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AN ESSAY

ON

INDIAN ECONOMICS

And its relation to Social, Psychic, Political and Linguistic conditions in India, and on the laws of economic evolution, and on the acceptability of socialistic measures and the future outlook.

BY

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PREFACE.

When Adam Smith published his famous work on *The Wealth of Nations*, England and some other countries in Europe were already nations. In England especially the democratic government had already gained apace, and the notion that kingdoms were something like the private properties of the rulers was an idea almost dead. The people had become a power, and they were considering as to how their joint interests would be promoted. Some writers like Thomas Mun had contributed their knowledge to the study of special topics, like the foreign trade, relating to economics, and some works exploiting the theoretic aspects of the science had also appeared. The work of the great revolutionizer Adam Smith in the history of economic science is that he expelled some wrong notions regarding what is profitable for a country. In his study on the subject he was required to do a considerable analysis of the economic phenomena, and in doing so he laid a foundation to an inquiry into the universal economic laws. The further development of the economic study which took place in England has been that a greater study to discover the universal economic laws has been made and this situation has led to the creation of a special school of Economics.

The social back-ground of this school was very simple — one country, under one ruler, speaking one language, uniform in civilization, without the presence of a tributary prince or a potentate, and without the strong influence

of any philosophy diverting the attention of man from economic to non-economic pursuits. Almost all the political problems had already been fought out.

In Germany, the social and political conditions were different. For a long time the country was not a unity, but consisted of a large number of principalities and of some republics. The attention of the people was naturally drawn towards the methods making the dominions of the princes rich. Thus "Kameral science" came into being, and this science afterwards developed into a *National Economy* different from that of the English. The social, political and economic problems are so much mixed that when the Germans attempted to solve their own economic problems they had to pay attention to the larger social problems also. Their social and political structure was far more complicated than the English one.

If we begin to consider the ways and means to improve the Indian economic conditions, the great difference between the Indian and the English social conditions presents itself. There are by far too numerous social and political imperfections which are retarding the growth of the Indian economic development, and, as long as those conditions are not attended to—as long as no thought is given to discover the relationship between the social, political, and psychic conditions on one hand, and the economic conditions on the other, an effort to improve the economic conditions is merely a cry in the wilderness. An attempt to improve economic conditions ignoring their bearing on the social and political conditions is something like patching little holes and leaving large holes unattended. If we begin to build any plans merely on the knowledge

of the very scanty economic laws which British and other Western intellect have discovered so far, we shall find to our sorrow that the schemes will have but little success, and thus the bankruptcy of the British scientific achievements in economics will easily be seen. In fact, with all the teaching of political economy which the British teachers have given here, the country is still in a very low economic condition. The gravest social and political imperfections are not even suspected. Foreign capital has poured in, the railways have been built, but the condition of the people in general has not much improved. The destruction of millions of people in the famines is in itself a sufficient comment on the existing British economic wisdom. If we leave aside the theoretical discussions from the British economic literature, and concentrate our attention to glean therefrom the knowledge of laws by which nations may improve their economic conditions we shall find that there is very little that will be of any use to the people who may still be in a "semi-civilized" condition like ourselves, but be trying for their economic uplift. We have to formulate the thought for the country's economic development by our own observation and then have to try to get that thought accepted by the government. We have at present some drawbacks in this work. The teaching institutions at present are filled with Englishmen who are expected to teach subjects like Indian history and economics. Very little progress is expected in the country under the intellectual leadership of these foreigners. Men of sound scholarship and philosophical ability are not wanting in England but such men rarely come to India to teach, and the methods of teaching economics in India as dictated by

our Universities are such, as the task of teaching in the Indian Colleges has been found extremely unpalatable by the real scholars. The curse of examinations and the ass-loads of text-books which characterize the teaching in our Universities will sap out any originality that may yet be lurking in a student and will prevent the teachers from giving their best. If philosophical Englishmen had come to teach here they would have discovered how great the differences between the social and political background of India and England are and that how little really are the achievements of the economic science of the Western world.

To develop such economic science as will really be useful to the country, what is really needed is a fervent desire to improve the social and economic conditions, and this desire must be coupled with philosophical intelligence. A desire to solve practical questions often leads to scientific knowledge. The whole career of Pasteur will stand as a witness for the assertion. In building up the economic system of a country, a statesman must have scientific economists to advise. The economists of the British race whom we find in the Indian colleges are entirely unfit to perform such a task, because they do not have the required keen interest in the Indian problems. Moreover to solve our economic problems a good knowledge of Indian society politics and anthropology, of the Indian intellectual traditions, of the history of Indian civilization and also of Indian literatures, is necessary and it will take an Englishman a period of over thirty years to learn all these to become really of any use to us, and there are no fools among Englishmen who will strenuously apply their intellect for such a purpose when they are assured of a good

income in India without troubling themselves with any of these.

The Indian economic science ought to have been an organic development. The economic ideas which existed in the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century ought to have been given a scope to develop themselves, and by their correction and systematization the science ought to have been evolved. But the stamping out of the Indian intellectual tradition by the superposition of the Western culture, made the birth of Indian economics impossible before this. Now a fair number of Indians are given to think about the economic problems before the country and it is the expectation of the writer that they, in the future, will do work of great value, provided they do not enslave their minds by the British system of thought. I recommend that they should be asking to themselves one question, namely, "what is good for my country." They should begin to devote their attention to the large questions before the country, whether social, political or economic, and should indulge in independent speculation on the subjects, and after the knowledge accumulates some body may systematize the thought at leisure.

If I have any motives in bringing forth this little booklet they are these. First of all, I want to call attention of the students between the economic and other social phenomena—the word *social* used in its widest sense. When the relationship is properly realized any discussion which we often see, as to what kind of reform—whether economic or political or social—is needed first in India, will be found absurd. All the different social phenomena are inter-connected, and if you begin your campaign

for reform from one direction you shall have to reform also the other phases of life. My other motive is to destroy the spell of unnecessary pessimism that has taken possession of the country.

The book has its limitations. In fact, the treatment of anything a writer may desire to explain will be conditioned by the energy he may have to expound all his ideas in a systematic manner by the extent of his knowledge of the unwillingness of the reading public to read large books of serious thought, and by the amount of spare money a writer may possess to lose in a publication.

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CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS "INDIAN ECONOMICS."

The most important initial work in the making of a science is the explication of concepts. The various phenomena are to be distinguished from each other, and the meanings of words claiming to denote the phenomena are to be separated from each other.

The possible meanings of the expression *Indian Economics*, must first be analyzed, and then the field which we wish to cultivate should be noted.

One meaning which is likely to be conveyed by the above expression, is the economic science as developed by the Indian people. In this sense Indian Economics would be a study of the Economic writings which appeared in India. Such a study would either be historical, or presentative. By the latter I mean a study of the kind which a foreigner may make to interpret Indian economic ideas of any particular period, specially of the period representing their maturity.

One need not understand that economics is a science foreign to India. But it should be admitted at the same time that *political economy* is somewhat foreign to this country. When I make the above statement I have the following distinction in my mind. As far as science of wealth is concerned, India had it. The Sanskrit name for the science of *Profit and loss* is *varta*. India also had science of finance and government in general which passed

by the name *Artha-shastra*. But the thing that India did not seem to have is *Political Economy*—that is a system of thought intended to discover measures to develop a society determined by political allegiance.

Another meaning the expression "Indian Economics" conveys is the study of the economic condition of India.

This study of economic condition is to be made for the purpose of discovering the economic laws which are governing Indian conditions. This is the pure scientific interest in the study. The inquiry has a practical importance also, and that is the economic betterment of India.

The laws relating to economic phenomena may be divided into two classes for the sake of convenience.

(i) The laws which express relation between two contemporaneous economic facts, or between contemporaneous economic and noneconomic facts.

(ii) The laws which express relation between successive economic facts, or between successive economic and non-economic facts.

I say here that the difference is conventional because whenever the relation may be of cause and effect the phenomena are necessarily successive.

The use of the distinction is this. When we take any society at a particular period the laws which we find may be classed in the first category.

When we compare two different periods of a society we find the laws of the second category.

I do not give any special name for the two classes of laws, because any name may prove faulty. The distinction

made above is intended for the purpose not of classifying knowledge itself but for that of convenience in the pursuit of inquiry. When our knowledge of the laws sufficiently accumulates, by a philosophic study of the history of civilization we may refine our definition and terminology. Sufficient study of the history of civilization has not been made to enable us to go further.

To those who may challenge this method of classification on logical grounds—on the grounds of the principles of classifying knowledge—my answer will be this. We need one type of classification for the purposes of bringing a certain amount of order in our inquiry, and another classification for the purpose of bringing about an arrangement in the knowledge when acquired. If one sets out to apply the latter type of classification exclusively, no apology could be made for retaining a term like *Indian Economics* in a scientific work for it does not itself represent any branch of knowledge. It is only a field for study.

The above classification of laws attracts our attention to the two fields of economic research. (i) Research for laws discoverable in the modern Economic conditions India. (ii) Study of Economic history, and research for laws therein. This study will enable us to understand the laws of development.

To speak of the first class of laws. A fair knowledge of the general laws of production, consumption, and of some laws of distribution and exchange has already been acquired by the accidental students. We are in no special hurry to rediscover the same laws in the Indian conditions. The chief work before us is to study the peculiarities of Indian social and economic life, and their inter-relation.

If the relation between the present economic conditions on one hand, and the present social and political condition on the other is clearly brought out, the knowledge of that relationship is bound to affect the programme of the social reform.

The theory of social and economic reform will be given in a later writing. Still here a few words may be said to bring the practical side of Indian economics into relief.

Some of the social conditions which we find in India, are associated with deep sentiment of the people, which is itself a result of the current ethical ideas, and some are due only to the lack of development in the country and to the inertia of the people. Some of them are due only to the inattention of the government towards the question, and some to political and social ideals which have once prevailed. Those social conditions which are maintained by the deep sentiments of the people, are not likely to be touched by the government although the persons in political power may feel that they are injurious. Those social conditions which are not maintained by public sentiments are free to be remodelled by the government action. The task of remodelling those social institutions and conditions, which are not likely to be touched by the government on account of the reason given above are still open for reform. They will take place only when the people take the initiative. The work before the leaders of the people is to prepare the social opinion for legislative or administrative reforms.

Let us now turn to the relation of the economic with other phenomena.

Economic conditions of any country are determined first of all by the physical condition. The position of India on the globe, its climate, its minerals, flora and fauna, have important effects on social and economic conditions and in making the condition of India different from that of other countries.

The proper limits of the effects of physical conditions on social and economic life should be carefully ascertained. Some writers (like Buckle, for instance) have ascribed to physical conditions almost the entirety of Indian civilization. Such writers have gone too far in that direction. They do not pay proper regard to factors other than the physical conditions. Still the physical conditions have an important relation on the life of the people and on economic standing of a society. The great danger in allowing an unlimited freedom to climatic argument is that it is likely to make the people believe that their condition as it is, is ordained by nature, and for that reason any effort to reform it will be of no avail. For this reason at least a proper demarcation between physical or climatic influences and non-physical influences, will be necessary. It should also be remembered that the physical influences are to a great extent controllable. The political and social influences are so much related together, that this influence on economic life of the people should be studied together.

The investigation into the various social and political institutions is to be made not only to seek explanation of their existence but also to judge their economic efficiency. If it could be proved that any particular institution is injurious from the economic point of view that would not necessarily condemn the institution. Still such a study

will encourage the people to observe and study their own institutions more closely. A clear conception of the economic aspects will enable the people to arrive at more intelligent judgments on the desirability of the institutions. They will be better able to consider whether the non-economic advantage are such as outweigh the economic considerations.

While studying the economic conditions in India the intellectual tradition of the people cannot be ignored. Economic motives govern the actions of all human beings but motives other than economic also govern our actions. Occasionally the strength of non-economic ideals and motives decrease the strength of the economic forces and motives, and for this reason the intellectual history of India is important to the students of Indian Economics.

Let us now turn to the laws of economic development. The rapid changes in the social and economic life of India which were set on foot after the beginning of the latter half of the nineteenth century are full of interest to the student of Indian Economics. To study those facts we have at present fresh and ample material. The conception of the present generation of the social and economic conditions is blurred, but an intelligent effort to collect facts will make them more vivid. But it should also be stated here that the most interesting part of economic history of India is not merely that. The economic history of India itself is very complicated, extending over a great period and will give many laws of social and economic evolution. which the history of the western world may not be able to give. India had been a highly civilized country when the western world was quite primitive, and yet, at

this time, India is far behind the western world. This great phenomenon is yet to be explained. Moreover for the origins of many social and economic institutions and products have to resort to Indian documents. Thus the economic history or the history of civilization in India has to supply information to the economic history and the history of civilization in general of the entire world. The nature of this task is such that a man with mere knowledge of economics will not be able to fulfil it. All I mean is that the future historians of Indian civilization must be thoroughly equipped with the principles of economics, and that it is their duty to explain the economic evolution also. Those who are fitted for such task will undertake it.

While studying the economic history as well as the intellectual history of India it will be found that the conception of Indian Economics is a very recent one. In the creation of this conception it must be acknowledged that the greater part of the credit belongs to the British. The concept of "Indian Economics" presupposes that India has already become a unit of the economic life. This creation of Indian Economic unity is a direct result of Indian political unity which is brought about by the British. This economic unity of India is so late a production and still it has influenced Indian life, although, the influence is not great. India is yet to develop an organized economic life. The present shortcomings to the development of that life will be discussed further.

The science of Economic laws may be called pure science. If there be any economic laws which could be derived by the study of Indian social and economic condi-

tions, they will not form part of Indian Economics but Economics in general.

Indian economics may also include those questions of economic policy which will tend to better the economic conditions of India. Thus if we admit the general distinctions between science and art as valid, we shall have to put Indian Economics as an art.

The concept of Indian economics has another component. It should treat not so much the laws of wealth merely as the laws of national wealth—that is it should pay attention to the well-being of the economic society which is designated by the term "Indian." The distinction aimed at here, is between the tribal economy of the self-sufficient economic units such as the Garos, Gonds and Santals, on one hand and the economic life of India on the other. These tribes have somewhat a special economy of their own, and their economic connection with the outside world is not great as yet.

It is also to be distinguished from the state economics which we find in India prior to the British rule. At that time the whole of India was not a political unit as it is now. Various economic systems prevailed in different states, and the different states at that time were not in the habit of regarding India as an economic unit. They were not therefore anxious to seek the economic welfare of India as a whole. To day the people and the princes in India have acquired the habit of regarding India as an economic unit, as the country is now under one political control, and for that reason Indian economics is and will be interesting to the people of India.

"Indian Economics" involves another conception namely, it is a communal economics. The ancient Indian science of *Varta* was not a communal economics. It was individual economics or distributive economics. The distinction between communal and distributive economics will be explained in a separate chapter.

In social and economic investigation, we may reach certain results by a system of deductive reasoning. By that we generally learn only the tendencies. We understand the cause of the existing conditions, and also the probable ultimate effects of the influences already working upon the society. We may also make some speculations regarding the probable effects of the measures which we initiate. But in all these cases our knowledge is qualitative only.

In economics or in any other social study it is necessary also to have some quantitative knowledge of the tendencies. Unless we have such quantitative knowledge our science is deficient.

Apart from the fact that a quantitative knowledge of tendencies is an important item of development in the knowledge itself, an attempt to advance a quantitative knowledge of tendencies is important from the considerations of social reform.

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

The most important and interesting part of the study of Indian economics is the social structure of India, and its effects on economics life. Volumes could be written on the subject, and a detailed study would involve much labour. Only broad lines are drawn here.

In India the most noteworthy peculiarity of society is the caste-system. Hindus who form about two-thirds of the population are divided into three thousand castes. Some of these castes have a number of sub-castes. The caste of Brahmins alone has nearly eight hundred divisions. Such a state of society is bound to have very important economic peculiarities. This is no place to go into a detailed presentation of the caste system ; I have done that already in my "History of Caste in India." *

Suffice it to say that a large number of castes are simply tribes, who maintained their isolation and distinctness on account of the lack of opportunity for them to intermarry with others. Some of these tribes have to a small extent adopted manners and dress of the localities in which they live, while others have not changed very much. It should also be stated here that some of the castes have occupations peculiar to themselves. They are called therefore occupational castes. Another thing

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which is necessary to say here is that some very peculiar notions which prevail among Hindus regarding purity and pollution have kept these tribes quite apart from each other. Again as so many different castes and tribes with different modes of life are living on the same territory without inter-marriage the ideas of superiority and inferiority have held great sway and a kind of social hierarchy has been created.

