

YOUNG INDIA

LAJPAT RAI

Rs. 3.

"The people of India are capable of administering their own affairs and the municipal feeling is deep rooted in them. The village communities, each of which is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions."—Lord Lawrence, once Viceroy and Governor-General of British India.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH REPRINT.

In the introduction to the first edition I have explained why, when and under what circumstances, this book was written. The first impression was exhausted in a few months and the publishers issued a second one soon after. Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League, London Branch, issued an English edition with a foreword by Colonel Wedgwood who was then unknown to me. Copies of this edition were given free to members of the British Parliament. The Government for the time, thought it so dangerous to their cause, it being the War time, that they confiscated the book. The entry of the book into British India was prohibited under the Indian Sea Customs Act. It was only last year that this prohibition was cancelled. The book having been out of print for some time, is being published in India for the first time.

India has considerably changed since the book was written in 1915. Some changes have been made in the constitution which have transferred certain amount of power to the representatives of the people. But the real power remains where it was. The economic condition is to-day even worse. But the greatest and the most noticeable change is to be seen in the mentality of the people. We have passed through a wonderful period of political awakening. The movement for freedom is no longer confined to the intelligentsia but has spread among the masses. Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-

operation movement was a unique thing in the history and life of the Indian people. It is too early to speak of its success or failure. Movements of this kind cannot be judged by their immediate results. They are among the forces which once created continue to operate until they have had their full play. Whatever be the verdict of the historian on the non-cooperation movement as a whole, it must be credited with the greatest possible share in rousing the political consciousness of the people and in bringing about a radical change in the outlook and mentality of the Indian National Congress. This organisation is no longer what it was before 1916. Since 1919 it has been dominated by what in Indian politics are known as non-violent extremists. The years 1919 to 1927 have been very eventful in India. They cannot be dealt with in a short preface. At one time, I started writing a history of the non-cooperation movement. In fact some chapters were actually written. I have not been able to make much progress with it because other and more important duties demanded immediate attention. We are again passing through a political crisis. It seems necessary that men at the helm of affairs should be in a position to guide the movement for freedom, with a full knowledge of the developments in the past. It is the part of wisdom to take stock of the past and the present before deciding about the future.

Under the circumstances and in order to

meet the demand of those that have never read this book, a new reprint is being issued in the hope that the 2nd volume bringing the history of the movement up to date will soon be ready. No substantial changes have been made except that in some places the present tense has been changed into the past. The introduction remains as it was originally published. The book is not meant for propaganda. It is a kind of history.

All the same, it is only fair to point out that the racial distinctions about the possession of arms have been removed. Under the new law, persons of all races are expected to take out licenses for the possession of arms unless they have been specially exempted under the Act or the Rules, from that obligation.

The behaviour of Europeans towards Indians in hill stations has also improved, though so recently as in September last I found a Police constable in Simla preventing Indian coolies from walking on the Mall. The exhibition of European arrogance in travelling on the Railways is still in evidence. Only the other day an Indian nobleman of the highest rank, a scion of a ruling family, a knight and a member of the Central Legislature was insulted by not being allowed to enter a first-class compartment for which he held a ticket.

As regards treatment in the colonies, laws barring the fresh immigration of Indians have been stiffened. In South Africa the repatriation of those already there, is now governed by

an agreement that has been entered into between the Governments of India and the South African Union. An Indian Agent of the Government of India has been stationed to watch the interests of the Indians resident there and to help in the carrying out of the agreement referred to. In other dominions, the Governments have agreed to treat the Indians already there on an equal footing. Students and visitors can travel without much molestation. To sum up, while the future immigration of Indians in the Dominions has been permanently stopped, something has been done to improve the position of those already there, although discriminations against them as regards residence, travelling, education, trade, still exist. In non-Dominion parts of the Empire, Indians suffer under great handicaps. Dark clouds have appeared on the horizon for them in British Guiana as well as British East Africa. Their position in these parts may possibly become worse than it ever before was. Besides, much colour prejudice and racial discrimination against Indians have now made their appearance in Great Britain itself. There is no law justifying these. But in practice much galling treatment has come to be accorded.

