their own country the British people have not yet been able to bring the postage on letters to below one penny, which is equal to one anna. There a post card costs a half-penny, equal to our half-anna, which however is quite sufficient in India for a letter, one tola in weight, to be carried from Bhamo (on the borders of China) to Quetta in Beluchistan, a distance of over 3,000 miles.

Some time before 1858 a postal system on the English model had been introduced into India. It

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bore uniform low stamps for all distances. But since that date the system has been greatly extended and improved. There are over 2,50,000 miles of postal route now, in place of 30,000 when the Crown took over the administration of India. There is now not a village of any importance which has not got a post office. Where there is not a post office there is a post box, so that no locality with any population to boast of now lacks postal facilities.

The boon that the postal system has been to the country may be appreciated from the fact that over a 1,000 million letters and packets pass through the post office every year in India.

MONEY ORDERS :

The activity of the Indian post office is manysided. To facilitate the circulation of money among our villagers the Indian Post Office has devised the money order system under which we get the money safely carried for a small payment. If it is lost in any way, or delivered to the wrong person, the law makes the post office liable.

THE SAVINGS BANK :

The post office moreover undertakes to deliver parcels to any part of India or of the world, and will hold itself responsible for their safe carriage in consi-

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deration of a slightly larger payment by way of insurance. The postal savings bank has helped our people to deposit their pettiest savings and to earn a fair interest thereon. It is thus teaching them to be thrifty, as is shown by the fact that there are now 16,60,424 depositors of whom nine-tenths are Indians; the total value of the deposits being over Rs. 15,32,12,517.

Advantage of State*Monopoly :

Under the law the post office has the sole right of carrying and distributing letters, packets and newspapers in and within India. This monopoly has made the Post Office a very profitable source of income to the State, while enabling it to do its work cheaper than any private company could possibly manage. One has to pay a visit to such an important postal centre as the General Post Office of Calcutta, or of Bombay, to be impressed by the fact that the pitch of enthusiasm, excellence and speed with which our vast postal business is carried on, is beyond all praise.

4. Telegraphs.

Telegraphs:

Equally important is the present telegraphic system with its 3,00,000 miles and more of wire in place of 3,000 in 1858. The number of messages that pass over these wires, annually, is enormous. The fee is small, and at a cost within the reach of the poorest, one can get news of a friend, or of business, in an hour's time from any part of India. A Calcutta merchant may now ascertain the daily fluctuations of the market at Cawnpore or Nagpur by means of the telegraph, and need not lose good bargains by waiting for days for a reply by post. Fancy what would be the state of business if the posts and telegraphs were stopped and closed even for a short time.

Telegraphic Remittances :

Payments also may now be made by wire. By putting in a sum of money in the telegraph office at Calcutta, with the necessary commission, I can require the office to make payment to my creditor or my brother in the farthest corner of India. Several millions of rupees are thus sent by telegraphic money orders every year.

How beneficial the postal and telegraphic systems have been to our countrymen is proved by the fact that their activity is increasing beyond calculation year by year in every department of their work.

THE CABLE :

The cable, an extension of the wire, connects.

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India with all foreign countries, even the most di ant, so effectively that, though the cost may be a triffe greater, Calcutta can get news from London almost as soon as it can from Bombay—a marvel which sounds like a dream of the Arabian nights or a fancyof a mythological age.

CHAPTER VII.

MATERIAL PROGRESS.

1. Famine Relief.

FAMINE RELIEF':

Against famine, India is now ever so much better fitted to fight than she was fifty years also. Over many tracts of India the rainfall is occasionally short, or not timely, and sometimes it fails altogether. Such disasters cause loss of crops, and want of food, resulting every now and then in scarcity, and more rarely in a regular famine. Happily these crop failures never afflict the whole of India at the same time. Prosperous provinces, therefore, are able to spare their surplus food for their suffering brethern. In the old days there was but little of systematic thought or action to take advantage of this fact. Moreover there were no effectual means for doing so. Prosperous tracts could not help famine-stricken areas by sending them food in time. The death rate was, consequently, terrible and large tracts of country often lay desolate for years.

Under British rule famines no doubt have been frequent, but their ravages are being minimised and

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their effects last less long.' In the last great famine of 1899, as many as 25,000,000 of people were affected, but the railways carried $2\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of grain into the affected areas. Not one-tenth of this quantity, could have reached these areas, and been distributed in time, before British rule. One can easily imagine how great would have been the death rate without this timely help.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND :

A fund known as the Famine Insurance Fund is maintained by the Government of India in which a certain sum of money is kept year by year. In years of famine money for the relief of the stricken is drawn from this fund. In prosperous years portions of this fund are spent on preventive measures such as irrigation works, feeder railways and other public works.