The influence of the caste-system on economic condition is direct as well as indirect. By indirect influences I mean the influences of social and political institutions and of conditions which are outcome of the caste-system. An exposition of indirect influences will be omitted here, because their exposition, will require a complete presentation of the interrelation of social phenomena in the widest sense. There is no room here for such exposition and I shall confine myself on that account to the narration of influences which are somewhat more direct.

Two most important factors of the caste-system that tell heavily on the economic conditions, are social cleavage and the prevailing ideas of ceremonial purity and pollution. Although these ideas are to a great extent the cause of social cleavage they are not the only cause. Again the ideas of purity and pollution affect the economic conditions directly or through the social cleavage which is partly due to the ideas. By social cleavage is meant not only the division of society from the standpoint of marriage, but also the lack of social intercourse among the various castes. At present the uniting ties, which may arise out of the existance of the common centre of social life for all castes, do not exist, and social intercourse on that account is not possible. This social cleavage acts on

economic life in three important ways. It acts as a bar to the development of a common life, it fails to raise the standard of life of the socially lower strata (but not necessarily economically lower strata), and moreover it prevents a co-operation of different classes in the production of commodities. Something on each of these hindrances will be said further.

Let us take some common cases of social and therefore economic cleavage.

The different parts of India are different from each other in their mode of life and therefore in wants, and similar is the case with the different races and castes in one part of the country. The most important result of this condition, is that although the country is large, production on small scale must be the rule. The wants of Hindus are different from those of Mohamedans, their dress is different from each other, and in many parts of India the tailors of the two communities are different. To confine our selves to the Hindus only: Let us take a city like Bombay for consideration. There are two important communities, namely the Marathas and the Gujarathis. Both of these communities differ in dress and so they must have different classes of tailors. A Gujarathi must have a Gujarathi tailor to make many things of his dress, specially of the ladies' dress, and a Maratha must have a Maratha tailor.

Again the Gujarathi and the Maratha tastes differ, and so they must have different classes of cooks. They must have different classes of boarding houses, not only on account of the fact that they require different kind of food, but also for the fact that they have some difference in the

method of serving it. The differences may appear small in the eyes of foreigners, but they are nevertheless potent.

When on a certain territory there are a number of communities, each with their separate mode of life and therefore with different wants, any delay in their fusion and formation into one community tells heavily on the economic development. [Large production and specialization of functions which characterise the higher economic life are absent.]

At one time when almost all production was on small scale and intended for local consumption the results of the system may not have been so baneful. But the times have changed. The isolation of India has been broken up, and the foreign countries producing on large scale, and as a result possessing very highly specialized labour, have come into competition with the Indian manual labour. Under these circumstances we also need a social and economic reconstruction. A mention of some present drawbacks in coping with the present situation will illustrate this need.

For any production on large scale, or for carrying out the great commercial transactions of the country the co-operation of intellect, manual labour, and capital are necessary. This co-operation under the present conditions is difficult to secure. The Hindu community especially is the great sufferer. Among Hindus, the classes representing these three elements are represented by entirely different castes which do not come socially into contact with each other. The class possessing capital is entirely separated from the class possessing modern education. Suppose if a Bengali or a Maratha Brahmin lawyer approaches

the Marwaris with some scheme of commercial enterprise there will be a great suspicion against him, and this suspicion he may not be able to overcome. But if a Marwari of modern education will approach his own people with any scheme, he will find a much more sympathetic hearing. Unfortunately men possessing modern education are few among the classes like the Gujarathi Banias and Marwaris, who rarely leave this country and go in foreign countries on account of their traditional scruples and also rarely take to the higher education. This lack of correlation between intellect and capital arises out of the social cleavage due to the fact that people of these two classes rarely mix, on account of their linguistic differences, and differences in manners.

Another factor which brings a lack of co-operation of the different items like capital, labour and intellect is the ideas of purity and pollution. Trades like tanning and manufacturing leather goods have been in the hands of those castes which are considered to be very low. When a production on the small scale was the rule then there was no great difficulty. Now for the purposes of production and distribution on a large scale the co-operation of intelligence with manual labour became necessary. This co-operation will be extremely difficult to secure. The individuals from higher castes which possess better education consider themselves polluted if they take to such trade. We occasionally do find even a Brahmin selling shoes, in his shop, but such cases are very rare. The production of such things is still less touched by the higher castes. For reasons of this nature, we find that the trade in these things goes either into the hands of non-Hindu

castes like the Mohammedans and the Parsis or into the hands of foreigners. The leather export business in Calcutta for example, is practically a Mohammedan monopoly.

The restraint arising out of differences in life upon production and consumption is not merely that these two functions are required to take place in the same locality. In as much as people of one caste do not usually take food prepared by a caste other than Brahmins, boarding establishments of castes other than the Brahmins are not likely to be large. Thus limits are placed on production and consumption, on caste or tribal lines. The causes of tribalism in production and consumption are not merely the ideas about purity and pollution. The differences in the mode of life and in customs which exist in the country set serious limits on production and consumption. In putting restraint upon trade the work of these differences in the mode of life is far more effective than that of tariffs and duties.

The local and tribal restraint on consumption are great in India. By local and tribal restraint is meant the necessity of producing a certain article of consumption within a certain locality or tribe. It does not necessarily mean a low standard of consumption ; but generally under such restraint the economic life of a community remains entirely undeveloped and the capacity of men to work is not utilized to its highest extent. The money at the command of the community is not great and so its ability to buy things made outside the community is greatly restricted.

In the study of consumption we should note the fact that the standard of consumption of certain peoples is higher

than that of others. In India in the case of the majority of people their standard of consumption on is decidedly lower than that of peoples in other civilized countries. A farm labourer in America eats better food and clothes better than a very well-to-do man does in India. When we note this fact we should also try to ascertain whether the ordinary motives which induce men to have higher wants are absent in India. When we think on the question we may get a number of points.

Let us take, emulation and imitation. These are two very closely allied psychic forces which tell a great deal on economic life. People vie with each other in dress, in the style of living, in magnificence, and in comforts at home such as furniture. Many people in Europe and America specially in the latter, buy books by dimensions and bindings. They do so not because the families which buy books in this way really need them, but because they desire that they should not lag behind others in being marked as people of taste and culture. It is not that these feelings are entirely lacking in India, but that they operate within very narrow limits. These feelings come more into play when there is less of class difference and more of social intercourse. If it be customary in society for one woman to call on another, then emulation will greatly be promoted and the ideas regarding better living will become more general. If she would call on women of a superior class and if a woman of superior class will call on a woman of economically inferior class, then emulation and imitation will greatly be promoted.

The lack of the centre of Indian civilization has important causes, one of the causes being the railway

system in the country. A casual glance at the railway map of India will show that railway lines do not converge to any particular centre in India, but are converging towards the ports. They were evidently intended to connect the various parts of India to London instead of to each other. If the railway system of India be reformed, it will promote commerce between the different parts of India, and the trade of the country will become an organic whole. It will greatly contribute to the creation of common life by promoting the consumption into one part of the country, the production in other parts.

There still exist in the country large groups of people untouched by any civilization. Such isolated communities are quite primitive and are economic units themselves. A breaking up of their isolation will make the individuals in those communities factors of common Indian economic life. In many cases the process has already begun. (See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*. Introduction. Madras, 1909). Supplying of common wants, and consumption of general production is greatly restricted by the isolation of such tribes. As these tribes are isolated from the districts around them, so also many districts are leading quite an isolated life.

Although a political unity is enforced on the country, there is no centre of Indian civilization. Various centres of civilization exist in different parts of the country. The different types of civilization which those centres represent are not yet unified into a single type. The creation of the new capital at Delhi may in future act as a unifying force on the various local civilizations.

Another important peculiarity which seriously influences

the economic life of India is the so called *purda*, that is, the seclusion of women. The seclusion of women is greater in Northern India than in the Deccan, where it may be said that it does not exist. This *purda* not only prevents the contribution by women to the general economic life but has serious influence on their wants. Something more on this matter will be said further on.

The caste system decreases the general happiness of the community in another way. If we examine the figures for different provinces, or for different castes in the same province, we shall find that the proportion of sexes considerably varies. In some there is an excess of females over males, and in some others, just the reverse is the case. In one caste we find a large number of women in the condition of widowhood and tender maidens married to old men, while in another caste there are a large number of healthy young men going unmarried. Such a state of affairs is not conducive to the increase of population or the labour force of the country.

The non-social intercourse between the upper and lower castes in India has another serious effect. The people who belong to the lower castes are not necessarily poor. Some of them are quite rich. But as they do not have an opportunity of mixing socially with more cultured classes, they do not use their wealth for the purposes of living in a better manner but only hoard it. Many workmen in India who are engaged in manual trades, earn better money than a large number of clerks belonging to the upper castes do. But when these lower caste men who are not educated to the higher wants do have money to spare, after their paying for their extremely low living,

this spare money is used for dissipation, and this fact promotes the class of lazy women who do not work for their living.

Two other facts relating to the influence of the caste system may be brought out here. Although many castes are to-day at liberty by law and social sentiment to follow any occupation they please still the castes who are already in a particular occupation do not like to teach it to those who do not belong to that caste. This situation does act as a great hindrance to the development of the country not only by restricting the opportunities of men but also by preventing the admission of more intelligent classes in business life. The importance of this factor varies in the different parts of the country, but as far as feeling is concerned it prevails everywhere.

Another tendency of the caste system which is displaying itself lately is the attempt by many castes who are in the commercial pursuits to create men of professional classes of their own. Similarly the castes engaged in professions like to have shops and businesses conducted by people of their own castes.

The caste-feeling which exists tends to induce people to support their own caste-fellows in professions, or in the business. If this process is carried to its logical extremity, it will tend to create a caste as an economic unit, within a town. It will set up new barriers to commerce and distribution.

Another factor which tells on the economic life of a community is the marriage-customs. If the marriages are arranged by parents and the parties to be married are

to play passive parts, the wants of society will be lower. On the contrary if sexual selection plays a considerable part in marriages, the higher standard of living will considerably be promoted. If there be no sexual selection and an opportunity for display to the other sex, both men and women will be very careless in their dress and appearance. Moreover men are required to undergo a considerable expense to please the fair sex. In many cases the expenditure for things like books and pictures which many men undergo for the sake of making gifts they would never have consented to make for their own enjoyment. Women also are required to spend in order to make themselves more attractive to men. Even the necessity of going out of the house influences the wants of a woman. The wants of an average Bengali woman of the middle class are much lower than those of women in Maharashtra which is by far a poorer country than Bengal. The influence of sexual selection and the free intercourse between men and women which it presupposes, has influence not only on the wants of two sexes but also on the institutions around. Many things which are absolutely essential in a society of free intercourse among the sexes are not demanded in societies where such intercourse does not exist. For example, if a man has to eat his lunch by himself he may not be unwilling to satisfy himself at a street counter, but if has a lady with him he must go to a good parlour. It is for this reason that restaurants with some more refinement and tone about them are necessary in London, but unnecessary in Calcutta. In fact they do not exist in Calcutta if we except those which cater mainly to the the foreigners.

Thus the presence of women in public gives the society

and life around a kind of refinement. This refinement is at present completely lacking in India. The *purda* with its marriage customs, and the great parental control in marriages conserves the distinctions in society. Their absence would have resulted into the welding of caste and tribal customs into a large unified community. Thus the influence of *purda* by its indirect support of caste is indeed great.

Another influence of *Purda* on Economic life is the fact that a large number of light occupations which are done by women in those parts of India where there is no *purda* are done by men in parts where it exists. The result is that a large number of men go to the cities instead of women. Generally the lighter occupations also are to be done by men in many Indian cities. Thus in the city of Calcutta there are 32 females to 100 males, although the sexes in Bengal are about equal in number, the difference being a slight excess of females. (Census for 1911). In England there are about 11 females to 10 males in the urban area, and in the large cities the excess of females is still greater. It must be said here, however, that the great lack of female population in this city is not due to the non-employment of females merely. The housing conditions in Calcutta are so shameful that many people who come to Calcutta cannot afford to bring their wives here. We must remember that most of the Indian people marry at a young age, and the men and boys of working age who flock to the cities are mostly married. The housing problems of great cities of the western world such as New York, London and Paris have been made a subject of comment by the press of

those countries. In Calcutta the conditions are such that the working classes here if transferred 'those conditions will feel that they are in heaven.

The great disparity in the number of each of the of sexes in Calcutta has another serious influence. Out of the 187 thousand females in Calcutta between the ages of ten to fifty, the proportion of prostitutes is great. The number has been variously estimated from fifty thousand to hundred thousand. Such a great difference in the estimates is probably due to the difficulty of defining a prostitute. A large number of women who apparently seem to be doing honest work like selling *pan* and cigarettes do not lead a very reputable life, and not a few women following what might be called the 'humane' occupations, I have been told, belong to the same category.

The effects of caste system and *purda* may be thus summarized. They compel the production on small scale, prevent the development of refinement and higher wants in the society; they moreover prevent the uniformity of society and compel that a great deal of money should be spent on dissipation. Caste system puts uneconomic limits on marriages and decreases the growth of population while *purda* prevents the maximum use of the working population encouraging men to perform lighter domestic work, and women to lead the life of lust and shame.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN ECONOMICS AND INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY.

Our actions are governed by our mind and so also the actions of a country are governed by the sentiments and ideas that prevail therein. On this account, the sentiments, intellectual traditions, and tendencies, and the education of senses are important to an economist. In independent countries, that is, in countries where the ruler (either a single individual or a class) is representative of the people, the operations of psychic peculiarities of the people are of greater importance, they being more effective on the social and economic conditions. The government action is guided by them. They are not quite so important in countries where the ruling class and the people differ in their intellectual and emotional traditions. Although politically the psychic conditions of such peoples may not be of any great value, economically their interest is great. The collective result of individual actions arising out of the previous education of intellect and senses is too potent a factor to be negligible to a student of economics.

The nature of psychic tendencies in general and its influence on human life will be a question of general economics but only the Indian psychic tendencies are worthy of special consideration to a student of Indian economics.

Human nature all over the world is the same in its rudiments. The peculiarities of mind which arise in

different countries and climes are due to the special circumstances prevailing in each of them. Some of these psychic conditions are due to social and political environment and some are due to intellectual traditions. For the explanation of some of the current beliefs we shall have to look to the intellectual history, and to get a light on some others we must observe the conditions either of the present day or of sometime past.

Some of the psychic conditions are due to the teachings which were intended to maintain certain institutions. For example, the teaching relating to the pursuit of occupations which are supposed to be proper for one's own *varna*. Those teachings were intended to preserve a certain type of social order which the philosophers at one time regarded as worth maintaining. Sentiments once engendered to maintain a particular type of social order may linger when the necessity of that type of social order ceases to exist. When a new type of social order is to be created the thought relating to that type of order will come forth and will clash with the old ethical code.

The psychic conditions which influence the social and economic conditions of India at this time may be divided into the following classes :—

(i) The psychic conditions which distinctly promote inaction creating in minds an attitude of unnecessary of action or at least of scepticism towards it.

(ii) The psychic conditions which do not necessarily justify inaction but which induce our people to follow non-economic pursuits

(iii) Some psychic conditions which may be social and

economic in their character but which are unsuited to the present social and economic ideals.

(iv) Some psychic conditions which neither encourage nor prohibit the development of economic life, but which determine the type of social production and consumption.

(v) There are also some things which form part of the psychic conditions which are distinctly favourable to the economic conditions provided they are moulded in the right way. The point to be considered in their case is their extent.

Let us now dwell on each of these psychic categories. That many intellectual causes contribute to inaction among the cultivated and philosophic class of our country could hardly escape the attention of a Hindu who may have cultivated the habit of looking at his own society as if from outside. As a rule he may have passed through such stage himself before he may have cultivated the habit of looking at things objectively.