Some provision has been made for the admission of Indians into the commissioned ranks of His Majesty's Indian Army. Nine cadets are taken every year. The matter was the subject of an enquiry by the well-known Skeen Committee on which the decision of the Govern-

ment has not yet been published.

Volunteering also is allowed in the shape of University Training Corps and perhaps a few Indians have been admitted into mixed Companies as well.

The Government of India has accepted the principle of protection for certain industries, but its value is being reduced by a back-door introduction of Imperial or British Preference.

It should be noted that throughout this book, by the Congress is meant the Congress of pre-non-co-operation days.

The types of Nationalists mentioned in the book were the types that existed in 1915. In enumerating these types and describing them I have tried to represent Indian opinion. Personally I am opposed to violence of all kinds in the present state of the country.

The book should be read as a history and a description of the Nationalist movement as it had been before and was in the beginning of 1915. A history of the Nationalist movement from 1915 up to date will form the subject of a new book.

Lahore:
1-12-'27.

LAJPAT RAI.

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APPENDICES.

I

EXTRACTS FROM SIR HENRY COTTON'S "NEW INDIA."

F *FEUDATORY Chiefs Powerless.* It 'would perhaps be ungenerous to probe 'too narrowly the dependent position and 'consequent involuntary action of the feudatory 'chiefs. They are powerless to protect them- 'selves. There is no judicial authority to which 'they can appeal. There is no public opinion 'to watch their interests. Technically indepen- 'dent under the suzerainty of the Empire, they 'are practically held in complete subjection. 'Their rank and honours depend on the pleasure 'of a British Resident at their Court, and on 'the secret and irresponsible mandates of a 'Foreign Office at Simla' (page 34).

Gross Insults to Indians. 'That intense 'Anglo-Saxon spirit of self-approbation which 'is unpleasantly perceptible in England itself, 'and is so often offensive among vulgar English- 'men on the Continent, very soon becomes 'rampant in India.

'There are innumerable instances in which 'pedestrians have been abused and struck be- 'cause they have not lowered their umbrellas at 'the sight of a sahib on the highway. There 'are few Indian gentlemen even of the highest 'rank who have not had experience of gross in-

'sults when travelling by railway, because Englishmen object to sit in the same carriage with 'a native' (pages 68-69).

APPENDICES.

II

SOME OPINIONS ABOUT BRITISH INDIA.

INDUSTRIAL *Ruin of India. Gokhale.* 'When we come to this question of India's Industrial domination by England, we come to what may be described as the most deplorable result of British rule in this country. In other matters there are things on the credit side and things on the debit side. . . . But when you come to the industrial field, you will find that the results have been disastrous. You find very little here on the credit side and nearly all the entries on the debit side. Now this is a serious statement to make, but I think it can be substantiated.'

India a Mere Possession. Gokhale. 'India formed the largest part of the Empire, but was governed as a mere possession of the British people. Three features showed that it had no part or lot in the Empire. In the first place, the people were kept disarmed; it was thought to be dangerous to allow them to carry arms. Secondly, they had absolutely no voice in the government of their own country; they were

'expressly disqualified from holding certain high offices, and practically excluded from others. Lastly, they were not allowed a share in the privileges of the Empire in any portion outside British India, except a limited one in the United Kingdom itself.'—MR. GOKHALE.

Masses Starved. Sir C. A. Elliot. 'I do not hesitate to say that half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied.'—SIR C. A. ELLIOTT, one-time Lieut.-Governor of Bengal.

Sir W. W. Hunter. In 1880. 'There remain forty millions of people who go through life on insufficient food.'—SIR W. W. HUNTER.

William Digby. In 1893. *The Pioneer* sums up Mr. Grierson's facts regarding the various sections of the population in Gaya: 'Briefly, it is that all the persons of the labouring classes, and ten per cent. of the cultivating and artisan classes, or forty-five per cent. of the total population, are insufficiently clothed or insufficiently fed, or both. In Gaya district this would give about a million persons without sufficient means of support. If we assume that the circumstances of Gaya are not exceptional—and there is no reason for thinking otherwise—it follows that nearly one hundred millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty.'