METEOROLOGICAL DEPT. & RELIEF WORKS :

There is also a scientific department called the Meteorological Department which makes periodical reports about the rainfall and other atmospheric conditions. Its reports afford a fair guide as to whether it is likely to be a year of drought or unseasonable weather, thus giving timely warning upon which test works are at once opened in any area of

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apprehended famine. If people flock there, willing to work at famine rates, relief operations are undertaken which give them work enough to earn a meagre livelihood, till the next harvest. Those who are aged and infirm and otherwise unfit for work in relief operations are granted gratuitous relief. The Government also often remits rents and taxes in famine areas.

If respectable people in India hate anything, it is begging, or living on public charity. This reluctance is worthy of respect and so far as possible it is respected by our British administrators. Millions of the unfortunate have been provided with warm clothes and blankets and medical and dietary aid has been brought to them. Orphans have been taken care of, and relief with scrupulous privacy brought home to the respectable destitute, and to Pardanashin women too proud to beg for relief. The Government opens its treasury for *taccavi* advances, and its officers, from the Viceroy and Provincial rulers downwards, go all over the country, and do not hesitate to visit the affected areas personally, even though cholera, plague or other epidemics be raging there.

INCREASE OF POPULATION IN SPITE OF FAMINES :

The mere fact that in spite of famines, the population in British India has, during the last 10

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years, increased by ten millions, while that of the Native States in the plains of India decreased by 4 millions, speaks volumes for the material benefits, sometimes so unreasonably disputed, derived by India from her present administration.

2. Trade and Manufactures.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS :

All over the world the middle classes form the backbone of the nation. This is seen in the history of Europe. This was also the case in our Country in the past. But owing to changing conditions due to the physical and moral impact of the West upon our Country we now find ourselves with a broken back! On the one hand the standard and cost of living has increased to a degree undreamt of by our forefathers, who lived their simple, useful lives well enough without our modern luxuries; on the other, a large and annually increasing number of our young men are thrown upon the world after years of grinding in school and college, divorced from all real touch with life, and with a smattering of book learning as their sole stock-in-trade. They are thus fitted for no higher work than petty clerkships or such-like subordinate services, the supply of which is, and must be, considerably below the demand, and which class

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of unskilled labour is so poorly paid that it can hardly keep their body and soul together, much less enable them to bring up their families, or provide for other dependents, with anything like decency. Their economic condition has become one of chronic, pitiable want, and their sufferings are reflected in the emasculation of the whole nation.

The only thing which our leading men have thought of doing, during all these years, for these unfortunates, is to beg of the Government to be more liberal in providing them with lucrative employment. But surely our duty consists of much more than only that ! On the one hand our social leaders could have advised our people not to saddle themselves with families till they could provide for them; on the other, our English education should have taught us, much earlier, that the regeneration of our Country cannot be brought about by increasing the number of clerks, but that we must direct our attention to the production of what we require for ourselves. In other words, it is obvious that we should try to take our share in trade, commerce and manufacture, by means of which not only will those who take an active part therein earn more for themselves, but there will be more of the necessaries of life for the whole country.

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INDIA'S NEGLECTED RESOURCES :

We pride ourselves on the immense resources of our country but of what avail to us will they be if we neglect to make use of them? Rice, for example, grows in our country, but it must go all the way to Europe before it can come back to us as starch. The same is the case with too many of our raw products. In Bombay, no doubt, out more enterprising countrymen have done justice to the cotton which grows on that side by starting mills for its manufacture. In Bengal the Tea industry is attracting indigenous capital and enterprise, but the manufacture of jute has not been taken up by our country, in spite of the example of many jute mills run by English Capital. And on every side we'see examples of possibilities neglected, or allowed to be captured by others. Thus no adequate effort has been made by our countrymen to develop our mineral resources. Our Gold, our Coal, our Mica, our Manganese, all these are left to foreign enterprise, though the solitary example of the Tatas is there to show what can be done with one mineral, iron, alone.

BRITISH EXAMPLE :

If, therefore, such men as Tata deserve our esteem and gratitude, does not the enterprise of

Englishmen who have shown us such brilliant examples of what can be done by joint-stock enterprise and organisation in almost every line of busmess, also deserve to be respected and imitated by us? By pooling our Capital together in joint-stock enterprises, and employing expert advice and assistance by paying for it, why should we not be able to do what they have shown us can be done, by the exercise of mutual trust and business methods?

UNWISE METHODS :

There was a time when India held a commanding position in the textile industry, so much so that she not only supplied her own wants but also had a large export trade. This was out-paced and eventually destroyed by the competition of European machinery and superior organisation. When we realised this we were driven to the Swadeshi movement, but this was neither wisely guided, nor steadily and systematically pursued, so that it ended in a puerile and negative boycott. Instead of providing ourselves with cheaper commodities we thought of thrusting away the cheap necessaries of life which had come to our door. Instead of trying to learn, and making earnest and sustained efforts, we adopted a policy of reviling others and closing our eyes to our

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own defects. This was hardly the way to set about to regenerate our industries !