The ideas contributing to inaction by proving unnecessary of action for the sake of human betterment, may be either those which may make a people believe that everything will take place of its own accord or those which tell a man that world is going to decay, and that the country will degenerate more and more.

Sometimes a very peculiar torpor comes on the mind of men after the widening of their outlook, by the conception of the infinity of period and by the knowledge of countless changes in society resulting from a large number of known and unknown laws beyond human control. When the thinking and guiding class gets this kind of conception

it begins to regard all effort on the part of man as vain. What will all the wear and tear which we may make for the society lead to? Brooding over questions of this type brings to a man greater consciousness of his own insignificance, and omnipotency of what he may call the natural or divine laws. He thereby becomes inactive himself. A keen consciousness of the myraids of years with countless changes, has been impressed upon a great bulk of Hindu population to an extent of which the western people cannot have the least idea. How these ideas govern the life of the Indian middle class, is something which could not possibly be conceived by other races. Under this psychic condition a man may ask as to what his duty is. And he will answer to himself that his duty is nothing. Whatever may happen the ultimate end of all existing objects whether living or lifeless is to be reabsorbed in the absolute. To combat an attitude of mind like this attempts have been made. The ideal of being reabsorbed into absolute by a quicker process is made the aim of life, just as some philosophers now in the western world present the ideal of accelerating social evolution (see Ward's *Outlines of Sociology*). Teachers desiring to combat with the torpor say that this reabsorption into absolute could be attained either by the path of action (*Pravritti Marga*) or by the path of renunciation (*Nivritti Marga*). The whole Bhagavadgita has been written to do away with this very motive of counteracting the tendency towards inaction. Europeans say that they relish Bhagavadgita, but they could not by the very nature of it, appreciate it as much as we can, unless they also are having a class which is becoming sceptic regarding the utility of human actions.

What is the remedy to make the people shake off this intellectual lethargy ?

A preaching of the idea that the path of action does not come in the way of seeking salvation may prove valuable in the case of some people who may be believers in the desirability of reabsorption into the absolute, but they will not be adequate now for the country. At present there exists a class which is not anxious for the reabsorption but which still believes in the omnipotency of laws and inquires into the ultimate aim of action. This class must have a high ideal—an ideal which will set before them the necessity for working for some cause, and that that ideal must be *social* and not *superphysical*. The philosopher who will expound such an ideal is wanted. Those who feel sceptic regarding the value of making speculations on the ultimate aim of social existence, will easily be quited in their doubts if this class is pointed out to them.

The higher ideals and instincts have their use. The economic conditions will greatly be improved by idealism provided that it is not founded upon a superphysical theory resulting from imagination. The social and political ideals if made clearer to the philosophically minded people who wish to know the final principles which may become motive power in life, they will look upon the social and political life they lead with great veneration. [The whole economic development has an ethical end.] We know that the well being of society has an important moral effect. Poverty breeds many vices, and corrupts human nature. If the general wellbeing of a community is improved or at least if the people are kept off from a dire want, then the society receives a higher tone. A detailed comparative

study of economically higher and lower societies will bring the moral side of the economic uplift into relief, and those who are working for their own personal betterment will feel that they are working for some cause—for some ideal. Thus the moral results of a higher economic life should be properly discovered.

Another article of Hindu belief which deserves serious consideration for social reformers of India as it influences the economic life of the country a great deal is the doctrine of the *Kali age*. Hindus believe that all the present evils found in India are due to the *kali age*, in which according to the prophesy of the ancient sages all the evils were to be multiplied, and to disappear only when this cycle of four ages will come to an end, and this end of cycle will come after only a few tens of milleniums when the world itself is to perish for recreation. Belief in a doctrine like this makes the people believe that the present evils in society exist because they ought to exist according to the divine law.

Of course it is not the duty of the economist to make a campaign against such beliefs. It is his duty to discover the many unhealthy and false beliefs from the stock of the intellectual traditions of the people, and to point out the economic aspects, and leave it to the zeal of the social reformers to take measures therefor.

Another psychic factor which influence economic life is that the life may be guided by ideals which are not social and economic. If we have a nonsocial ideal before us we shall not therefore be necessarily inactive. People who are led by the idea of gaining heaven or freedom from the cycle of birth and death. are prepared to undergo most

trying vows, hardest pilgrimages, and self-torture of most surprising character. Although the people led by these ideas are not inactive their predominant sentiment in life is non-economic, and if they go into economic pursuit, they go into it half-heartedly, and do their task simply because life cannot exist without working.

If any people are too much influenced by the idea of gaining a better condition hereafter and regard that the life here is not a matter of great concern, then those ideas are bound to have a very disastrous effect on the people. A large number of well-intentioned and intelligent people will become useless for the economic uplift of the country. Those very men if they have a social or political ideal before them instead of a supersocial one, they will utilise their energy and habit of making a self-denial for a higher cause, to the best interest of the country. To amass wealth is not an ideal which is likely to actuate all. It is not necessary or even desirable that they should have no other ideal than that of amassing riches. Many activities and occupations other than those for making money are of highest economic value.

Let us now pass to the psychic conditions of the third class. The extinct social and political conditions leave among the people some sentiments which continue to exist and render the ideals suited to the new political conditions more difficult to prosper. India has become one political society very recently. Caste feeling and provincialism are yet so strong that they work against the national ideals. When I say that provincialism is strong I do not mean to say that the provinces have developed a corporate feeling. The provincialism expresses itself in the peoples having a

dislike for persons coming into their territory and taking away the share of livelihood which ought to go to some one of their own territory. I do not mean to say that such feeling does not exist in other countries, but I find that it exists to a greater extent in India.

The survival of social sentiments suited only to a pre-existing political institution manifests itself not only in the attitude of the natives of a province towards a stranger but also on the migration itself in the unwillingness of a man to leave his own land.

In countries which are inhabited for a long time, the people acquire a peculiar sentiment for their particular piece of land. To leave that land and to go anywhere for the purpose of seeking a living becomes extremely unpalatable. An acre of land inherited from one's forefathers becomes of far greater value than hundred acres elsewhere. Many great men of historic significance have shown this feeling. Mahadji Scindia who had become the most powerful potentate in the north, and the *de facto* ruler of Delhi used to feel greater pride for his share in the Patil's franchise in a small village in Deccan and used to feel greatly flattered when he was addressed as "Patil Bava" instead of being addressed as a Maharaja, or Sirdar. Although this sentiment has its beautiful side, it has some disadvantages. (This kind of attachment makes people less migratory.) People in the newly settled countries like America, are prepared to go to any distance for the sake of employment. This willingness of people to go to any distance greatly surprises even Englishmen. In Rajputana a landholder is in theory a kinsman of the ruler, and there the conservatism is still greater.

In a particular political community the more the attachment the majority of people may have for their own land the greater is the benefit to the community. But in order that such feeling should really be a political strength, the territory determining the political conception of community, and the territory to which the attachment of the people is centered should coincide. At present the attachment of the people lingers to a smaller territory, although our political conception of the community is enlarged. Social mobility, that is, free transposition of the various constituents, within the community is of great importance to the development of a society. It enables the society to derive maximum use of its members. It also helps in the development of the common culture the use of which has already been discussed.

To speak of the fourth class of psychic conditions which determine the type of social production and consumption we have to deal with very multiform phenomena. The consumption of goods depends not only on direct physical needs but also on psychic needs. The fashions, fads, crazes, ideas on art and style, tastes in pictures and literature form part of this class. To state all these in detail will prove a sorry task. The principles governing these, and the main changes that are taking place in the original conditions, are more respectable to philosophers, and are therefore given a share of treatment.

All the things told above arise out of operation of intellect upon senses. Our tastes would have remained stationary had not the varying mind acted on the senses.

Various layers of tastes have made up the present psychic condition. The different senses which we have,

are educated in a particular way, and so our tastes are formed. These tastes in India are at present undergoing a considerable modification. The old ideas of the beautiful are changing and are being replaced by the new ones. Proper cultivation of senses is required to enable us to appreciate many things in life. Things like pictures showing high art, or good music are not generally appreciated unless some training on the subject is already given. The difficulties to the appreciation of foreign art are great. One old Brahmin school teacher of mine who greatly appreciated *sangita* (Indian music), while teaching the English language to the students had to explain the word *music*. He was entirely unwilling to explain the word music by *Sangita*, but merely defined "what goes by the name "music" among English people is a kind of noise which they are taught to like."

I am sure many English people have the same attitude towards our music. We are not as a rule able to appreciate a foreign system of music. Most of us do not really understand our own music but as we unconsciously are educated to its tunes from childhood we find some pleasure in it. How great is the difficulty of acquiring real taste for foreign music could be seen from the following fact. We find many men amongst us who get a maddening sensation when they here a really good music of our own. But we hardly see amongst even the most anglicised of us who get that sensation when they hear the best European music.

What has an economist to do with the tastes of the people? What things could he observe with interest?

What place does art have in the economic conditions of a community?

[A change in taste or fashion decreases the value of the previously made articles.] So also the people who have acquired the skill for the production of articles which have gone out of fashion naturally decrease in their productivity. If the new taste is only a modification of the pre-existing taste then the class which supplied articles of the previous taste may not suffer. He will easily acquire the skill required for the supply of a new want. But if the new tastes which may be introduced in the country be exotic then the class supplying the old needs suffers heavily. The promotion of foreign tastes in the country if done on a very moderate scale, leaving the native taste dominant will add considerably to the enjoyment of life, but a wholesale promotion of foreign tastes succeeds only in ruining the native artizan class, by transferring the patronage to foreign artizans. Preponderance or even introduction of foreign tastes in art may contribute to the injury of the native manufactures, but in the case of literature the introduction of new tastes will not prove injurious to the native industry. Foreign articles could be consumed by any people, but foreign books will be appreciated only by those who know the language. New tastes among people arising out of the observation of foreign works influence the literature of the country, and add to its variety. Of course, the taste for a foreign language does a great deal of injury if it is promoted at the sacrifice of the native language. It will do as it is doing now a great deal of harm to our country. The benefit of foreign influence

is really gained by the people when there is no chance of displacement and strangulation of the native industry.

The education in the English tongue (notwithstanding its evil influences which will be dealt with further on) has done us some good. The British educational policy deserves a considerable economic scrutiny.

The fact that education has made wonderful progress under the British rule is a matter which hardly needs any proof. Although a great deal remains to be accomplished, still within the last hundred years education has progressed; and this is a fact which could hardly be gainsaid. New psychic conditions created by this fact are—

(i) By the breaking of the intellectual and physical isolation the social conception has widened.

(ii) Greater variety of sentiments are now ^{found} by literature to day. Take Marathi literature for example, the works therein prior to the British rule were mostly devotional, or historical, besides some literary poems, ballads, some collections of tales and a drama or two. The psychology of the people at that time was considerably different from what it is to day. To day there is a greater desire for drama and novels, and a great deal of variety has developed thereof, and the theatre is considerably encouraged. The result of the Western influence has been not merely the addition of foreign culture, but the opening up of the store of ancient Sanskrit culture, and its promotion into a wider area.

This effect is seen in the history of the vernacular literatures in the following manner. The non-religious poetry has increased; poetry is made to support patriotism and other feelings which made their appearance with the

British influence, the devotional feeling has considerably decreased, but the decrease is more due to a saner outlook towards God, not by foreign influence so much as, by the popularisation of the higher ideas of the past. The devotional element asserts itself most vehemently when the conditions of life are bad, and man feels himself helpless, and the confidence of struggling against misery decreases. Our curiosity and desire for novelty have been roused. All these psychic changes will play a considerable part in the future life of our country.

Whether a discussion on education should be included in the social or psychic conditions, may be variously answered according to different points of view. In a sense almost all psychic phenomena which bear any relation to economic life are social phenomena, and so is education. Education is physical as well as mental, but the greater part of education which we all need is "mental" in the widest sense of the word. Education is generally given or at least to be given to form our mind in such a way as to make the human being contribute more to social and economic life. This is no place to give a complete theory of education but only a few salient points will be noted to bring its economic character into prominence.

Let us single out the literacy of the people for consideration.

The direct effects of literacy are various. There is a greater increase in the ability of the people for production and consumption. A literate man is helped a great deal in the acquirement of knowledge which will enhance his economic efficiency. He becomes also a better consu-

mer not only because he may read books and newspapers but also because he is more easily reached by an advertiser. He gets acquainted with new things, new styles, although he may be living in a corner of a country, or far off from a city. He can even sell more directly to the consumer. Many farmers in Germany sell their products in the city by parcel post. The great amount of mail order business which we find in America will not have its parallel in India where illiteracy is the rule. A literate man is again less likely to be cheated in receipts and in legal deeds. The credit of a literate farmer is usually higher than that of an illiterate farmer in the same condition.

The indirect moral effect of literacy and knowledge is the decrease of timidity and suspicion. This decrease has important political and social effects. We need not go into them for the present.

Some of the defects of Indian educational conditions are casual. They exist because they are not paid any sufficient attention. Some other defects are bound up with certain other social and political conditions. These have been treated in another chapter.

The different classes of psychic conditions which are previously dealt with relate to society in its normal condition. Their operation is continuous. But there are some psychic phenomena which do not act in that manner. Some of them are sudden and the greater part of the new conditions brought about by them are shortlived, although they arise by the operation of certain psychic characteristics into unusual activity, by the attention of the people to things regarding which their mind might have been feeling unconcern.

The direct economic effect of such period is the promotion of literary and artistic output, which is in fact the food on which that animated condition lives. But it has indirect effect also. The abnormal action of society leaves, after the eventful time has passed and the excitement is over, some lasting effects on the mind of the people, and the previously normal character of mind is considerably modified. The new norm of mind thus created, will necessarily act on social and economic life of the future.

During the period of a great excitement in a country the production of literature is greatly accelerated. When there are some great party questions to be fought the public is keen in watching the events. In countries with popular governments this factor is very important. The sale of newspapers, books and periodicals goes on, and so go on the productions. The agitation consequent to the partition of Bengal and the unrest which followed have distinctly made the people more curious regarding the different parts of the country, and its leading men. At that time no concrete questions were to be fought out in the newspapers. The people warred on questions of more theoretical nature, as to whether the moderate or the extremist *Swaraj* was the better of the two. The government was at that time going to give neither. If there was any concrete question to be fought, it was whether the Congress should be dominated by a particular party or not. This little question had created a great deal of sentiment in the country and promoted the sale of newspapers, leaflets, pictures, etc.

If the exciting periods occur again and again in the

history of a country, the magnitude of their evil effects tend to minimise. Excitement and agitation are done with greater self-control by the people who become used to them. A recurrence of such periods influences the national character of the people and makes them active and energetic. Their interest in the social, political and economic conditions is augmented.

It will be seen that this and some other chapters call attention to many imperfections in our society. It will also be felt that I am raising more questions without giving any solution. The solutions to these questions will partly be discussed by myself and in this very book. In some cases where solution is not given it is because, a complete systematization of solutions will require the author to present a long programme, which the author intends to do elsewhere.

CHAPTER IV.

Political condition and Economic condition.

The most important characteristic of Indian Politics is that it is a dependent political society. Although the power enjoyed by the Indian government is limited only to a slight extent, the disadvantage is heightened by the fact that the Indian government represents the people of India neither intellectually nor in sentiments. Thus a serious obstacle exists for the Indian community to determine its own destiny. An attempt has been made to bridge the differences of intellectual traditions between Indian and English people by creating a class of people amongst Indians who read and write English and therefore can understand the rulers to a certain extent. But this is an attempt to change the society so that it may understand the government instead of making the action of the government subject to the popular will. This fact is important not only from the point of view of economics but from the point of view of the history of Indian civilization. In fact the economic influence of the British rule will not be sufficiently clear unless one writes a work treating the influence of the exotic civilization upon the native one. This task will take a great deal of labour. Here I take the opportunity of drawing attention only to the most salient points without trying to bring into relief the effects of the various factors pertaining to the British civilization on those of the Indian civilization, and to the economic changes caused by those effects.

The first question I shall deal with is the restraint

caused by the political dependence on the ability of the people to determine their own destinies and specially economic future. The utility of dealing with the question is two-fold. First of all a precision on the subject has a scientific value and secondly because such a study is demanded on account of the present hidden and unexpressed scepticism which exists in the country, regarding the utility of any discussion on the economic condition of our country. In my opinion the idea which we have regarding our inability to get anything done through the governmental agency is greatly exaggerated.