In 1901. 'The poverty and suffering of the people are such as to defy description.

'In fact, for nearly fifteen years there has been *'a continuous famine in India owing to high prices.'*

70,000,000 *Continually Hungry People in British India.* W. Digby. 'Since Sir William Hunter's remarks were made the population 'has increased (or is alleged to have increased) 'by nearly thirty millions. Meanwhile the income of the [Indian] Empire has greatly decreased during this period. Wherefore this 'follows: that is, if with the same income, in '1880 forty millions were insufficiently fed, the 'additional millions cannot have had, cannot now 'have, enough to eat; this, again, ensues:—

'40,000,000 plus, say, 30,000,000 make '70,000,000; and *there are this number of continually hungry people in British India at the 'beginning of the Twentieth Century.*'—
WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E.

Deaths from Famine from 1891 to 1900 alone: 19,000,000.

Total area under cultivation. In the year 1911-12, the *total area under food grains* was over 195 million acres, plus 7.5., i.e., over 202½ million acres.

In 1912-13, India *exported foodstuffs* of the value of over 260 million dollars.

In 1913-14 she exported about 216 million dollars' worth of foodstuffs.

Famines of Money, not Food. Lord G. Hamilton. 'The recent famines are famines 'of money and not of food.'—LORD G. HAMILTON, former Secretary of State for India.

Causes of Famines. 1. National industries deliberately crushed by the East India Company cannot revive under existing conditions.

2. Annual drain of India.

3. Lack of such education as will enable people to develop their resources.

Drain. Montgomery Martin. 'The annual 'drain of £3,000,000 from British India has 'mounted in thirty years, at 12 per cent. (the 'usual Indian rate) compound interest, to the 'enormous sum of £723,900,000 sterling.—
'MONTGOMERY MARTIN. (In 1830.)

Digby. 'During the last thirty years of 'the century the average drain cannot have been 'far short of £30,000,000 per year, or, in the 'thirty years £900,000,000, not reckoning in- 'terest!'—SIR WILLIAM DIGBY.

Enormous Foreign Tribute. Rev. J. T. Sunderland. Rev. J. T. Sunderland in his work "The Causes of Famine in India," like all im- partial writers, has conclusively proved that neither 'failure of rains' nor 'over population' is the cause of famines in India. He has stated that the real cause of famine in India is the extreme, the abject, the awful poverty of the Indian people caused by '*Enormous Foreign Tribute,*' 'British Indian Imperialism' and the destruction of Indian industries.

Government assessment too high. Sir W. Hunter. 'The government assessment does not 'leave enough food to the cultivator to support 'himself and his family throughout the year.'—

SIR WILLIAM HUNTER, K.C.S.I., in the Viceroy's Council, 1883.

The Ryot. Herbert Compton. "There is no 'more pathetic figure in the British Empire than 'the Indian peasant. His masters have ever 'been unjust to him. He is ground until every-'thing has been expressed, except the marrow of 'his bones.'—MR. HERBERT COMPTON in "*Indian Life*," 1904.

Hindustan is an extensive agricultural country and the average land produces two crops a year, and in Bengal there are lands which produce thrice a year. Bengal alone produces such large crops that they are quite sufficient to provide *all the population of Hindustan for two years.*

Indian Plunder. Adam Brooks. Adam Brooks says ("Laws of Civilization and Decay," pages 246-259): 'Very soon after the 'Battle of Plassey (fought in 1757) the Bengal 'Plunder began to arrive in London and the 'effect appears to have been almost instantane-'ous. Probably since the world began, no in-'vestment has yielded the profit reaped from the 'Indian plunder. The amount of treasure 'wrung from the conquered people and trans-'ferred from India to English banks between 'Plassey and Waterloo (57 years) has been 'variously estimated at from \$2,500,000,000 to '\$5,000,000,000. The methods of plunder and 'embezzlement, by which every Briton in India 'enriched himself during the earlier history of 'the East India Company, gradually passed

'away, but the drain did not pass away. The 'difference between that earlier day and the present is that India's tribute to England is obtained by "indirect methods," under forms of law. 'It is estimated by Mr. Hyndman that at least '\$175,000,000 is drained away every year from 'India, without a cent's return.'