EXPANSION OF TRADE IN INDIA :

In spite of our shortcomings, however, and thanks to European enterprise, the expansion of trade in India has been such that it can now take rank with some of the most prosperous countries in the world. Apart from what we send to foreign ports, different provinces and districts now largely exchange commodities. The Government has not been wanting in efforts by means of museums, exhibitions and stores in different parts of the country to encourage our rural manufactures and home industries. As for our external commerce, our Tea, Jute, Coal, Mica, Petroleum and Cotton are not only supplying different parts of the world, but affording employment to millions of men who otherwise would have been thrown on our already overburdened land.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE FOR INDIA :

Nevertheless, Agriculture must always remain one of the chief industries of India. Here also the British Government has made systematic efforts for its improvement. Since 1870, there has been established in every province a Department of Agriculture. It collects and makes public early information as to th probable yield of crops. It starts and maintains model and experimental farms for the purpose of discovering and popularising new methods and new crops, and of training experts. At Pusa in the province of Behar, there is a Central College of Agriculture where higher scientific Agriculture is being taught, and may be expected in course of time to be of the greatest benefit to our vast agricultural populations. Then there are the Botanical Gardens in Calcutta, Bombay, Ootacamund and Saharanpore; the museums of Bombay, Madras, Labore, Lucknow, Nagpur and Rangoon.

THE MODERN BANKING SYSTEM :

The Modern Banking system, which is essentially a system introduced by the British, is the very life blood of all the vast commerce and trade to which I have referred above. This was unknown under the Moghul Government, or before them. Our moneylending institutions, which aré flourishing all over the country, are perhaps a good beginning which may be developed, if we can only learn combination and mutual trust, into a vast Banking business, which would immensely facilitate the development of our

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internal trade and pave the way for our taking a share in the exchange Banking of the world.

The main point which I should like to impress on you is, that we should look on British enterprise, not as a rival to be reviled or sneered at, but as an educative example to be pondered over from which lessons of vital importance to our future development are to be learnt.

3. Employment of Indians in the Public Services

Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, is the great Charter upon which we Indians take our stand. In obedience to that Charter, and also to Acts of Parliament, our rulers have steadily associated us with the government of our country. In the Council of the Secretary of State for India, three Indian gentlemen of fame hold their seats. In the Viceroy's Executive Council there is an Indian gentleman of great eminence in charge of the Department of Education : he is a part of the "Government of India". The unofficial members of the various legislative Councils are for the most part our countrymen. They represent local bodies or special sections of the community. INDIANS IN HIGH JUDICIAL OFFICES :

There is not a judicial tribunal in India, high or low, where we have not had our share of representation on the Bench. Some of the most eminent Judges of the five High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Patna have been Indians. Out of a total number of forty six High Court Judges, fifteen are Indians. The Chief Courts of Lahore and Rangoon have Indians on their benches, nor are the Courts of Judicial Commissioners in the Central Provinces and Oudh without their Indian element.

THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA :

The Superior Officers of the Civil administration are drawn chiefly from the Civil Service of India. This Service admission into which is by open competition consists of 1319 persons of whom about 50 are Indians. In the year 1912, a Royal Commission was appointed with statesmen and administrators both Indian and English as its members. Prominent amongst them were Lord Ronaldshay, the present Governor of Bengal, Justice Abdur Rahim of Madras and Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a Mahratta gentleman of rare distinction in the public life of India. Within recent years there has not been a countryman of ours who has been held in higher esteem than



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Mr. Gokhale, by the Indian and European communities alike, whether here or in England. He was a bold and fearless critic of the government and its measures. His criticisms, however, were tempered by sense, reason, and above all, moderation; so that he was one of the most effective of the critics of the Government. Upon his death in the year 1914, Englishmen, who were his life-long political. opponents came forward and vied with one another to do honour to his memory. In accordance with the recommendations of this commission nine of the appointments in the Indian Civil Service are hereafter to be competed for year by year in India. Among its other recommendations are those which tend to improve the pay and position and number of Indians in the various other branches of the Public Service in India.

The remarkable progress made will be evident when I tell you that, sixty years ago, there were no Indians on the Bench of any Supreme or Chief Court, or in the Legislative Council or in the Civil Service.

FURTHER FACILITIES FOR INDIAN OFFICIALS:

In the year 1886, Lord Dufferin's government appointed a commission to enquire into the whole question of our employment in the public services of India. The commission recommended that in the Superior grades ordinarily held by members of the Civil Service certain offices should be thrown open to members of the Provincial Service. The recommendation was given effect to in 1891. These are called "listed posts", appointments to which are made by the promotion of able and devoted public servants from the lower services. Such posts include executive headships of districts as also District and Sessions Judgeships. They are all posts of the highest importance. The number of "listed" posts is gradually being increased as opportunity occurs.