If this work falls into the hands of a cynic reader he will say ; "What is the use of describing the good or evil influences which the British rule has brought to us ? If the institutions introduced by the British have been injurious what is the use of dwelling upon them ? We cannot change them because we do not have the power to do so. If we say to the government that a particular institution is disadvantageous to us is the government going to abolish it ?" A scepticism like this exists and it is necessary for us to examine whether it has any sound basis. A writer who undertakes to make a suggestion, must also demonstrate that its carrying out is not impossible, for there is no use making impossible suggestions, and that he is not finding out some defects in the social and political life which are impossible of being remedied. A narration of existing defects in the social and political life implies a presumption that there is some use in narrating them.

My reasons for entering into this discussion are as follows.

First of all, it is not true that our efforts to reform the conditions have been entirely of no avail. The government has responded several times to the popular opinion in a sympathetic manner.

Secondly, we did not have any programme for reform. We wanted more political power but we do not know what we are going to use it for. Even yet, most of the members of the provincial and national, or to use the more popular word, imperial, legislatures are illequipped with any knowledge for improving the conditions.

Thirdly, in the large number of cases where the interests of India are sacrificed by the persons in power for their personal benefits, or for the benefit of the class which they represent, there is more an appearance than reality of the Indian interest sacrificed to the foreign interest as the class which influences the government is mostly English. If the country had been ruled by us the chance for the interest of our country being neglected for the interest of a class would have been equally great. For example, we know how earnest the Bengali barristers and solicitors have been to prevent a High Court being given to Behar, and how they wanted to influence the Congress at Bankipur (1912) not to bring any proposals demanding the same. These very Bengali barristers have advocated the doctrine of provincial autonomy with a loud voice.

Fourthly, we know that to some measures like discouragement of drinking habit among the people, which are, beyond any question, moral and valuable the government has shown an unsympathetic attitude. But even here we are not sure that had the responsibility of raising funds for public purposes been devolved upon us we would

not have taken the attitude which the government takes now. I remember a case in the state of Illinois in which when the prohibitionists had mustered all their strength the members of the legislature feeling that they do need a certain amount of money to run the business of the state, referred the bill prohibiting the sale of liquor to a committee consisting of men too strong to be disturbed by popular clamour and this committee simply slept over it.

We should moreover know that the English traditions of liberty as they are expounded by their famous philosopher John Stuart Mill are such that they believe that man has a right to drink and the community must not take away from him this right. They feel that if Indians are given a free hand in the control of liquor trade, the higher class will force their principles on the lower classes. Whatever may be said about the wisdom of this British idea, it must be said that we have no reason to believe that an Englishman is so malevolent a creature who takes delight in ruining our society by drink for the purposes of making us useless, and to strengthen the British rule by promoting weakness amongst us.

Moreover it must be admitted that the British had an unsound political theory for a long time. They held that the colonies peopled by population of European origin should be governed by giving them self-government while India should be governed as a territory—that is in an autocratic manner, sending there a ruler from the British Isles. They had this theory because they could not possibly have any other. They did not conceive that India would unite only to support England. The theory of government they had was that a personal attachment should be

created among the different peoples of India towards the British officials and race and not encourage Indians to become one people, because if they do become one people they may overthrow the British rule. Now a new ideal has sprung up. It is of allowing to develop in India a corporate feeling and to use that corporate feeling and the Indian Unity resulting therefrom to support the British rule, by adopting a plan something like a federation of the British possessions.

I am not taking cudgels to defend the British government, but I feel that the claim which it makes of governing India in the interest of India is on the whole a true one. I make this statement not because I am ignorant of many abuses, and of many occasions on which the interest of India was sacrificed, and not also because I may be feeling some apprehensions that my book may be proscribed if I do not give the above judgement. I do so simply because my interpretation of the government action is different from others.' I wish to assure the reader that I would rather undergo the risk of my writing being proscribed than express a belief which I do not hold. A fear of proscription will at the most induce me to moderate my language or to select a time for publication other than that of great excitement.

The reason why I shall narrate at some length my reasons for holding the above opinion is that I feel that a misinterpretation of the government attitude is injurious to the country. A firm belief that the government will not be prepared to do us justice when the selfish interests of the Anglo-Indians are involved is extremely injurious to country as any other kind of pessimism. It will

promote inaction on the part of the people for their own welfare.

Let us now proceed to consider the economic advantages and disadvantages of the British rule. When I point out the disadvantages of the British rule it should not be construed that I am polemising for the expulsion of the British. Many of the disadvantages which are dealt with here are mere accidents, and the political connection between India and England can really exist even after those disadvantages are remedied.

The most important effect of the British rule has been peace. During the last century we enjoyed it to such extent as we did not have any time before. The credit of the present government is greater than that of any other pre-existing government. The Maratha government used to pay very high rate of interest for the money which they borrowed. It was usually between fourteen to eighteen per cent and only in exceptional cases nine or ten per cent. Moreover the security in the country has brought here considerable foreign capital which has helped to develop the country. The railways have been almost in all cases constructed with the foreign capital. Of the railway policy of the country there is a disadvantageous side also which may be discussed further.

Let us now proceed to the shortcomings of the British rule. The benefits are evident but the shortcomings are not quite so evident, and it is the shortcomings of the present political situation that are of more interest to a man looking towards the future.

{ The results of the influence of the British rule on India may be classed as follows.

(i) First of all a great deal of Indian money must be spent in England. This influence is quite easy to observe.

(ii) British government being foreign cannot undertake to do any social reform into the country, and inasmuch as social conditions are connected with economic conditions the country suffers thereby.

(iii) Some political theories which were an outcome of the British rule shaped the economic life of the country in such a way as is found to be injurious to the real interests of the country.

(iv) Transference of British Institutions like the English language is causing a great deal of harm to our country.

Of the economic disadvantages which India suffers from the British control, the most widely advertised is that a great portion of Indian money is spent in England. The home-charges and the pensions of the retired officials form the greater part of this spending. Of the other disadvantages the following may be mentioned here.

First of all there is a great deal of compulsory migration to England which we are required to undergo. A large number of Indian students are required to go to England for the sake of education in law. The expenditure which India makes on this account may be estimated as thirty lakhs of ruprees per year. This Indian money being spent in England injures our trade.)

(Moreover England being a place of political importance a large number of Indian Princes go there to visit. Some of them stay there for a considerable period. If all the

money that goes to England on that account is put together it will make an enormous sum. This money is spent almost exclusively for the purchase of foreign luxuries, and again many princes who go there acquire the taste for decorating their palaces after the European style, and necessarily with foreign goods. Even the palaces of a large number of princes in India are built by European engineers.)

Moreover inasmuch as there is no Imperial Court in India to judge the appeals against the provincial supreme courts a large amount of money is expended in England over suits, and the British barristers and solicitors derive advantage from that.

(Another political influence which has been working on the country to its disadvantage is as I have told that the British are entirely unable to initiate any social reform, for the reason no other than that they are foreigners. Indians under the present conditions do not have the power of making any reform. It is not that the British will refuse to legislate if Indians demand any social legislation but that a class of people with considerable power and influence with the government does not exist. Even the most influential class of people feel their entire insignificance in order to bring about any changes. In order to initiate changes there ought to be a class conscious of its power, and given to think on social, political and economic questions. Moreover legislation cannot do everything. It requires a different kind of social influence. The Hindu rulers may be able to modify the country, but the British people cannot do anything with reference to questions like change of customs. British rule has been

enjoyed in Bengal for over hundred and fifty years and still *purda* exists here with all its rigour. If Bengal had been under the Maratha administration for such a long period many changes would have taken place in the society by contact.)

Let us now deal with the influence of the political ideas on the economic life of the country.

(How political ideas determine the economic life could be best illustrated from the British Railway policy. I have already told that the various parts of India are not connected with each other but all of them are connected with London through the important sea-ports of India, like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Karachi and Rangoon. The reasons which created the present form of railway system and the economic results of the same deserve careful examination. Political theory underlying the present make-up of the railway system has been almost surrendered.

The railways in India were initiated during the regime of the East India Company. Although the Company disappeared still many of the principles of government and commerce which were then laid down have survived. "Indian commerce" to the East Indian Company only meant buying the goods from India and selling the foreign goods to India. The company and its successors furthered the same policy; they facilitated the external commerce. The internal centres of production and consumption were connected to each other by ordinary roads, and in many cases by bad roads. The economy of different parts of India was "town-and-the-country-around economy" and not "national economy."

Let us see glaring facts of the railway system. The

three great capitals of India south of the Vindhya mountains namely Nagpur, Hyderabad, and Madras are not connected with each by any direct route. Moreover Nagpur is not connected to Delhi directly. If one has to go from one part to the other one must go in a circuitous manner, at a great expense and delay. When the capital was at Calcutta, which is a sea-port, the necessity of inter-connection was not great because the railway lines were already converging towards the ports.

The chief economic defect of such railway system is that the different parts of the country are not encouraged to buy and sell to each other but that they are compelled to buy from England or sell to England. As they are not allowed to do this, manufacturing which requires correlation of products of different parts remains in infancy as the transfer of the products of one part to another is made more expensive by a bad railway system. Moreover inas-much as the transportation of goods in India by railways is extremely expensive and the freight rates from England to India are very low, artificial barriers are placed on the competition. The foreign countries are given a helping hand while sections of India are discouraged. One part of India cannot compete with England in the markets in other parts of India.

The social effect of this present condition is that, that uniformity among different parts of India which would have resulted from intercourse and which would have been a logical development of the already existing similarities is prohibited and only that similarity which is a result of the habituation to foreign articles is allowed to develop. The result of this habituation is the preponderating influence of

the foreign tastes, which lead to some other economic disadvantages which are already narrated.

When the isolation of the different parts of the country was broken by the railways, each part of the country had to compete with the English products individually, because those previously isolated parts were not previously connected to other parts of India by railways. Had the internal connection between the different parts of India been promoted first, the economic system of the country would have improved by internal competition and this improvement would have enabled the country to struggle against foreign products more successfully.

The disappearing political theory which underlies the economic policy has been that the conquered country of India is to be managed for the benefit of England. [The first duty of the British is not the development of India.] To hold India was, and in fact is, their first duty. If the co-operation of the different parts of India is encouraged by a railway system, the preparation of Indians to cooperate for rebellion would have been greatly augmented. The British were not desirous of encouraging such cooperation of Indians unless they were sure of Indian loyalty. The British may not have expressed themselves frankly, but the fact is that they did feel suspicion about our loyalty, and in a newly conquered country reasons for suspicion do exist although it may not be prudent for the ruling class to express it. The easiest way they thought of governing India is to create attachment between the English people and the different parts of the country. That Indian people will unite together to make this country strong, they probably regarded as possible, but that the Indian people would unite to make the British rule

in India stronger, is not a thing which they can possibly conceive of even to day. I do not think that even many of us vividly realize as to how our highest self-interest will be secured by preserving the connection between England and India and by making the British empire stronger than before. This problem is not yet fairly presented by any publicist of the last generation. It is my project to give in detail the theory on the subject in a future work which I may write on Indian politics. Here I may say only this : sufficient reasons exist to make the future generations of this country desire the perpetuation of our connection with the British empire although a time may or may not come when our people may become able to fight for our independence and maintain it against the whole of the world.

CHAPTER V.

Language Policy and Economics.

In the last chapter I have dealt with some phases of the modern political condition and their relation to economic condition. I now propose to consider how far the policy of the Indian government towards the language question could be known and shall try to ascertain as to what extent the economic conditions of our country and the progress in general are results of the linguistic policy.

It is true that the Indian government has not expressly indicated its policy towards this question. In fact one cannot say that the government is consistently following any particular policy. It has no idealism about it and that fact may explain the lack of a good policy towards the language question. The government officers have not attempted to lay down any principles of national advancement but have been acting only in a restricted sphere leaving the large questions entirely untouched.

Although the government have not enunciated any principles on the subject they have been acting according to certain ideas. It may be that they act unconsciously in some cases—but usually the officers must be knowing the proximate and the distant effects of their measures. Thus we may say that the government have a policy, though it may not be crystalized into a system by an Anglo-Indian publicist. The present policy of the government towards the languages may thus be summarized. They want to keep the English language dominant in the country, and

all the Indian languages, only subsidiary to it. The Indian languages are not to be kept as vehicles of knowledge and civilization. English is given that honour exclusively. They promote what they call "Oriental studies." But when they use this phrase they simply mean, that studies of Indian languages and literature are to be so promoted as would make the acquirement of the Oriental knowledge easier to an Englishman or to a man educated in English.

The sympathy of Englishmen in the study of Oriental literature amounts to this. Efforts are not to be made to promote literature in the Indian languages, but Anglo-Indian literature is to be developed robbing the Indian literatures of their value, by giving through English what would have been available through the Indian languages. Thus the encouragement to the Oriental studies means a discouragement to the development of Indian languages and the promotion of English.

The policy of the government is not determined entirely by the will of Englishmen. There have been many people of Indian parentage who have helped the formation of this policy. When the question of education came forth in the early days it was insisted by some people in Bengal that English should be the medium of instruction. In fact as long as the government business was to be conducted in English no other course was possible.

The English policy has a psychic explanation also. The English officers also had pride for their language and so they wanted to promote their own language at the expense of the others. In fact such has been their tradition from the days of yore. English people have succeeded to certain extent (not wholly however) in crushing the languages of other British nations like the Irish, the Welsh, and the

Scotch. They tried the same principles in the government of India.

Moreover, there was a political motive which determined their policy. They thought it extremely desirable that India should be governed by the British officials only. The English young men will be more willing to come and rule in India, if they are to conduct the administration in their own language. For this reason the government instead of compelling Englishmen in this country to take the troubles of learning the Indian languages, thought it better to make Indians learn the foreign language so that some of the Indians may prove useful to the English in collecting revenue, in the administration of justice, to plead in the courts before them in English, and in policing the country. At the time when the plans for education were settled it was extremely necessary that British India must be governed by the British officers because Indians at that time had not accepted the British rule as an accomplished fact. Most of the important principles of education in India were settled in 1839. (See the minute of the Governor General on the subject). At that time, although the Peishwa, Baji Rao II was overthrown, a great deal of territory still remained under the Marathas. The Scindia, the Holkar, and the Gaikwad were not nonentities. The rulers of Satara were living. The great kingdom of Nagpur was extant. The people had still some attachment to the puppet which still continued to be called the "Emperor" of Delhi although he was hardly more than a pensioner of the East India Company. Baji Rao the Peishwa although a pensioner of the English was still a person for whom some sentimental attachment lingered in the minds of the Maratha chiefs. A number of other great principalities which

disappeared later existed then. Oudh was still a principality, and the Punjab with its gallant army was ruled by a powerful confederacy. It was at such time that the principles of education were settled for British India, and the Universities which were created in 1857, the year of the Sepoy Mutiny, simply carried out the ideas enunciated in 1839.

It should not also be forgotten that the times when the Indian government laid down its policy towards languages were different from what they are to-day. At present the Indian languages have proved that they will be good carriers of higher scientific thought. In fact most of the Indian languages are better suited than English for scientific expression, not only by the various shades of meanings which the apparently synonymous words betray, but also because of the fact that the Indian languages have a great facility in making compounds which facility the poor and unfortunate English language does not possess. At present the linguistic inefficiency will not be an argument against the languages of India. But as early as 1839 or even in 1857 the great strength of the Indian languages was not revealed to Englishmen.

The reasons why administration and education are conducted in the foreign languages are partly historical and partly arising out of existing desire. Some people are given to believe that this domination of the English language has done a great deal of good to our country, and that it exists here because it is useful. I disagree with them entirely, and shall explain further on the causes for my disagreement. I do not think that the domination of English language is any more necessary to India than it is to France or Germany.

Leaving aside the question as to what the policy of the government has been, or what the desires of the British officials were, we should lay down a general principle as to what policy the government ought to have towards the English language in this country. One thing which may safely be asserted is that if there be any advantage to the country by an importance given to the English language in any particular sphere then that importance may be retained provided that the evils arising out of that importance are not greater than the advantages. Moreover the advantage which one may derive through any particular importance given to English must not be seeming but real. Take for example the much spoken of advantage that the people from the different parts of India are able to communicate to each other through English. Those who bring this argument forget that any language of indigenous origin would have had the same effect, had it been made the language of the government and of the university education and that even the Hotentot language would have served that purpose equally well.