Swami Abhedananda. 'India pays interest 'on England's debt, which in 1900 amounted to '244 millions sterling, and which annually increases. Besides this, she pays for all the 'officers, civil and military, and a huge standing 'army, pensions of officers, and even the cost of 'the India Building in London, as well as the 'salary of every menial servant of that house. 'For 1901-2 the total expenditure charged 'against revenue was \$356,971,410, out of 'which \$84,795,515 was spent in England as 'Home Charges, not including the pay of 'European officers in India, saved and remitted 'to England.'—SWAMI ABHEDANANDA ("India and Her People").

Alfred Webb (late M.P.): 'In charges for 'the India Office (in London); for recruiting '(in Great Britain, for soldiers to serve in 'India); for civil and military pensions (to men 'now living in England, who were formerly in 'the Indian service); for pay and allowances on 'furloughs (to men on visits to England); for 'private remittances and consignments (from 'India to England); for interest on Indian debt '(paid to parties in England); and for interest 'on railways and other works (paid to share-

'holders in England) there is annually drawn 'from India and spent in the United Kingdom, a 'sum calculated at from £25,000,000 to '£30,000,000 (between \$125,000,000 and '\$150,000,000).'

"Narrow and Shortsighted Imperial Ploicy." Sir Archibald R. Colquhoun. 'The 'present condition of affairs undoubtedly 'renders the struggle for existence a hard one, 'as may be realised when it is considered that 'a vast population of India not only from the 'inevitable droughts which so frequently occur, 'but also from a narrow and shortsighted im- 'perial policy which places every obstacle in the 'way of Industrial development and imposes 'heavy taxes on the struggling people. Accord- 'ing to various authorities, Russia's demand 'upon landowners in her Central Asian posses- 'sion are not so exacting as ours in India, for the 'British Government insists on a fifth of the 'produce, making no allowance for good or bad 'years; while Russia is said to ask only a tenth 'and allow for variation of production.' (Pages 135-6, "Russia Against India," by SIR ARCHIBALD R. COLQUEHOUN, Gold Medallist, Royal Geographical Society.)

Taxation. Lord Salisbury. 'The injury 'is exaggerated in the case of India where so 'much of the revenue is exported without a 'direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the 'lancet should be directed to the parts where the 'blood is congested or at least sufficient, not to 'those already feeble for the want of it.'—LORD SALISBURY.

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS
IN ENGLISH.

BOOKS BY ENGLISHMEN.

- "New Spirit in India," by H. W. Nevinson.
"The Awakening in India," by J. Ramsay Mac-Donald.
"India: Impressions and Suggestions," by J. Keir Hardie, M.P.
"New India," by Sir Henry Cotton (once an M.P.), late of the Indian Civil Service.
"Allan Octavian Hume," by Sir W. Wedderburn, late of the Indian Civil Service (once an M.P.).
"Prosperous British India," by Mr. William Digby, C.I.E.
"India and the Empire," by Mrs. Annie Besant.
"Indian Nationalism," by Edwyn Bevan.
"Bureaucratic Government," by Bernard Houghton (late of the Indian Civil Service).
"Lord Curzon a Failure," by C. J. O'Donnell (late of the Indian Civil Service).
"Causes of Indian Discontent," by C. J. O'Donnell (late of the Indian Civil Service).
"The Indian Ryot," by Sir W. Wedderburn.
"The Skeleton at the Jubilee Feast," by Sir W. Wedderburn.
"Congress Green-Books" (84, 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London).
-

- "The New Nationalist Movement in India," by Dr. J. T. Sunderland.
"Indian Famines and Their Cause," by Dr. J. T. Sunderland, 423, West 120th Street, New York.

BOOKS BY INDIANS.