PROVINCIAL & SUBORDINATE CIVIL SERVICES :

The Provincial and Subordinate Services comprise bodies of competent public servants who have the details of the work of administration in their hands and are open largely to Indians. The Provincial Civil Service comprises subordinate Judgeships and Magistracies and the great number of the Executive, Magisterial and Judicial posts are filled by its members. The Indian Medical Service, the highest branch of the Medical department in India, is open to Englishmen and Indians alike. There is a very healthy rule adopted in 1879, that appointments made in India and carrying a salary of Rs. 200/- a month

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and upwards should ordinarily be held by natives of India. No such appointment may therefore be made to defeat that rule except by special sanction. We know that unless a very strong case is made out the rule is strictly observed. The Members of the Provincial Service manage by far the greater part of the business connected with administration. They dispose of the greater part of the magisterial work. The Civil Courts, other than the Courts of Appeal, are entirely manned by Indian Judges. There is perhaps no country even in wealthy Europe where public servants equal to the members of our Provincial Civil Service in rank are so well paid.

OTHER SERVICES:

Under British rule all branches of the legal profession are open to the natives of the soil. And there is no post in the higher or in the provincial Engineering services to which men recruited from the Indian Engineering Colleges may not rise. Similarly Indians of learning, ability and academic distinction cannot be shut out of any office in the imperial or subordinate educational services. Honorary posts, such as magistracies, memberships of self-governing bodies, and fellowships of universities, are open to all qualified citizens.

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Needless to say, Indians have proved themselves quite fit for all these responsible offices, and it is also a matter of congratulation that the training we receive by holding such posts is more and more fitting us for taking a larger share in the management of our own affairs.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND CULTURE.

1 .Sanitation.

IMPORTANCE OF STATISTICS :

As I told you at the outset, sanitary measures were not regarded as a matter requiring systematic organisation in the old days. Even under the East India Company they had not acquired the importance which they have had since 1858. Up till then the sanitation of large cities and cantonments only was cared for. Our Mahomedan rulers or the Hindu governments before them made no attempt whatsoever to ascertain the facts relating to death and disease over the country. A perfect system of sanitation can be established only when we know the period when certain diseases appear, the death rate due thereto and the means of prevention. To ascertain the real state of affairs a system has been introduced under which we are obliged to register deaths and their causes. The statistical information so made available enable us to know what are the local diseases and the per centage of the population suffering from them with fatal effect.

and once the true causes are known it does not take long for modern science to find out the means to check them.

SANITARY MEASURES :

The supply of filtered water and the construction of water works have greatly aided in driving out local diseases. More than 100 Municipal towns are now furnished with water-supply systems. Many of them, such as those in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, are on a large scale, and are constructed on the most approved modern methods. The prevalence of plague has made the government direct its attention towards improving the dwellings of the poor. That is not all. Further to improve the health of the people, and to afford them protection from epidemics, grants-in-aid are made from the general revenues. The constant attention of trained experts are always employed to solve the sanitary problems of our town life.

CO-OPERATION OF THE PEOPLE NECESSARY :

If the progress of sanitation in rural areas leaves much to be desired, that is due not only to the lack of funds, but the habits of our own people are also to blame. Our countrymen find it difficult to get over

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their old deep-seated prejudices and the lax ways of life into which they had fallen. Nevertheless, rural sanitation being in the first instance vested in the village or district authorities, of which I have already told you, it is satisfactory to note that, provided they have funds at their disposal, these bodies are ever ready to adopt measures calculated to improve public health.

Popular apathy to sanitary improvement is giving way to'a recognition of its advantages, but it should give way faster. Indians are noted for their personal cleanliness, but a due sense of public cleanliness yet remains to be cultivated. In the larger towns of Calcutta and Bombay things have steadily improved, but village habitations are still ill-ventilated and overpopulated. The village site is dirty, and is allowed to be poisoned by stagnant pools; moreover, the villagers further pollute these pools by using them for every kind of purpose. The local bodies who are responsible for sanitary improvements cannot do much unless the people also cultivate healthy habits, which are at the very root both of a healthy body and a healthy mind.

2. Hospitals and Dispensaries.

A hospital is a place where outdoor patients are given medicines free, and indoor patients are taken

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in, accommodated, nursed and cured. A dispensary is a place where only the maladies of outdoor patients are attended to, and medicines dispensed gratis.