Very often the fact that the Western thought and science are available through English is made an argument. Some people seem to believe that this domination of the English language is an assurance of our progress. Many of our countrymen not only believe in such a doctrine but when some Anglo-Indian officials tried to make reforms in the educational system in order to give a better show to the vernaculars, some of our suspecting countrymen became adverse to such measure thinking that a blow was aimed at our progress. When such cases occur one begins to feel that the chief opposition to our aspirations with regard to the languages is not any desire of

the government to strangle them for the benefit of the *Imperial* English language, but an ignorance on the subject of "progress" prevailing amongst our own countrymen.

A peculiar kind of belief exists among some classes in India that the western language and progress are somehow interconnected and therefore any effort to restore to our own vernaculars their proper place in our communal life is likely to result in making the society unprogressive. Let us therefore examine the truth of this belief.

The above-mentioned belief arises out of the fact that a great deal of scientific literature is available through English and that a considerable portion of Sanskrit and vernacular literature contain unprogressive ideas. The Indian vernacular literature may fitly be described as a combination of the shadows of Sanskrit and modern Western literatures. Why then study the vernacular literature? Why not go to the very source, and study the English literature? All that one needs to do to answer that question is to point out the difference between educating the people through the media of vernaculars on one hand and in the vernacular literature on the other.

It is possible to teach many things in our languages although the literature on the subjects may not exist today.

In contradiction to the general belief I maintain that the use of the English language as a medium of instruction is prohibitive of the progress of western culture in India. My reason for making this statement are given further on.

Western culture may be classified for the present purposes into the following parts.

- (1) The scientific knowledge of the West.

(ii) The Social and political ideas which are outcome of the European political history.

(iii) The Western acquirements intended to please the mind; such as poetry, and fiction, and arts like drawing, painting, music, dancing &c.

(iv) The religious or rather the theological ideas of the western people.

(v) The methods of organization of the state affairs and of the commercial undertakings.

Let us now see as to how each of these would have fared in India had the Indian languages been accepted as media of instruction.

Had the education to the Indian people been given through their own languages, there would have been no difficulty to explain through the media of Indian languages some of the things enumerated above. The methods of organization which we find so well developed in the West are capable of being explained quite as easily in the Indian languages as they could be in English. I think there is no sceptic who will challenge this statement. That religious ideas could be better explained to the Indians through the Indian languages is a fact of so commonplace an observation that the class of people who are interested in the traffic of propagating the foreign religions here do carry on their propaganda through the vernaculars. They do so because they really find it to the interest of the propaganda.

Arts like dancing, music, drawing and painting are such as require a great deal of training of our organs and limbs, and literature is merely accessory to it. Whatever information is given through the English language could be as well given through the Indian languages. As far as the British poetry and fiction are concerned that they

will be available through the English language alone is true, but in order to study and relish these things the study of that language and literature will be sufficient. It is not necessary for that purpose that the entire education should be given through the media of English. Whatever skill and taste that may be found valuable in the English light literature could be better imported into our own literatures, if the predominance of the Indian languages is maintained in the country. In that case the literature in our languages may find market and our literary class may be induced to try novel experiments of adopting foreign methods and tricks in the making of our literary works.

In order to study the European history and the European political, social and economic ideas it is not necessary to impart them through the media of the foreign languages. It is true that the teachers must be acquainted with the foreign languages, but the instruction could be well given in the Indian languages. Very often the necessity of imparting the instruction through the Indian vernaculars will compel a closer observation of the European ideas. Words may not be found in the Indian languages to interpret the Western institutions correctly. In that case either the Western terminology may be kept or new Indian words will have to be coined.

As long as there is no necessity of explaining European concepts in the Indian languages the concepts themselves are not sufficiently scrutinized and therefore not understood. Moreover if attempt is not made to explain English history to Indian students in the Indian languages, Indian students who have to pass their examinations are tempted to cram without understanding the things.

Take for example : every Indian student who studies English history is required to learn words such as " religion " " sacraments," &c., " transubstantiation " " secularization," " church," " feudal system," &c. How many of them really know what is really meant by these words ? How many of the teachers know their real import ? If all these things are expected to be taught in the Indian colleges and schools through the media of Indian vernaculars, it will necessitate the teaching of history in an entirely different way, It will compel the teachers to make an objective study of the western civilization and specially of the modern English civilization. An English teacher need not explain many things to the pupils of his own country but an Indian teacher in order to enable the student to understand the history of an entirely distinct civilization and polity will have to proceed in the teaching of these from the phenomena which are familiar to the student. If the educated class gets into the habit of looking upon the totality of the British civilization objectively it will learn the interconnection of many phenomena which at present may be unknown to it.

Education in the sciences also is capable of being imparted in the Indian languages. In the case of sciences what the people want are upto date works. When new works are brought into existence the older works cease to be of much value. If attempt is made to impart knowledge of science through our languages there may be at the very beginning some difficulty for terms. But new terms may easily be coined in the Indian languages which have the Sanskrit language to help them out of the difficulty. This task could easily be trusted to Indian scientists. Those who wish to do any

research work will accustom themselves to the reading of not only English works, but also to the reading of those in French and German. One need not pause because there are no works in the Indian languages now. These works will appear when there is a call for them. Even in the Western countries the teachers are required to write books for their students.

Acquirement of language, and cultivating methods of thought and knowledge, require different kind of work on the part of the brain. In India the acquirement of language being given a great deal of importance every other side of knowledge is neglected. Very often in the case of a number of students in India when they read a particular book their attention does not go towards the facts or thought in the book but on the way the things are expressed. To select phrases and beautiful expressions has become the rule among the educated classes of our country. At least it was so in the case of our last generation. Very often the foreign scholars who have visited our country have found that persons enjoying very high reputation as learned men are hardly more than repeaters of commonplace observations in ornamental phrases.

My reasons for saying that our progress will be greater if we resort to the Indian languages as media of instruction are in short the following.

(i) There will be no waste of energy as it is being done to day when the students are required to learn their subjects through English.

(ii) A larger number of persons will take advantage of the educational opportunities.

(iii) Our study of the Western ideas and institutions will become more objective.

(iv) Books on history, philosophy, logic, economics and politics and on a number of other subjects which may come forth will be utilised by many persons in the private walks of life, and thus the general intelligence of the public will advance.

To speak bluntly of the present day facts ; the whole theory of Indian education is corrupt to the core. It needs a ruthless hand of a reformer. And this change is to be made along with the change of language in the administration for without that change the educational system cannot be reformed. Under the present political protection given to the English language, and the absurdly high value placed on its acquirement it will be vain to attempt to remodel Indian education on rational lines. The theory of the University education in India is given below.

The education to the Indian people is being given from the outset through the medium of English. Even subjects like Sanskrit are taught through the medium of English, and the various modern Indian languages are regarded by the Indian universities as *second* languages English being theoretically the first language of the Indian students. The Indian Universities theoretically are Anglo-Indian Universities, that is, meant for the education of those young men of British parentage, and to which the Indian students are admitted as a matter of grace, though no special provision is to be made for them. The aim of the University does not seem to have been the development of Indian culture of the highest type. Attempt is made only to impart such education in India as, although would not equal the education in England, would give at least a second rate British education since the students could not possibly get the first rate British education. The

writer is certain that to give the best English education is absolutely impossible in this country.

By the device of giving education in English, a very ironical situation has come into existence. Theoretically the intellectual traditions of Indian and English peoples became the same. The student who graduated from the university, was supposed to have some amount of British education, consisting of English language, English History and English and European philosophy, and some smattering knowledge of Indian history which was to be available not through the perusal of Indian works and documents but from some text books written by Englishmen, intended for the Europeans. The European writers and European students of Indian culture, sometimes use the expression that such and such thing is now known: thereby they simply mean that that thing has become known to the Europeans. But Indians also began to use such phrases. In the beginning the use of such phrase was ignorant, but later on perfectly sincere. Political conditions moreover required that Indians should discuss even the Indian subjects through English for the benefit of the ruling class which did not understand Indian languages, and still less the intellectual tradition of India. It also became necessary to write in English and to explain the Indian thought using the British concepts.

This state of things led to a labourious process of re-writing the Indian sciences and culture for the new class of people, who were taught to speak and write English imperfectly. Under these conditions it became somewhat necessary to write books for this class in English giving them some simple ideas of the past civilization and to educate them in their own intellectual tradition. The

Indian work on the various sciences had been thus ignored. If it was to be paid any attention at all, it was to be only with antiquarian curiosity. The result has been extremely injurious. Had the pre-British Indian scientific effort been properly utilised and the new scientific ideas been incorporated in it, then the result would have been that the sciences would have been of organic growth. Indian intellectual civilisation would have been modernized, and the civilization in general would have gained. But unfortunately bad counsels prevailed at the foundation of the educational system and the superposed British civilization has made Indian civilization merely of folklore-value. Transformation of the original Hindu sciences by modernization would have had the following effects.

(i) The sanctity which attached itself to the various sciences (shastras) would have been inherited by the modern scientists.

(ii) The class of Shastris and Pundits who devote their life long labours to their subjects, regardless of economic advantage would have continued, and such a class would have been the salt of earth.

(iii) The gulf between the Eastern and Western civilization would not have been so wide, as it has become now by cutting off the growth of the former. The education of Indians to the western systems of sciences has really set Indians more apart from the western sciences. The science in a country should be an unfoldment of the native intellectual traditions. A foreign system of sciences is not one which the people in a country would feel as a further development of their own intellect. On that account there will always be a suspicion, among the masses regarding a foreign science. The masses in the country on

which a foreign intellectual tradition is forced, will not feel emotionally connected with the class of people who represent the foreign sciences among them. To day whereas a scope is given to the advancement of the Western system of sciences and whereas the growth of the Indian scientific system is prevented the actual condition which we find is that among the people a faith in the native sciences in their undeveloped condition continues, and thus the separation of peoples in civilization becomes wider. Take for example the fact that the British have superposed on the culture of the country their art of healing neglecting the Indian systems of medicine. A large number of Indian people, even the most educated, yet have a strong faith in the Indian systems, although the knowledge of those systems, has not only remained stationary but has decayed during the last hundred years of the British rule.

(iv) Another advantage the country would have had is that the people here would have taken a foreign intellectual system objectively. They would not have taken a new system of thought displacing the older one, or a new classification, unless it was really advantageous. Take for example the different systems of logic in India. They are displaced and the different systems of the science from Europe are brought here and to take their place. Such a thing should not have been done. Our languages and our logic are mutually inter-connected. Languages become more accurate by the science of logic being developed in that language. Even some English people seem to be indisposed to keep the Latin terminology for the study of logic.*

* Fowler in his preface to the *Deductive Logic* says :—"A fixed and sufficient terminology can, however only be created by

It is also a matter of serious importance to determine as to what harm is being caused to the people of India who still think in their own languages, by introducing among them an entirely unsuited system of logic, taught in a foreign language. This fact alone is enough to make the Indian languages unprogressive and to make the civilization of the country stationary in many respects.

(v) Another effect of the same thing is that new sciences did not develop. Sciences grow by accumulation of knowledge and by the application of a scientific method to preexisting ideas. They are given names when a certain class of truths are distinguished from another class.

It is the knowledge we want, and not any particular system thereof imperfect in itself. Teaching Western or rather English sciences did not always add to the knowledge but only enforced a new system ; that is all.

the habit of teaching logic and of carrying on our discussions on the science in our own language. But though in some respects the Latin terminology may be superior to our own, there can be no question that the language in which men habitually think must be the fittest medium for analysing their thoughts."

Although it may be argued with justice that for the purposes of the highest development of sciences, it is necessary that they should possess terminology unfettered by the considerations of a language, still that stage will not come until the sciences (especially social sciences) logic and philosophy developed in different languages are brought together into fair rivalry, and the choice of terminology determined by a scientific argument alone, and not by the argument of force or political supremacy. The Indian sciences and philosophies are to-day displaced not by any corrective argument but by a kind of *argumentum ad baculum*. They are physically forced out.

Thus at the bottom of the non-development of sciences based on Indian experience alone lies the above mentioned cause, namely, the sinful enforcement of the foreign language as the medium of education.

The preceding discussion will show that the dominion of the foreign language is not only unnecessary for our intellectual advancement but injurious to us; let us see what economic bearing this dominion has.

First of all it should be understood that restrictions to the intellectual progress affect progress in all directions each of them having some economic bearing.

One should also be sure, that, as long as knowledge is locked up in a foreign language it becomes almost impossible for most people to avail themselves of it. People who are engaged in practical work, such as, mechanical, agricultural and commercial occupations find it impossible to advance themselves. The industrial development of a country accelerates if the people who are engaged in practical work make improvements in their businesses for their own advancement. Inventors in no country are men of university education. Men with inventive genius think out improvements when they are engaged in their own tasks. They acquire the scientific knowledge as they go along in their work. Many of the inventors with whom I had to converse say that man becomes incapable for inventions by the usual university education. These inventors have with them, although not the university education, the scientific literature that is prepared for professional scientists and university students. Inventive genius is not lacking in our country, but unfortunately, it is strangled by the deadly grip of the foreign language. A

workman shall have to spend ten years to learn English, before he makes himself useful as a producer of inventions.

Some disadvantages of the superposition of the foreign language will not be clear, unless we understand the psychological and social effects thereof. The dominion of this exotic tongue has some very pernicious effects on Indian mind and these pernicious effects influence the economic life in a detrimental manner.

Dominion of the English language promotes diffidence, muteness, and feeling of dependence, in the Indian population. These feelings exist among a people only under the worst government in the world.

It places artificial value on the acquirement of English and even the whole life seems to be given for the purpose of learning English. It overturns the relative importance of things in life and makes the life of young men miserable.

It compels dependence of the non-English-knowing population on English-knowing population.

The most important and direct result on the society of raising a language to prominence is to raise the class which speaks that language into prominence. The people who do not know that language are thrown into back ground. The English language after being introduced as the language of the Court and of public transaction, not only maintained the supremacy of the English speaking races, but created a class of people, who with a little knowledge of the foreign tongue became able to fill the important posts in the country.

The superposition of the exotic language makes the greater part of the native population entirely unfit for

the higher pursuits unless it studies the English language the acquisition of which is extremely difficult. In all professions, such as, law, teaching, administration, medicine and journalism, the foreigners are given a greater advantage. The modern journalism in India is to be done through the medium of English, because the rulers are supposed to be ignorant of the vernaculars, and because the importance of a journal is measured by its ability of reaching the *Sahib's* ear. Thus the Indian journals are not intended to supply the social needs of the people but to bring to the attention of the government, things, which are to be represented to them. They therefore fail to carry out some of the important things which journals do in the West.

It is impossible to carry out any reform for the development of our literature and intellect, unless the great barriers to their progress are removed. Those great barriers are created by the adoption of English as a language of the government. I do not deny that some government business is yet done in the languages of the people, but it is to a very trifling extent. The nature of the government business done in the languages of the country is such as the government cannot prevent its being done in the vernaculars.

The fact that the government business should be done in the foreign language is of greatest disadvantage to the people of the soil. For the ordinary man, the working of the government and law becomes a kind of mystery. He becomes a helpless individual. If the government has made any provision for the advantage of the people, the masses cannot take any advantage of the same. Take for example the department of commerce and industry. This

department is, we may say, run, practically, for the benefit of the foreign merchants and manufacturers and to give them an opportunity to ruin the Indian commercial class. India cannot take advantage of the same. The works on agricultural subjects which are so important to the farming population of the country and which the government publishes, are written in English excepting in some recent cases. The government literature relating to the post offices for example is done in English. The postal regulations are published in English; as if an Indian business man is going to learn English to read them. Again the corporations such as railways do their transactions in English. They publish almost all information in English and rarely in the vernaculars. A programme for the reassertion of the Indian languages must not only compel the provincial governments to do their work in vernaculars but also to enforce the provincial languages to a great extent on corporations like railways.