- "Poverty, or Un-British Rule in India," by Dadabhai Naoroji.
- "India Under Early British Rule," by R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.
- "India in the Victorian Age," by R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.
- "Famines and Land Assessment," by R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.
- "England and India" (Indian Progress, 1785-1885), by R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.
- "The Civilisation of India," by R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.
- "Speeches of the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale."
- "The Swadeshi, a Symposium."
- "Recent Indian Finance," by Wacha.
- "The National Evolution," by A. C. Mazumdar.
- "The Indian National Congress."
- "Speeches of Sir P. M. Mehta."
- "The Story of My Deportation," by Lajpat Rai.
- "The Alipore Bomb Case Trial."

SOME AMERICAN AND ENGLISH PRESS OPINIONS.

The Republican—Springfield Mass, 17-8-1916.

This book is written in rather a bitter spirit and paints a most unflattering picture, to say the least, of British rule in India. After reading it through, and allowing for exaggerations, one cannot wonder at the dissatisfaction exhibited by a large part of the Indian population.

Chicago Illustrated News, 6-9-1916.

In Young India, Lajpat Rai, a prominent leader in the Indian Nationalist movement, presents his views of the political situation, affirming that his native land is capable of self-government and that consummation thereof would be to the advantage of the Empire. Conservative British imperials deny such assertions categorically. One suspects, however, that Lajpat Rai makes out the better case for himself.

New York Evening Post, 26-8-1916.

He must be indifferent or unimaginative who can read unmoved the pages of this volume. They are so instinct with the passion of a consuming emotion, so fired with the force of a national conviction, that it is impossible to believe they can fail to impress all to whom liberty is more than a name and country more than a mere geographical expression.

Zion's Herald, Boston, 23-8-1916.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's work will be read with interest by many because of the unfamiliar view-point that he takes. Some of his chapters are caustic and criticism is by no means restrained when he speaks of what he terms the shortcomings of Great Britain. Nevertheless, it is well to get this view, whether one agrees with it or not, if one is to understand in any adequate manner, the movements that are shaping the future. This is particularly so in such a country as India.

San Francisco California Bulletin, 19-8-1916.

To those interested in the Indian question the volume will prove very interesting.

Bookseller, Newsd'r and St'n'r, New York, 15-9-1916.

It is a book to read at leisure and add to one's library.

The Tribune, New York, 16-9-1916.

Apart from its propaganda, the book is of great value for the insight it gives of Indian thought and aspirations.

Christian Register, Boston, Mass., 31-8-1916.

Mr. Lajpat Rai writes with the deepest earnestness and an equally deep respect for facts. It is to be expected that his viewpoint should be partial, but without partiality no big thing has ever been accomplished. His side of the question is new to us, and it is worth investigation.

Christian Int'l'g'n'r (Pres.), New York, 4-10-1916.

In this book Mr. Lajpat Rai tells the story of hopes and fears inside his native land. England has treated her conquered people far worse than she treated the American colonies in the eighteenth century and the day of reckoning cannot be far off. . . . For the bottom facts and the real truth, one book of this sort is, as a rule, worth half-a-dozen volumes written by aliens.

The Fresno California Republic, 22-9-1916.

We now turn to this dead-in-earnest book. It has high value in more ways than one, is full of history, literature and reference to scarce authorities.

H. W. Newinson in the New Republic, New York, 30-9-1916.

In the book I find a keen and disinterested temper, solicitous for peace and philanthropic measures, but stirred to the soul by continued wrong.

India, London, 29-9-1916.

It states plainly and without reserve the facts and arguments which have led many Indians to despair of political freedom at the hands of Government and to form what is known as the Extremist Party.

Chicago Dial, 19-10-1916.

Mr. Lajpat Rai has given us a book that is distinctly above the average of propagandist literature.

The New Statesman, London, 4-11-1916.

This is emphatically a book to be read by the Secretary of State for India himself, as well as by the members of the Council, and the clerks in the India Office. It ought to be pondered over by every Indian civilian.

New York Sunday-Call, 4-2-1917.

The author's English style is clear and pleasant, and, what is more important, his manner and method combine an intense earnestness with that ability to get other men's point of view which is as rare as it is valuable for either the historian or the propagandist—and Lajpat Rai is both.