EXTENSIVE MEDICAL AID :

One great aim of British rule in India has always been to carry to the houses of people the benefits of scientific surgery and medicine, and continued efforts have been made to make them popular. The use, however, of our indigenous drugs and systems of medicine has never been discouraged. There are numberless civil hospitals and dispensaries at which millions of sufferers are treated every year either as indoor or outdoor patients. To the several Medical Colleges established under British rule we owe the very large number of medical men, trained in modern surgery and medicine, who are now scattered all over the country. Those who can not afford to call in their services at home have the hospitals and dispensaries of which in the year 1915, there were as many as 4,419, where no less than 39,988,339 persons received medical aid as outdoor patients, and 717.222 were indoor patients. Unfortunately the old-fashioned section of our countrymen have got certain baseless prejudices against availing themselves of these profferred benefits. But it is surely better to

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be in a hospital, where all that is possible will be done by trained medical men, than to risk a death of agony at the hands of a quack.

MEDICAL AID FOR WOMEN:

The Lady Dufferin Association founded in 1888, for providing medical aid to women and children, is an institution of which advanced Europe would be proud. Here nurses and midwives are trained up and sent out to alleviate the sufferings of the poor women, who had formerly to put up with their ailments, at great discomfort and perhaps permanent deterioration to their health, relying only on such simple remedies as they themselves knew of. Zenana hospitals are also maintained, where women may get professional attendance with due privacy.

MODERN PROBLEMS SOLVED BY MODERN METHODS :

Thus if the stress and strain of modern conditions, the interrupted drainage, due to railways, the greater spread of epidemics owing to facility of communications,—if all these have inevitably brought about more liability to disease, it is clear that the Government has not been behindhand in grappling with the problem, and a mere glance at the health statistics of big towns like Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, where the results of modern hygiene are most clearly to be seen, compared with those of the surrounding country largely left in their natural conditions, will be enough to convince one that a proper appreciation of the teachings of modern science is all that is needed to combat successfully the strain of modern economic conditions; and while the Government cannot be blamed for the advent of the latter, the introduction of the former is certainly to their credit.

3. Education.

INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH EDUCATION :

One of England's great men was Lord Macaulay, who as Law Member pursuaded the Government of India to open the doors of Western education to the people of the country. It was at his instance that the government of Lord William Bentinck declared that "His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European Literature and Science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone."

The system of education continued to bear excellent fruits until 1882, when the government of Lord Ripon decided to improve it so as to make further and more rapid progress. In that view he appointed

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an education commission which recommended a further extension of the principles and policy of education laid down in the despatch of 1854.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION:

It was in the year 1857, that the three great Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Cadras were started. To these some under-graduates were immediately attracted. In the meantime education departments had been formed in the larger provinces. Along with them the grant-in-aid system, which has done so much for the growth of Indian education, had been begun, with the result that great numbers of colleges have grown out of the 13 in existence in 1858.

The earliest year for which complete statistics are available is 1865, and the latest, 1916. If we compare the figures of the former with those of the latter we cannot but wonder how rapidly we have advanced. In the year 1865, there were in all India 26 colleges with about 1,600 under-graduates. In the year 1916, we have had as many as 147 colleges with about 42,000 undergraduates in the country. Of these 34 colleges are in Bengal with 15,921 students, 7 colleges in Bombay with 3,475 students, 37 colleges in Madras with 8,284 scholars, 40 colleges in the U. P. with 25,850 scholars, and 10 colleges in the Panjab with 3,514 scholars. Nor do the Central Provinces or the new province of Behar and Orissa lag far behind.

There are now firstly the five great universities, of Calcutta, Allahabad, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab established by the Government and later additions are the Hindu University of Benares which promises to have a great future before it, and an university at Patna. Four more Universities, in Dacca, Nagpur, Burma, and a Moslem University on the lines of the Benares Hindu University have been decided upon. The management of the affairs of the universities is in the hands of Fellows, the majority of whom are nominated by the Government, the remainder being elected by the Senate, or its faculties, or by the body of graduates of the University.

Our Universities are fast becoming a power, for the whole system is being changed and their management is rightly and gradually being made over to men whose occupation is to teach. The Vice-Chancellor is nominated by the Chancellor who is always the head of the administration of the Province. In the case of Calcutta, only, he is the Viceroy himself with the head of the province as the Rector.

Our re-constituted Universities have been put upon a basis which, if judiciously maintained, will

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place high education in India on a par with the best University education anywhere in Europe, or in America.

PRIMARY EDUCATION :

The government is moreover taking steps to bring primary education to the door of every Indian of School going age. In that view they have set themselves to the task of increasing the number of primary. and secondary schools, and have year by year steadily added to their number until we have now 1,20,000. This is not to be the final number. Not very long ago the Viceroy declared that, "It is the desire and hope of the Government of India to see in the not distant future some 91,000 primary public schools added to the 1,00,000 which already existed for boys, and to double the 41/2 millions of pupils who now receive instruction in them." It is an elaborate system and broadly speaking the plan of education is the same everywhere. Thus the outer gates of knowledge may be said to have been thrown open to all.