The greatest evil effect of the dominion of the English language as I have said is the encroachment upon vernaculars. But this encroachment is done in more than one way. One of them is that the uniformity of a province is destroyed by the superposition of English. Some minorities in the province begin to forsake the native language and to adopt either the foreign language or other languages. Take for example the province of Berar. Here the language of the people is Marathi. But the Mahomedans in the province feel disinclined to learn that language and learn *Urdu* instead. They learn English afterwards. Many people who come to Berar from other provinces, get along somehow with corrupt

Marathi, and concentrate their attention to the acquisition of English. In this way the uniformity of a province is destroyed. In Amraoti, if a lecture is delivered in Marathi, very few Mahomedans will be able to follow it. If it be delivered in Urdu, very few Hindus will understand it. On account of such condition a great stumbling block is kept on our way towards uniformity of ideas among people living in one territory and towards realizing our nationality.

Another reason why the English language cannot be useful to us as the national language is, that in English there is no vocabulary suited to express Indian ideas. While writing *the History of Caste in India* I felt the defects very keenly. English civilization is not one of a very high antiquity, and the institutions in the English speaking world are different from those which prevail in our country. The result has been that English vocabulary though suited to their own limited civilization has proved inadequate for our purposes. Englishmen and British politicians are likely to resent such a statement, but if they will appeal to their own scientific class, they will get endorsement to my opinion on the subject. I do not mean to say that English language could not be improved so that the Indian thoughts could be expressed in it. But in order to accomplish that task, it will take a great deal of time and energy, and a succession of extra-brilliant men which under the present circumstances our country cannot afford for that purpose.

Another reason why English language is unsuited to India as a national language is that while writing in it, the writers feel that they are not writing it merely for their own people. What they write will be read by

foreigners like the English or Americans. This knowledge places a considerable restraint on a writer's pen. He cannot be sufficiently frank. The restraint may have its valuable effects, but the general effect is unhealthy. In order to express the real sentiments of the people the constant thought of the possibility of being heard by foreigners prevents a real nationalistic expression. We find the effects of our knowledge of English on the Anglo-Indian writers also. They cannot speak to-day with sufficient frankness. If we study the Anglo-Indian literature, we find that at one time when English books were scarcely read in India, the writers wrote more sincerely and frankly. One English historian of the Sepoy mutiny described honestly the mistakes and cruelties of his own countrymen, and the good actions of Indians. To-day the conditions are changed. The editors of the new edition of the work have made a number of alterations and have omitted passages reflecting discredit upon Englishmen with the desire of screening the facts from the Indian readers. Lord Morley used to feel extremely nervous to answer the questions asked in the parliament as he feared that whatever he said would be heard in every corner of India.

The importance of this fact is really great though at the first sight it may not seem so. The writers really know where the shoe pinches. While writing in English a writer has a feeling of being spied by a community which he does not mean to address to, and this fact considerably restrains the spirit of freedom and independence. An Indian writer while writing in English does not write in his normal mood. When writers, the leaders of thought and creators of feelings and sentiments, have to

write under constraints, what spirit will they be able to generate among the people? English language in India today has become to a certain extent a language of flattery: if any speech with extravagant praise of the ruling race is delivered, it will always be, in English. No body cares to shower praises on Englishmen while speaking in his own language. As far as I know I feel happy to say the Marathi language has remained pure from the unholy utterances of those degenerate men who have reviled their own country, and barbarously flattered the English. I do not mean to say that the Marathi speaking people do not give false praises to the rulers. All I mean is that they do not use Marathi when they wish to utter lies flattering Englishmen.

The above point which I have brought forward is capable of misinterpretation. I have therefore to take pains to explain it further. Opposition will argue that I am making a plea in defense of the people who want to utter seditious language and to express seditious sentiments. This interpretation is natural but not just. The Indian government has kept sufficient surveillance over the vernacular press, and it will be an adequate guarantee against sedition. The restraints which, I speak of, affect the public interests entirely of a different kind. There are many things which the people say frankly when they are amongst themselves. Social questions could be best discussed when one feels that he is speaking to his own people. While discussing some social evils, the keen consciousness of being heard by a foreigner prevents a frank expression. Specially the people of India are susceptible to this feeling. Everybody likes to conceal

the holes in his own community from a foreign gaze. Even while writing in one's own language this feeling comes in but not quite to the same extent. Questions relating to the social morals are scarcely discussed in the Indian journals conducted in the English language. In many cases when the writers do not like to dwell on some particular subject, his fears are unwarranted; but they do influence and will continue to influence as long as the human nature remains what it is.

Whereas the domination of the foreign language is working such a great mischief, it may be asked, how is it that the people of India are entirely apathetic towards the question.

Answering this question means an unpleasant narration of a number of facts, and it is likely that the class of people in whose hands this book is most likely to fall will regard even the narration of those facts with considerable hostility.

The first and most important fact is that the class which tries to make its voice audible does not really represent the needs of the country. It pays no attention to the real conditions which prevail in the country. It is anxious to fight not in order to advance the interest of the masses of India but to secure its own interests. Its attention is centred on securing the civil service posts. Again in order to really understand the real extent of harm done to our country by the English language it requires a considerable amount of searching observation and speculative thought. It requires also considerable learning to understand the laws which make and destroy civilizations. Such

a talent is not given to everybody. Those who figure in political agitation, are not philosophers, but men who seek their own advancement through political arena. The present Indian national congress is only an agitating body to promote action on those lines which were laid down by men like Hume, Wedderburn, and Dadabhai Nauroji, who, however high they may be in their character, or charming personality and disinterested zeal, were, and are, third or fourth rate men as political philosophers. They have not been the type of men who could understand the laws of making a civilization, and use them for the improvement of India.

One thing which considerably affects the educational policy of our leaders is, as I have said, the fascination of the civil service posts which they want to secure for our countrymen. To them, the Indian Universities, should be coaching institutions for men going for the civil service, and for that purpose they are demanding the simultaneous examinations. If the simultaneous examinations are granted to India (I sincerely hope that they will not be granted,) India's intellectual uplift is doomed. The Universities will be so moulded by the Indians as would enable the Indian students to compete with the English for the Civil service posts, and all our desire for the intellectual uplift of India must go to walls. The desire of having more of our countymen in the civil service is a legitimate one, but for that purpose I do not regard that the simultaneous examinations are the means. What we should demand is that people with better equipment in Indian languages should be recruited. In India, at the same time, effort should be made to supplant the English language

by Indian languages, at least in the provincial administration. It should not again be forgotten that whatever may happen the number of people who can get the civil service employments will be very small and that we have no right to spoil the chances of the entire country's development for the selfish interests of a very limited class. People who demand civil service positions are those who belong to the Indian middle class educated in English and even this class is not properly represented by the political agitators. They are, in fact, whether consciously or unconsciously betraying the interests of the entire country for the desire of getting better jobs for their own class. I know what I am saying will be found extremely unpalatable by a certain section of our countrymen, but displeasure will be due to the fact that the idea of simultaneous examination is so much dunned into the ears of the educated classes by the aimless and unsophisticated leaders of the last generation that it is becoming almost a heresy to question the wisdom of the proposal.

Although we may learn English for years, and spend a great deal of energy on its acquisition, our diffidence does not go. Very few of us are again prepared to own that they do not know English well, because not to know English well is regarded as a great sin. At the same time people whose knowledge of English is imperfect are not prepared to express themselves when they are expected to express themselves for the fear of betraying their ignorance of the language, and in many cases they are unable to express at all.

Another class of people who dimly see the importance of raising Indian vernaculars remain inactive, because they

feel that the reforms like the political divisions of India on linguistic lines, and conducting the provincial administration of India through the vernaculars, are things which the British government will never give. Personally I think we have no reason to entertain such belief against the government. What is necessary for us Indians to do is to appreciate the real importance of the measure and to create in the country a strong feeling demanding the same before we could legitimately expect the government to yield in the matter.

I do not mean to say that the British government will easily yield. It will for a long time pay little heed to our desire to assert our languages. The English people are anxious to carry their own languages into other countries, and some of them believe or rather desire to believe that by conveying the English language everywhere Britain will do a great deal of good to the world. At one time, the desire for discouraging the Indian languages was very strong and the attempts of men like Justice Ranade to give greater importance to vernaculars in the universities were discouraged by the government.

I appreciate that there are difficulties in the way of raising the Indian Vernaculars. But those difficulties should not be allowed as an argument against the promotion of our languages. The difficulties should be heroically met with. To shirk from a work because it is difficult is nothing short of dire cowardice. At least the government cannot morally raise such objection. The raising of our languages to their proper place will require, the adoption of those languages by the government, a redistribution in the political divisions of India making language the principle of

division. It will also be necessary to grant universities to different provinces, each giving instruction through the vernaculars. It will require that the class of British officials whom we get here should be well-versed in the languages of the country. It is also possible that the British officials will be hostile to such proposals as some of them want to get fat-salaried places and power without fitness. But the whole future of ours is so important that such sinful desire of the British officials should not be allowed to mar our progress.

A redistribution of provinces on linguistic lines will be necessary for a reason other than the fact that the existing conditions make the domination of English language convenient, and offer a difficulty for asserting the languages of the province. The present situation makes any social legislation impossible. For example, take the Bombay Presidency. Here communities like the Sindhis and the Marathas so widely differing from each other and whose social needs are on that account so different, are placed in one province, but if a law is to be passed it will affect them both. Under these conditions the people are not anxious to have any social legislation.

To summarize. The present dominion of the English language was brought about by some historical events, and maintained partly through the indifference of the people to revise the work of the past, and to consider whether the measures which were introduced at one time are still to be continued or not, and whether the circumstances under which they were adopted have altered or not; and partly through the ignorant belief that the enforcement of the English language has done a great deal of

good to the country, and to some extent by the desire of the British government to maintain its dominion. Thus the language has acquired the present place in the Indian individual and communal life through various influences, such as, the desire to promote English, ignorance of the evil effects which its superposition produces, indifference towards the reform of conditions, to a wrong belief that the enforcement of English has done us a great deal of good, and through the peculiar political condition of 1839 when the policy towards the languages and education was determined.

It has also been shown that there is no reciprocity between the progress of India and the domination of this language. When the western culture is analyzed, it will be clear, that the progress and the knowledge of the western civilization has really suffered in India by the enforcement of this language as the medium of instruction. When the University system is examined it is found to be corrupt to the core, and that it has prohibited the growth of Indian sciences, and of Indian literature. It is shown moreover that the gulf between the East and the West is really widened by the superposition of the foreign language and of the foreign system of science. I have passed from the narration of the disastrous effects of the present position of the English language in the Indian life on the Indian intellect and on civilization in general to the description of the effects on the persons engaged in the active economic pursuits and have shown how they also have suffered. I have also described the evil effects of the wretched language policy on the Indian mind, such as, the creation of diffidence among

the people, and have also shown how the majority of population is rendered unfit for higher professional pursuits thereby. The evil effects of conducting the government through English on the agricultural, industrial and commercial classes have been given a share of discussion. I have also shown how necessary it is that the reform in the language of education, and in that of administration should be simultaneous. To bring about the latter I have advocated that the political divisions of India should be made on linguistic lines. I have shown further on, how the enforced English language itself is imperfect to express Indian ideas, and how it is inconvenient for the discussion of social topics of vital importance by the fact that an Indian, when he speaks or writes in it is in a mood other than normal, and is compelled to be less frank and less sincere. While explaining these things I have also given a glimpse of the phenomena which betrays the fact that the foreign language to some extent debases Indian character.

Thus, showing the manifold evil effects of the English language on us, I have explained as to why much is not written or said against this curse by the political agitators of the last generation. The various causes of their silence have been discussed.

In all this discussion I have confined myself to a destructive criticism. My constructive ideas may appear, later on, in a separate work. The principles of education, of the building up of a national civilization, and of the choice of language for the propose deserve a much fuller explanation than what could be given here.

CHAPTER VI.

The Economic evolution and the layers of civilization.

To comprehend the evolutionary aspects of the present economic situation we must know some historical facts of far reaching influence, and also some of the laws of social evolution which are working in India. If we begin to trace the origins of the present economic conditions, and also of social conditions which are related to them (either as causes or effects), we shall have to go back to a period inconceivably remote. The economic aspects of the caste-system itself are but dimly known to us. Some of the phases of this institution are tracable not only to the Rigvedic, but even to the Indo-European period. Many ancient institutions have left their relics, and in many cases the mere relics are potent in determining the economic life.

The tendency in the world is to form larger societies by the absorption of the smaller. When several heterogeneous societies are brought under some common influence, either of a language, or of a scientific and sacerdotal class or of one political head then the tendency is towards the creation of uniformity. The growth of uniformity leads to the re-organization of the economic relations. The causes which arrest the development of uniformity are also injurious to the re-organization of the economic life.

Thus in the economic history, the causes which bring about a uniformity or a diversity of life in a country are very important to a student of economic history. The

action of the increase of uniformity, that is, of creating common wants, on economic life such as acceleration of production on larger scale, has been previously described.

Thus in history of the social, political and economic conditions of a particular country the matter deserving our searching attention is the growth of a common civilization out of heterogeneous elements. If no such common territorial civilization has come into existence our inquiry should be extended to ascertain the causes of its absence. The knowledge of the laws of development of a common civilization is valuable not only from the philosophical point of view but from practical considerations also, because it enables us to lay down a desirable policy with reference to the layers of civilization in a country and towards communities representing them. Each layer of civilization has its economic system. When layers of more than one civilization are found on the same territory, they influence one another. But, very often, there appear many causes which prevent the mutual influence.

In order to study this phase of social economics we must try first to ascertain the different factors of population and also the tendencies of each of them to contribute to the common civilization. The population in India for this purpose may be divided into the following classes.

(i) The English people, who are at present the ruling race in India and who are trying to mould the civilization of India in order to give to it a British character.

(ii) The Hindus, who form the bulk of the population and who have at present to struggle to maintain the integrity of their civilization.

(iii) The Mohamedans, who in numbers, are an element next to the Hindus and whose civilization is entirely distinct from that of the Hindus. They also are struggling to maintain their own civilization.

(iv) The minor communities in India like the Parsis, and the Jews. They do not have any particular type of civilization to be maintained in the country.

We shall proceed to discuss the influence of each of them. The Hindu civilization itself was brought about by a long process of mutual adjustment. The people who belong to the social group called "the Hindus" are composed of different racial elements, and therefore of distinct civilizations.* We shall therefore discuss the question of the migrations of people and their influence on civilization. For the sake of completeness we shall consider the various immigrations in India from the earliest known beginnings.

We know for certain from Rigveda of one immigration. The people whom we call "Aryans" did come to India at some unknown period.

Prior to that immigration according to some there were one, two or three immigrations. Some hold that before the immigration of the Rigvedic Aryans there had been only one immigration and that was Dravidian; some hold that there were three immigrations before the Aryan, and that they are, the Nigrito, the Kolerian and the Dravidian, respectively. The periods of their immigrations are according to the order of mention. (See Keane's introduction to Iyer's *Cochin Tribes and Castes*. 1909.) Some

* The making of the Hindu civilization has been discussed at length in the second volume of the author's *History of caste* entitled "*Hinduism its formation and future.*" London 1911.

again hold that before the immigration of the Vedic Aryans, there were already some Aryan colonies in India.

If the theory of two or three pre-Aryan immigrations be granted, then, we can say, that almost all traces of the pre-Aryan races other than the Dravidian have disappeared excepting some philological relics of the Kolarians and the physical characteristics of the Negritoës. These two races have intermingled with the Dravidian element.

Whatever the characteristics of the pre-Aryan Dravidian civilization may have been, Dravidian, as a distinct civilization, has disappeared and their contact with the Aryan civilization helped to form the Hindu civilization. Dravidian civilization left only one important relic and that is the Dravidians languages which have been greatly influenced by the Aryan civilization. Dravidian literature prior to the formation of Hindu civilization does not exist.

We then have the so-called Aryan immigration from the North-West. The work which this race did was to bring India under one civilization. It did not entirely obliterate the pre-existing civilization or civilizations, but unified them, by spreading over their surface a rich layer of the Aryan civilization, and by uniting the various tribal and local civilizations to that layer, so that, the pre-existing and the new, formed one organic whole.