The proportion of children passing the several standards has gone on increasing. The numbers reaching and attending secondary schools have steadily advanced till in 1915, there were 45,18,004 boys and 9,28,846 girls on the rolls of 1,31,712 secondary or

primary schools. Besides these there is a vast number of pupils in private schools. There are normal schools for training men and women teachers in every province. The education department maintains a staff of able inspecting officers to visit and examine all the schools on the lists.

FEMALE EDUCATION:

The Zenana and the caste system offer peculiar difficulties in India to the education of our girls. The Bethune College in Calcutta is the only Ladies College in India; but mixed education of boys and girls is permitted in all the colleges under Government control and in several town and village schools. For all that, it cannot be said that sufficient attention has been paid to this important branch of education, and the fault lies largely in the apathy of our countrymen.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION :

Medical Colleges and Schools furnish yearly a growing number of graduates and certificated practitioners. They do duty at hospitals and dispensaries and a very large number of them find useful and lucrative careers in private practice. The Lady doctors employed by the Lady Dufferin Association also spread the knowledge of medicine, surgery, and nursing among the women of the country.

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TECHNICAL EDUCATION:

Technical branches of study, such as Engineering, mechanical, electrical etc., are now drawing a larger number of youths than they did 20 years ago. There are well equipped Engineering Colleges in all the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. In the U. P. the Roorkee Civil Engineering College ranks as high as the best of Engineering Colleges in England. The three former are affiliated to their respective universities and besides these there are some engineering schools. There is a dearth of technical schools in India, but considerable facilities are offered by the workshops attached to the Railway lines in India. They take in suitable apprentices for training and employment after going through a complete course. The Agricultural Colleges of Pusa in Bengal and of Madras are doing useful work.

LEGAL EDUCATION :

The number of students that go into law is extraordinary. It is evidently the most popular profession with the educated classes in India, —a fact to be regretted. It cannot, however, be denied that the present generation of trained lawyers have done much to improve the administration of justice in India.

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Education was formerly confined to privileged classes only. The gates of learning have now been thrown open to all, irrespective of sex, caste or creed. Every subject of His Majesty may claim primary education as a birth-right. Moreover our latter-day schools and colleges afford the best training ground for the idea of equality and fraternity, inasmuch as boys of all races, religions, and castes pass the most impressionable period of their lives there, together, and with every opportunity for the formation of friendships based on an understanding and mutual respect for each other's traditional and personal acquirements.

NATIONAL EDUCATION .

A substantial advance in the direction of national education has been made by the establishment of the department of Archaeological Survey. The relics of our great and glorious civilization are guarded and preserved by this department. If our past has been great, surely our future may be great also, for out of the past comes the future. Our temples, mosques, monuments, tombs, pillars and inscriptions,—what art and beauty, what eloquent lessons lie hidden in them. The sad neglected condition of these innumerable records of our history aroused the sympathy of our British Administrators

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who with their characteristic thoroughness resolved to recover and preserve them so that they may stand for all times to come as a visible memento of the mighty past of the country, whose destinies, under God, were placed in their hands.

Research work done in this field would have two important results. It would give us ample materials for studying our ancient literature and history, and would help the British to respect our past. Upon this respect, mutual esteem would flourish.

A noteworthy sign of the times is the foundation of the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta, which is intended to be a monument of the sacred memory of the great Queen Empress and a reminder for all time of the vigour and many sided activity of British rule.

4. Literature and newspapers.

THE PRESS AND LITERARY OUTPUT :

The rapid growth of education in India has necessarily increased the output of books, magazines and newspapers. The growth of current literature has been more remarkable in India than in any other country. Sixty or seventy years ago there were only a very small number of vernacular papers and these were all published at or near Presidency towns. Now every town has a newspaper, Vernacular or English,

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and many have more than one. That this is the result of the diffusion of education, both primary and secondary, cannot be denied. There are more than 400 English newspapers in India with an average circulation of 1,500 copies. But the more widely read and distributed papers are in the Vernaculars. Of these there are about 1,000 with an average circulation of 4,000 copies. There are also about 3,000 magazines published in India.

IMPROVEMENT OF PRESS UPON LIBERATION :

At its start the Press was jealously watched by the authorities and the fetters under which it was put were enough to keep self-respecting men clear of journalism as a profession. It was under the Marquis of Hastings in 1818, that the censorship of the Press was abolished with the result that abler men came in. Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord William Bentinck, two men of rare, liberal views were the principal benefactors of the Indian Press. To Metcalfe is due the credit of having emancipated the Press, subject to certain conditions which, however, were never enforced. With its emancipation the Press improved in tone and status and has steadily gone on doing so until the present day when many able men, both British and Indian, are engaged in the noble profession of

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journalism. It educates public opinion such as. nothing else can.

At the time of the Mutiny, Lord Canning again placed the Press under restraint, but for a year only, until the heat and passion of that unfortunate incident had expired. In 1878, Lord Lytton introduced a reactionary policy by depriving the Vernacular Press of its freedom. The policy did not survive more than four years, for immediately upon his arrival Lord Ripon once more freed the Press. Things remained in this state until 1910, when Lord Minto brought in the Press Act which makes seditious writings punishable. Lord Lýtton's Act applied to Vernacular journalism only, while that of Lord Minto applies to English and Vernacular journals alike, and is thus not equally invidious.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE :

Not less important is the growth of Vernacular literature, as represented by books. Over 10,000 books are .egistered in British India each year. It must, however, be admitted that all this literary activity yet leaves much to be desired in the way of substance and quality.

CHAPTER IX,

BRITISH PRINCIPLES AND THEIR LESSONS. INDIA NOT A CONQUERED COUNTRY :

From your reading of History you must have seen that British rule in India was not the result of any studied or deliberate policy of conquest. The English people came to India, as did other European people to trade. The country was then divided into innumerable rival factions and contending elements. It was on the verge of political chaos. In the resulting quarrels British traders and mercenaries got mixec up, partly by way of adventure, partly in self-defence and partly at the request of one or other of the contending parties. The inevitable result was that the strength of character of the British and their power of organisation brought them to the top.

During these preliminary struggles it was but natural that some of the meaner qualities of the different parties should have come into evidence. But it can serve no useful purpose to use this as a handle for decrying this party, or that. What is of much greater importance to note is that when the British nation found itself in power, it did not abuse such

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power. On the contrary it eventually rose to the height demanded by the great part which Providence thus called upon Great Britain to play. When it was found that government by the East India Company. originally a profit-making organisation, led to undesirable situations, the British people did not hesitate to take over the supreme responsibility of sovereign power.

SPIRIT OF BRITISH SOVEREIGNITY :

It was a great Englishman, John Stuart Mill, who first pointed out that "if there is a fact to which all experience testifies, it is that when a country holds another in subjection, the individuals of the ruling people who resort to the foreign country to make their fortunes are, of all others, those who most need to be held under powerful restraint. They are always one of the chief difficulties of the Government."

And, later, it was Queen Victoria the greatest of British Sovereigns who voiced the best feelings of her race when she proclaimed :---

"We hold Ourselves bound to the Natives of Our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind Us to all Our other subjects: and those obligations, by the Blessings of Almichty God, We shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

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And "It is Our further Will that, so far as may be, Our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the Duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

'And ''It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful Industry of India, to promote Works of Public Utility and Improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to Us, and to those in authority under Us, Str.ngth to carry out these Our Wishes for the Good of our people."

Her Majesty was so deeply anxious about the right spirit being introduced into the proclamation that she desired the Prime Minister Lord Derby to "write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than 100,000,000 of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe feelings of

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generosity, benevoience, and religious feeling, pointing out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization."

Twenty years later on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar in 1877, in delivering the message of Her Majesty, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, avowed that the Natives of India, whatever their race and whatever their creed, have a recognised claim to s'are largely with their English fellow-subjects, according to their capacity for the task in the administration of the country they inhabit. "This claim," the Viceroy went on, "is founded on the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

BRITAIN'S CONSISTENT AVOWALS OF POLICY :

Her Majesty's determination to abide by the principles of the proclamation was re-affirmed in her reply to the Address of Congratulation of the Bombay Municipal Corporation on the occasion of the Jubilee of her reign in 1887. Her Majesty delivered herself

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in these words : "Allusion is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct Government of India as the Charter of liberties of the Princes and Peoples of India. It has always been and will continue to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained."

This policy was ratified and confirmed by her successor, King Edward VII, in his proclamation of the 2nd of November, 1908. Apart from repeating every word of what his saintly mother proclaimed, the King said that, "steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power." The King moreover desired "the progress which had already been made in this direction to be firm and sure as education spreads" and we gain greater experience. It is upon the authority of King Edward that we have it, that "the welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart" of His Queen Mother. And we see from the above that Edward VII inherited that feeling from her.

Similarly King George V. would not let the occasion of his accession to the throne go by without solemnly repeating these assurances. The words which he used after referring to the two earlier

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proclamations are equally worthy of His Imperial Majesty. "These," His Majesty said, "are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time to come I will faithfully abide". We find that King George has consistently kept those high principles of Imperial rule of his father and grand-mother before him, for again on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1912, His Majesty assured us that our welfare and happiness were dearest to his heart, and that nothing could move him from his determination to see us happy and contented and our rights and privileges carefully protected and maintained.

And lastly, we find the entire British people through their representatives voicing sentiments no less noble. Recently on the 20th of August 1917, the Secretary of State for India made an announcement which shall always remain a landmark in our history. "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire." They have decided that "substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible". Here, the offer to gradually lead us on to Self-Government is firm and definite. And we may well rest assured, that our advance in that direction is bound to be in proportion to our fitness for it, by virtue of our education, integrity and sense of responsibility.