We find, later on, a Mongolian immigration. This immigration seems to have been more or less of barbarous peoples and not of the representative civilized peoples of the great Mongolian race. They therefore did not form a separate civilization, but adhered to the Aryan civilization and helped to form the Hindu civilization of the modern India. Whereas in the southern India the Aryan and

Dravidian traditions combined, so also, in the far Eastern section of India, the Aryan and the Mongolian traditions coalesed.

All these five races or three races, whatever one may be pleased to say, helped to create the Hindu civilization and, in this creation, the Aryan civilization has been the dominant and decisive factor.

The period during which the various civilizations were in the state of mutual adaptation in order to create the Hindu civilization extends from the unchronicled and undated pre-Aryan immigration to the end of the first milenium of the Christian era.

Every race tries to bring about a civilization-norm. When that norm is well pronounced. Other races which may come on that spot try to reach that norm themselves unless they come as invaders who think themselves bound to uproot that civilization. When two different civilizations meet, one of them tries to displace the other. If the political power of the representatives of the older civilization remains firm then the civilization of the older nation is accepted by the new comers, the new comers as a rule losing all their older culture and manners unless some reasons, such as, a strong literary tradition, prevent their complete acceptance of new civilization. If the a race of invaders takes possession of a country for some time and force their civilization on the people, but lose authority thereafter, two civilizations stand side by side struggling and although they may be hostile in the beginning the contact leads to the utlimate effect of creating a new civilization, in which the older ones are combined. In

that combination that element which is stronger either numerically, or in power, has a greater share.

To treat summarily of the minor immigrations such as, the ancient Scythians and the White Huns and the modern immigration of the Jews, the Parsis, the Armenians and the Chinese, it may be said, that, when the indigenous element is also the dominant political element, the exotics try to become more alike the native population.

If the native population is subjected to a foreign rule then the possibility of a foreigner's becoming alike the native, and therefore a part of the society determined by the native civilization, becomes much less.

Thus in a condition of a society where the native culture is not strong, the tendency of the foreign element will be to decrease the strength of the native civilization, and to augment that of the foreign civilization of the rulers. The strength of the native civilization becomes much less if the native civilization shows too great a diversity or if there may be several civilizations existing in the country. In that case, the foreign civilization, even though it may be represented by some very few representatives, can hold its own. Moreover the very extreme diversity of a native civilization will prove a bar to its adoption by foreigners. If the foreign invaders are not strong advocates of their exotic civilization they may accept the native civilization. To illustrate the rule we can mention the cases of the Scythians and White Huns who to day have merged in the Hindu population,

The results of the minor immigrations on the country described above will be illustrated later on by concrete examples.

Let us now consider the history of another layer of civilization, namely the Mohamedan:—

We may leave aside the *invasion of the Mohamedan Arabs* which took place in the eighth century, as it did not greatly affect the Hindu civilization. The period when this *new civilization came to India* is the eleventh century. Since that time till the end of the seventeenth century the Mohamedan civilization was in full swing and its effect has been towards the destruction of the ancient civilization of India. Eighteenth century uprooted the Mohamedan dominion. Among those who became instrumental to this may be mentioned the Marathas, the Sikhs and the English. The last of these succeeded in conquering India, and have tried to plant the *British civilization in this country*, by encouraging the study of the English language at the expense of the Indian languages. It is not however very likely that the British will be able to Anglicise India, but still their effort to plant the foreign civilization have important effects which should be noted. We should also note the effects on the Indian civilization of the foreign tribes who come and stay in our country.

The dominion of *British culture in India and its relation to the political control of India by the British* have been previously dealt with. The effect of the minor immigrations is not sufficiently paid any attention to. In fact the immigration problems in our country are given but little thought, although emigration, specially the treatment of our kinsmen beyond the seas is sometimes discussed.

It is not that we do not have any problems relating to immigration. There are many, but their presence is not

t on account of our peculiar social condition. If a number of Chinese come to India, they simply add to the existing number of castes. In a country like America, there is a strong sentiment in favour of excluding these peoples whom the Americans cannot assimilate. The present social conditions are such that the Chinese and Americans do not marry freely. In fact in the Western states there are laws against the marriages of the whites with the Chinese and the Japanese, and in the Eastern states where there are no laws preventing the marriages of the whites with other races, the social opinion is so strong that such marriages do not take place.

Whether the Americans are unwilling to marry or whether the Chinese may not like to marry with the white races, is a matter sometime discussed, but, inasmuch as we find that the Chinese in the Eastern states of America take the opportunity of marrying white women in the lower strata of life, there is no doubt that the unwillingness is stronger on the American side. We may here casually observe that the cases where the Chinese men marry the negro women are not rare. In British Guiana, where an Indian coolie despises to associate with a negro woman even for an illicit intercourse, the Chinaman has no scruples to marry a negress, and as a rule chooses the best looking of them. Thus if the Chinese and the white people do not marry, the fault does not lie with the Chinese unwillingness to assimilate with the whites and to become fused with the very much mixed American nation. Still it is very much against the American sentiments to fuse with the Chinese, and so the Americans think that it is best for their country to keep those unassimilable elements out,

lest there should grow up a caste system, and it might mar the unity and equality of the republic.

In India the question of assimilation is only a far cry. The people of India, why, even the Hindus themselves are not one nation united by the ties of blood and inter-marriages. The Hindus again have Mohamedan neighbours with whom the Hindus have very little in common. They may speak the same language as people who meet in Bazars do, but they are not fed even on common literature. The Hindus champion the cause of native scripts and the Mohamedans, that of an exotic script. There is no common social law for Hindus and Mohamedans. Their customs, manners, and articles of diet are different. As we are not already one people to any large extent, the question of assimilating the foreign immigrants to our society is only a vain idea. When we have no common Indian tradition, no common Indian manners no common dress how can we initiate the foreigners to our traditions, dress and manners ?

A question would be asked, that if the case be as I describe, what is the use of my dwelling on the topic of immigration.

The first reason for my calling attention to this problem is to impress on the reader's mind that we should be extremely cautious regarding the future possibilities also when we are devoting our attention to nation-making. Great care is required from the beginning not to allow the task of nation-making become more difficult when we are on an onward path to realize our ideals. Suppose the day when we may have succeeded in creating a common civilization for India (a

civilization neither Hindu nor Mohamedan nor occidental, but a combination of all these), comes, we should not have, at that time, another element in our country which we may not be able to bring to that norm which we are trying to create. Moreover inasmuch as the problems of nation-making are to be solved by finding out something common or neutral to the various factors of population we should not have too varied a population to render the task of creating common civilization more difficult. Suppose tomorrow the enterprising and aspiring Chinese people come to our land and settle here in large numbers, then the task of Indian nationalism will be rendered more difficult. The British people may dislike the immigration of Chinese in their own land, but they will feel no scruples to encourage their immigration into India, and to add to the diversity of population. As early as the latter part of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the East India Company was thinking of creating a colony of the Chinese near Bombay in the island of Salsette, which they received from these Marathas, after what the English Historians call "the first Maratha war". But for some reason or another this plan seems to have been given up. We had again a colony of the Chinese convicts in the Madras Presidency, and this colony is responsible for creating a new caste in India, which Thurston names as the "Chinese Tamil cross". There is now a considerable element of the Chinese people in Calcutta engaged in the shoe-making trade. I remember to have once read in Bombay papers that the Chinese immigrants who come here without women usually marry Indian Christian women in Calcutta. If this

be true there is some chance of making this immigration less harmful to our ideal of nation-making, but this matter should receive very careful and intelligent scrutiny.

There is one-thing however against this and many other minor immigrations. They try to weaken the strength of the native tradition and culture, under the present conditions. Had India been governed by a native ruler the effect of these immigrations would not have been harmful. For instance, a large number of Syrian Christians, who came to India several centuries ago, have become real Indians in their dress, manners, and language. A Syrian Christian to-day cannot be easily distinguished from an average Hindu of Kochin and Travancore. A member of Jews who came to Deccan several centuries ago, speak Marathi language, write in Marathi, and have contributed something to Marathi literature. Why, they even sing their sacred songs in Marathi. Their women dress like Hindu women, and would not have been distinguished from them but for the fact that they do not put on their forehead the red pigment (*kunkuma*) which the Hindu women in Deccan do. The Parsis who came to India, have adopted Gujarathi as their language, some of them make vows before Hindu Gods, consult Brahmins on several questions such as marriage, employ or at least used to employ Brahmin priests also for their marriages. They again have abstained from beef-eating, and some of the advocates of cow-protection in India have been Parsis.

The revolution in the year 1818 in Western India, and the gradual spread of the British rule all over India, at once brought about a change in the attitude of these

minor races in India towards the native culture and manners. To-day many Parsis feel more at home with the English language which they do not speak at home, than with Gujarathi which they do. The Parsis no longer speak and write pure Gujarathi, nor have they any anxiety to do so. They use a kind of corrupt Gujarathi for writing, which they call. "Parsi Gujarathi." Men like the late Mr. Malabari, the author of a Gujarathi poem called "Sansarika" who wrote and took pride in writing pure Gujarathi, belong to a generation already dead and gone. When he published that poem the reporter of the vernacular press wrote a remark that Mr. Malbari being a Parsi must not have been the author of that poem which is written in such pure Gujarathi, and that the language of the poem as well as the sentiments showed that the poem must have been written by some *patriot*. He thus expressed his expectation that a Parsi could not be a patriot. The great Westernization of the Parsis is a matter of quite commonplace observation. Of the Indian communities who take great interest in social and political matters, the great advocates of the English language in India have been the Parsis. The Armenians who came to India long before the British Dominion are now trying to become completely English. Many of them use the English language at home, and a large number of Armenian families receive English boarders. The proprietor of one of the largest hotels in Calcutta is an Armenian. A number of Armenians have married with the English; although such marriages have not been great in number, it is evident that the social intercourse between the Armenians and Englishmen is much greater than the social intercourse between the former and

the bulk of the population, the Hindus. It is also well known that the Armenians have placed themselves under the English law.

Let us now come to the Jews. The Jews in India belong to two different classes. The earlier immigrants who are called the *Beni-Israels* have become Marathas in almost every respect. The later immigrants who came to India subsequent to the British rule, adopt the ways and manners not of the "natives" of India, but those of the exotic rulers. They also are giving up their language Arabic, not in favour of the indigenous languages of India, but in that of English. Some of them again marry with the European Jews and Christians but do not care to marry, not only with the Indian races, but even with their kinsmen the *Beni-Israels*. One Jewish restaurant keeper of the *Beni Israil* caste in Calcutta, has two sons. Both of them being brought up in Calcutta and having lost touch with their native language Marathi, did not like get wives from the Konkan, but they found greatest difficulty in getting girls from the Later Jews living in Calcutta to marry with them. Both of them married sisters from one family and these two sisters have been out-casted. Even of the great endowments and charities which the Sassoons made for their community very little advantage is given to the *Beni Israels*, because the *Beni Israels* are of darker complexion.

The relations of the Later Jews from Bagdad with the *Beni Israels* are not unlike those of Englishmen with the Native Christians.

How far do the Chinese people try to become Indians? Very little. They seem to adopt the dress and manners

of the rulers. Chinaman has no scruples to become a member of the Christian church or any other church for a very slight advantage. It is not to the benefit of the Chinese here to imitate the Indians to day.*

From what I said before with reference to the attitude of the Jews, the Chinese, the Parsis and the Armenians, it will be seen that the tendency of these little communities is either that of the adoption of the English

*Kingsley during his sojourn to the West Indics observed the fact that a Chinaman sends his wife to the church because it is a fashion to do so. To day he wears an English hat and very often we see even the Chinese women in the European dress. Moreover when the Chinese here will get filled with pride for their new republic, which may become stronger in future, they will begin to look down upon us with contempt just as many European nationalities do. They will live in India but without spiritually becoming citizens of India, and will always regard themselves as foreigners, and as citizens of the celestial republic. All these are mere possibilities and moreover not immediate possibilities and therefore they not do form a question of to day's practical politics. Still even the possibilities are, to be kept in mind. When the hard working capacity of the Chinese which can surpass even those of Americans, are compared with the slothful habits of our own people, and when the lack of skilled labour in India, and the overflooded condition of the Chinese labour market, and many other facts including the close proximity of India and China are taken into consideration, one feels it is more than likely that the Chinese immigration may increase henceforth. It is also possible that this race may become a permanent factor of population. If they do, they may play the same part which many minorities play in our political life. The part which minorities play in the politics of any country under autocratic government is this. They ally themselves with the autocracy and try to separate itself from the general population with the desire of getting special favours for their community.

civilization or that of maintaining their own. Whatever they may do, the strength of the native civilization suffers.

Apart from the advocacy of the British civilization by the British people in this country, and leaving aside the influence of the exotic minorities, there is a strong factor which is injuring the cause of the Indian civilization, and that is the propaganda of Christianity in India. We may admit the doctrine of allowing every man the liberty of believing what he likes, and also of preaching any doctrines he likes and yet we may object to the propaganda of Christianity on other grounds. This propaganda tries to denationalize our countrymen, and to make them look with contempt on our revered traditions. A large number of Christians like to become *sahibs*. They discard the Indian dress and take the foreign one. In many Christian families an attempt is made to discourage the use of their own languages, and the English language is substituted in their place. Many Christian missionaries when they approach tribes like the Santals, try to introduce the Roman script to teach them the Christian literature in their own language. The result is that a population amongst our midst will grow up which will be accustomed to the Roman script, and which will decrease the strength of our native script. How the Christians in Goa have formed a new dialect out of Konkani-Marathi, by using the Roman script for writing it, and by mixing Portuguese and Latin words in it, is well-known to us. The chief work which is to be done for the sake of social and economic uplift of India is the unification of the various civilizations that are represented in India. In determining as to what the nature of the civilization should be one has to take into account the

extreme difficulty or rather impossibility of westernizing India entirely. The Indian languages cannot be strangled and must not be. They therefore must remain dominant in the country and the above-mentioned social adultery promoted by the Christian missionaries in India should be discouraged either by legislation or by creating a strong public opinion against it.

Are there any measures to prevent, the influences of the minorities of foreign origin, and of foreign religions which tend to corrupt our nationality? The best remedy which I can think of is to make the indigenous provincial languages stronger than they are, and to bring about the social and political changes which will make them so.

In my opinion one change is sorely needed in the administration of India and that is the redivision of India on the basis of the languages. The present political divisions are results of accident. As the conquest of India by the East India company progressed, the newly acquired province was added to the contiguous territory. Take the Bombay Presidency for example; it has divisions which speak four distinct languages, namely, the Marathi, the Gujarathi, the Sindhi and the Canarese. Again the Canarese-speaking population is divided between the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. The large Marathi speaking population is distributed in the Bombay Presidency in the Berar and Central Provinces, and in the state of Hyderabad. The Bengalis till recently were divided into Eastern and the Western Bengals and in each province they were associated with peoples speaking different languages like the Bihari and the Assamese. Such divisions of the country do not do much social good. On the

contrary though a number of them are due merely to the fortuitous occurrences, their continued existence gives the people reason to believe that the British government has made such divisions, intentionally to foster division among the people.

In India, as well as in the European countries, the language is a great determinant of the social group. People who speak the same language are strongly allied to each other in sentiments and ideas, irrespective of the provincial boundaries. Marathi-speaking people in the Bombay Presidency feel much greater sympathy for the people in the Berar and Nagpur than for the Gujarathis. The different castes in India are also linguistically divided. The Maratha caste is found all over the Maratha country, and scarcely elsewhere, excepting in the Maratha States like Baroda and Indore. The political ideas and tempers of peoples are also greatly decided on the linguistic lines. Again the social customs and manners of the people speaking the same language are very alike. The similarity among the people has a great deal of social value and it is not necessary to destroy that similarity and the benefits arising therefrom by illogical political divisions.

The advantages which the country may derive by redivision are various. The redivision will be beneficial to the people as well as to the administration. Let us take the advantage which the government may derive by redivision into consideration.

First of all, the members of the civil service will be better able to master one language. At present, if a political officer, appointed in one place for a year or two,

takes pains and studies the language of the province he may still suddenly find himself transferred to another place in the same political division but speaking an entirely different language. When a civilian realizes this situation, he has very little inducement to study any native language at all. But if he is placed in a province speaking one language he will have greater inducement to study not only the language but also the literature. He will take greater interest in the Indian literature, drama &c, and will thereby become more popular and will be less regarded as a foreigner. The popularity of the individual government officers goes a long way to make the government itself popular. The Indian people will understand the officers, and the officers will be better able to understand the people whom they are called upon to serve.