OUR DUTY :

No people known to history have ever set up for their own guidance principles so high and so noble, in regard to the Government of a subject country. But we must not forget that however great the British Sovereign and People may be, they cannot make us great. That is in our hands alone. Now that order has once again been evolved in India out of the threatening chaos which the *Pax Britannica* served to avert, opportunities have been placed in our way, such as we dared not even dream of a decade ago. It is now for us to display the strength, the intelligence, and the character to avail ourselves of these opportunities.

We should remember that no great achievement can be based on the low passions of envy, hate or spite. No policy of beg, borrow or steal can gain for men anything worth having. If we find anything

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admirable in the character of others, we should try to learn from them. Harping on anything that is blameworthy in others cannot make us any better. Fault-finding, quarrelsomeness, or secret machinations only recoil to the discomfiture of those who indulge in these futile activities.

WHAT IS WRONG :

There is no doubt that we have ample cause for dissatisfaction; but the point is, what are its true causes?

On the one hand there is our blind clinging to whatever has come to us from the past, without making any attempt to discriminate between that part of it which represents the priceless original heritage left to us by our glorious ancestors, and that which is the result of the degeneration which has been at work amongst us during centuries of anarchy or misrule, and which now only cramps and distorts our best activities. On the other hand, there is the glamour of the West which attracts us to an equally blind imitation of its easily acquired superficial mannerisms, and even vices, to the neglect of the sturdy and sterling qualities which have made it great, but the gaining of which require conscientious and strenuous effort. We unthinkingly enter, for example, into the bonds of marriage, and take upon ourselves the burden of family life before we are able to qualify to earn a decent living for ourselves, and those already dependent on us. And we add to the misery and futility of our lives by adopting, in the name of a higher standard of living, needlessly expensive habits. Thus we get tied down to the first available salaried post from which we can gain a bare pittance, and have to bid good-bye to all higher ambitions at the very threshold of our careers.

The hard, cheerless lot which is the natural result of this thoughtlessness into which we have drifted, inevitably leads us to cherish an unreasoning bitterness against those whose more independent habits of mind, greater energy, and freedom from social restrictions make them successful in the race of life. We complain that Englishmen are selfish and do not give us a chance. But they are after all only men, not angels; why should we expect them to forego the fruits of their superior energy and resources, merely because we are unable to shake off our own lethargy? Why revile them instead of blaming and seeking to correct ourselves? THE CURE :

The only way to get rid of our indolence of body and apathy of mind, our subservience to obsolete customs, our incapacity to adapt ourselves to new conditions, is to be animated by greater ideals and larger hopes. And in what can we find such ideal and hope better than in the great empire, The British 'Empire, of which Divine Providence has made us a part?

No doubt in the beginning India was a mere dependency and Europe seemed to loom hopelessly large in this idea of "Empire". But this is no longer so. England is slowly but steadily giving up its predominance to the more scattered parts of the empire, and the time cannot be far distant when India will come into its own, and take its rightful place among the Nations.

The very expression "Empire" is perhaps already out of date. Germany was an Empire and so was Rome, but Greater Britain is ever tending to become a federation, a community of states, of nations, of peoples, under one flag. In this type of Empire there is not, as in the other past Empires of Europe, any idea of assimilation of the weaker to the stronger, of the East to the West. But rather, as in the Hindu Samrajyas of old, each nation, each race, is left free to develop into greater manhood along the lines of the special culture it has acquired or inherited, in conformity with the principles of Self-government, freedom and liberty. In other words, this British Empire does not stand for any enforced unity, or standardisation of its different parts, but a fuller, richer, and multifarious life among each of the peoples that compose it, to the glorification of their common humanity.

Is not this an ideal worth thinking and working for, living and dying for?

Since we are a part of one great whole, and must live and grow in amity and concord with the other parts, in order to achieve the best for ourselves and the best for all, we must be specially careful to cultivate the power, the art, of understanding and appreciating the point of view of others. If we honestly try to do so, we cannot but feel a sympathy for the difficulties with which they have to contend, and then a desire not to make empty criticisms, but to offer active help, will naturally take possession of our mind. And if anything is certain, it is this, that genuine sympathy and desire to help on the one hand, cannot but awake like feelings on the other, and thus bring about the co-operation on which the welfare not only of India, but of the whole world depends.

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No one need feel that he cannot take his share in the great work, because he is not rich or has only a limited capacity. In the words of Mr. Gokhale : "There is work enough for every lover of his country. On every side, whichever way we turn, only one sight meets the eye, that of work to be done; and only one cry is heard, that there are but few faithful workers." Each one has only to employ his gifts and opportunities to the fullest extent, and his duty to his Country, and to his God, will be done.

In conclusion, let me give you a parting word of advice. Let careful study, honest thought, sympathetic consideration, and straight-forward action be your guiding principles when it comes to your turn to put your fiand to the work of India's political advancement.