Another advantage which the government may get is that it will be able to adopt more reforms in the educational administration. The educational departments find their scope considerably narrowed under the existing arrangement. They will be able to give more attention to educate the people through the language of the province.

At present they cannot do much. The impression left on the popular mind which cannot fully understand the difficulties of a government is that the British government wishes to stamp out the vernaculars, and in fact some officers of the British government have held these sentiments once upon a time. Such impression leads to a very unfortunate result. A large number of Indian vernacular papers adopt a very hostile attitude to the government. Seeing that England has stamped out the languages of Ireland and Scotland they infer that it

also wishes to destroy the Indian languages and to denationalize the Indians.

The government again will be able to do more to publish the government literature in the vernaculars. If a province has four or five languages it is difficult to publish the literature in each native language, but if the provincial government has to deal only with one language it can do more in that direction.

The advantages to the people will be obvious from what I have said before. They will gain a great deal by mutual understanding. The Indian languages will be better cared for than they are now. As education through the media of the Indian languages will increase, more people will be able to take advantage of the institutions for higher education and thus the society will progress greatly.

When the political divisions are made on rational principles, and when the Indian languages are given their due, then the Indian civilization will begin to be built. Whatever we may take from the Westerners in their scientific achievements, is to be made available to the people of India through the media of their own languages. Raising the indigenous languages will raise the majority—the bulk of the people, to importance. When once the indigenous majority asserts politically and socially, the uniformity of life in the population will rapidly progress. The minorities will be brought to a standard norm, and the economic relations will be reorganized, and the period, when Indian economics as opposed to tribal economics will be an article of reality, will be inaugurated.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMUNAL ECONOMICS AND DISTRIBUTIVE ECONOMICS.

By "communal economics" I mean, that point-of-view in Economics which regards a social group as a unit of economic life.

"Distributive Economics" or individual economics is that in which an individual is the unit of economic life.

Political Economy as it is understood to day is primarily a group economics. It seeks the welfare of a community and also of individuals in the community. Socialism is not communal economics. Although it tries to make the community the centre of economic life it does so because it regards that an individual will reap the highest benefits of social existence under socialism.

Individualism which looks upon the individual initiative as an important element in life and resents over-control by a state for the benefit thereof is still a doctrine of communal economics. Although it says that states exist for the sake of man, it thereby simply expresses the ethical justification for the existence of states together with a theory on the proper attitude of states towards men, or citizens in general. No individualist, for example, would say that man has a right to betray the interest of the state for his personal benefit.

Socialism in its purest form does not pay any attention to the maintenance of any particular state. It does

not look upon a man as a member of any particular political society, or of any religious community; it looks upon a man only as a producer and consumer of wealth. According to it every man is entitled to as much consumption of wealth as any other is. It is claimed by socialist with considerable amount of reason that under socialism the individuality of man will find a greater scope than it does now. Socialism does not also deny that social state exists for the sake of man but only asserts that it will formulate the social state in such a manner that man's highest interest will be insured.

Under these conditions it is not possible to say that socialism and individualism are opposed to each other. Their mutual relation could therefore be expressed thus.

Individualism demands a certain scope for man's psychic powers and tendencies. Socialism claims that it alone will give greatest scope to those psychic tendencies. Individualism thinks that it will be best available under the condition of free competition. Moreover while individualism is an element which is to be always maintained in any society, socialism is a very distant ideal to be reached. All this means that in the making of the future socialistic civilization, individualism is an element to be conserved. Individualism does not demand any social change, but socialism demands changes of very serious character. The socialization of wealth for its common enjoyment which socialism demands are things so radical that for their fulfilment it will demand some thorough-going changes in society. For example, socialism will loosen the present marriage ties. If the enjoyment of wealth be common, illegitimate children will find no property disqualification.

Economic distinction between the legitimate and the illegitimate children being extinct the ethical reproach towards illegitimacy will be much less and the marriage ties will become loose. They will be loose also because woman will not be compelled to be economically dependent on man.

Socialism, in order to be possible, must be universal. A socialistic state must have some intercourse with other states for the purposes of trade and industry, and on that account the existence of a completely socialistic state amidst non-socialistic states is impossible.

Thus the chief difference between socialism and the present-day industrial organization on the bases of competition lies, not in the political conception as to whether state exists for man or man for state, but in the importance which it attaches to the equality of distribution, that is, in asserting its importance to the exclusion of any other, and also in the indifference of socialism to the question of maintaining a particular political community. Indifferent as it is to modern political relations, it is an advocate of individual or distributive economics. Thus a change towards true socialism does not mean decrease of individualism but an increase of distributive economics, and in its doctrinaire form it is the upsetter of communal economics.

What should the view of those who are interested in the economics of a particular community be towards socialism or distributive economics? Let us solve the question with special reference to India.

Is there any place for socialism in India? The answer

to the question will depend on whether by socialism we mean the eclectic socialism or the doctrinaire socialism.

By eclectic socialism I mean the adoption of some particular measures which may be outcome of the theory of socialism, such as, the government control of public services like railway and telegraphs, and seeking for society more general distribution of certain benefits. There is a considerable room for adoption of many such socialistic measures because those measures do help to better the condition of the particular political community in which we live. When we approve any measure which may be socialistic, on the ground that it is advantageous to our particular community or for some reasons other than that of hastening socialism, then it is eclectic socialism. When we approve or adopt a measure simply for the fact that it is socialistic, and because socialism is a good thing, then it is doctrinaire socialism. Eclectic socialism in short is to play a subordinate part to the fulfilment of a social ideal other than socialistic.

Even in the European and American countries the possibility of adopting doctrinaire socialism, that is of adopting socialistic social ideal to the exclusion of every other, is extremity remote. As far as India is concerned, the possibility of the supremacy of socialistic ideals in governing the life of community is still more distant. Socialism as the most prominent social ideal can come into existence only when the world-state will come into existence. Socialism for its fulfilment requires that the rivalry between localities to secure the trade to themselves should cease. As long as the political or locality feeling strongly prevails, and the prosperity of a particular locality

is too strong a motive in human mind, the socialistic principles must play a subservient part to patriotism, either local, national or Imperial.

Socialism in its preaching ignores all differences between man and man other than the economic difference. It is concerned only with the distribution of wealth. According to it, the present distribution of wealth is unjust and therefore it desires to correct the society of that injustice.

If any socialistic reform in the distribution of wealth is likely to increase the prosperity of the country and to make that country economically more efficient than other countries then that reform is more likely to be adopted by that country. On the contrary if a reform in the distribution is likely to injure the interests of the country then there is little chance for that reform to be adopted. All countries are not prepared to sacrifice a colony to a principle.

As far as India is concerned, as I have said, the chances for the socialistic feeling to reign supremely in the country is a matter more distant than in the countries of Western Europe and America. The reasons for such a condition are as follows.

The great motive factor to promote socialism is labour. The Indian labouring class is at present ignorant. This ignorance will offer a great difficulty to the rise of class consciousness among them.

Again the difficulties of cooperation among the labouring classes all over India are extremely great. Even the co-operation of the more educated class of capitalists is very difficult. The great social barriers of language, religion and class are so great that any cooperative effort on

the part of the labouring classes is wellnigh impossible. Moreover at present the interest of the country demand the economic development of India itself, and the labouring class itself is more to gain by the economic development of India which may create a greater demand for labour, than by a fight for more equal distribution. Moreover, excepting in large cities like Bombay and Calcutta which possess factories employing armies of working men and women, the distinction between the social condition of the employer and the employed is very small. Thus the greater problem before the country to-day is the economic development itself rather than a reform in distribution or the socialization of production.

Still there is some room for socialization of production entirely on different grounds.

When in a particular country the economic development is very scanty, the governments may do many things, which, if they do not do them, will either remain undone or fall into the hands of foreign capitalists. Whether the Indian government has recognized this principle or not, it has gone ahead of many other governments, in socialistic schemes. Take for example the value-payable system in the Indian Post offices. If we wish to find an example of a more general distribution of certain benefits we should see the Indian medical department. If the extension of railways is made by the government, the danger of making Indians, slaves of foreign capital, will be much less. Some states in India are running some factories on their own account. Although this kind of effort is not successful, there are strong reasons for its ill success, other than the fact that those things have been undertaken by states. Nationalization

of land which we find in India is a fact too well-known to be mentioned here.

The land has already been taken possession of by the Indian government. If the public services, such as railways, tramways and telephones and the working of mines be taken over by the government, the country could be as socialistic as any other.* As far as the people of India are concerned, it is a matter of no great significance to them as to whether these undertakings are in the private hands or in the hands of the government. They would much rather have it in the hands of their own government than in the hands of the foreign capitalists. When the control of the Indian people over the government affairs will increase (a state of things which is bound to come in time) the control of the government over production will really be a social control. For the present the government of India is not responsible to the people of India and therefore the promotion of socialism in this country will simply mean, placing greater authority in the hands of foreigners. It will simply make the Indian life more miserable. Government interference with the life of the people must be preceded by a growth of power of the Indian people. Until this transfer of power takes place, much progress of socialism is impossible. But within the limits, which I have given above, socialism may fairly progress.

* The kings used to manage mines in Ancient India.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK.

It is necessary to say a few words on the future of the economic outlook. When one dares to make any prophesy one has to meet with the possibility of seeing his ideas and theories overthrown. Some unexpected influences may appear and they may mar the entire forecast. Still, all what may happen is this. The laws which are working will do their work, though the results may be greatly conditioned by the unforeseen events.

To turn to the subject, I must, first of all, confess that I look towards the future with considerable optimism. I feel that the economic conditions of India are bound to improve. The results however will be in proportion to the agreement between the government and the people on the adoption of the political ideal of making India economically strong and of restoring the healthy part of our past civilization. If the government and the people agree, and if the people show the energy to assert the dignity of the native civilization and especially of the native languages, then our bright future is considerably assured.

The government of India, as far as I can see, has become more conscientious regarding its duties towards the people of India. In many cases the government is giving some boons unasked. In proof of this I may point out to the new universities which are being given to the different provinces.

The ideal of Indian nationalism is bound to prosper. His ideal is not inconsistent with the British Imperialism. The British Imperial philosophy itself is assuming a healthier aspect day by day. The idea of governing some parts of the empire by keeping the dominion of the British is an idea that is bound to perish, and the ideal of uniting the different nations on the plan of cooperation, bringing each nation brought under the sway of England a chance for developing its own civilization is tending to prosper. The constitutions given to the Commonwealths of Australia and South Africa, the Irish Home rule which is on the verge of accomplishment, the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales, are forces too well pronounced to be ignored. They whisper a confident hope that the idea of federation is bound to prosper. India also will reap the advantage thereof. Indian loyalty is becoming more dependable day. The hopes which may have lingered for a long time in parts like the Maratha country of re-establishing the old order, are completely dead to-day. The unhappy tale of unrest which prevailed in India some time ago is full of meaning from the historical point of view. It was, as far as the Deccan was concerned, the last and the weakest phase of the struggle to restore the old condition. The effort before that, as the people know well, was the one by Mr. Vasudeo Balwant Phadke about the year 1877, that is, some twenty years after the Sepoy Mutiny. It is the expectation of the writer that the very Maratha Brahmins who may have shown themselves as a turbulent element, will, when the wave of pessimism reigning over their country disappears, become enthusiastic to reform the present conditions by methods consistent with the British

rule. In short, there is a better mental equipment on the part of the people to be loyal to the British crown, and this fact is bound to reflect on the British policy in India. The greater confidence of the British will result in giving to the people of the country a greater share in the administration.

The British political thinkers have now set before themselves the ideal of Imperial federation. To the achievement of that ideal, India offers a great difficulty. This difficulty will be removed only when India develops a corporate feeling. Corporate feeling for the whole of India will not take root unless a corporate feeling is created in the provinces. The creation of feeling will require an extension of provincial autonomy. Indian government is seeing this fact and is therefore giving separate legislatures to the provinces, and also High Courts and universities. I have already told how the development of the corporate feeling in the provinces will be greatly helped by making the provinces on linguistic lines.

The people of India have now begun to take deep interest in some of the most vital questions. There is a distinct awakening on the subject of reform in the political divisions. Although the government of India has shown no strong sympathy, still it has shown no opposition. The people of Orissa want to be enfolded in a separate province. The Andhra movement which is intended to create a province of entirely Telagu-speaking people is progressing with considerable vigour. The Marathi-speaking people of the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and the Central Provinces desire to be given a separate province. These movements I suppose will wax in strength as the

time goes on, and I suppose will accomplish their object when the desire becomes sufficiently strong.

This foregoing discussion will help the reader to understand how the government of India and the ideals of the people are converging towards the same kind of policy which is so much to the advantage of our country. We can almost feel assured that the government, whatever mistakes it may have done in the past, is not likely to follow an unhealthy economic policy for the country in the future. The change has taken place in the aims, as the idealistic side has been supplied to the government policy.

Let us now proceed to the consideration of the future of consumption and production, the most important points in economics. What is the future of the consumption of goods? At present, in India, the social consumption is extremely low. It means a low civilization. Low consumption makes a man less willing to work. It provides also for less work. Consumption therefore is of the greatest importance to the student of comparative economics.

Apart from the fact of the warm climate of our country, there are many more reasons which prevent the increase of consumption in the society. In a province like Bengal there is no high life of purely native origin. The high Hindu life which once existed in the country is destroyed a long time ago, and the high Mohamedom life also has to a great extent disappeared. The civilization of the city of Calcutta may roughly be described as a combination of the rural civilization of the Hindus and the urban civilization of Englishmen. There is no high type of life of purely indigenous origin. If a person wishes to live in a good style he

must accept the British style. The British style of living is extremely difficult to imitate with taste, inasmuch as it is foreign. A few England-returned Hindus may do it with success, but it is extremely difficult to make the European style more general. We sometimes get very ludicrous results from the attempts at imitation. The imitation cannot be correct, and the attempt simply makes the imitator a laughing stock of the foreign community. Our native *mem-sabs* must be a very interesting spectacle for a foreigner to see. I saw a Christian lady physician in Calcutta, whom under other circumstances, I would have mistaken for a negro cook or washerwoman in the Southern states of the union, the only difference being that the negro cook is much more neatly dressed.

The general result of the absence of the higher type of living of the native origin is making the society stationary in life for a considerable period. The effect is even greater. The preexisting ideals of good form and manners tend to get corrupted. The imitation of the foreign race even if it be ludicrous gives some advantage to the conquered race. If a person dresses himself in a coat, trousers, and a hat although he may not be taken for an Englishman he may at least be taken for a half-caste, and in certain places like the railways, a half-caste gets more attention and obedience from the ignorant classes than an Indian of some standing does. Cases in which a foreigner cook or a motor driver of an Indian Maharaja was shown a great deal of respect while the Maharaja himself was ignored are not entirely wanting, although the prudent Maharajas may remain quiet about it. As long as the foreign dress means a great deal, the Indian dress is bound to be ignored and corrupted.

Although to make suggestions is no part of my present plans, as the theory of social reform is to be dealt with in a later work, a suggestion to remedy the matters described above may well be made. The above condition exists because the British race is dominant and because the older form of political theory the central point of which was to maintain the dominion of the British race in India and to govern it by force, was working its influence on politics and social life. This theory led to a desire among the British to keep to the British manners very strongly. Some Anglo Indians again had an idea of maintaining the British civilization in India and of moulding the entire nature of the Indian civilization. But these ideas are now going. A genuine desire to develop India on Indian lines is springing forth.

One of the remedies which I may suggest to stop the unhealthy nature of the exotic influence, is to make effort to change the cause itself. What is done at the top is done at the bottom, is a rule true of all communities. The reformers must therefore reform the top—the people standing high in the socio-political hierarchy. The day when the natives of India from different parts of the country will go to Delhi and create a native aristocracy with common manners is yet to come. The Indian national congress which ought to understand the duty of creating common manners is not likely to come. The congress is full of men who are simply living satellites of the dead planet *i.e.* Mr. Hume, and these men cannot be considered as a body of real thinkers who will discover new ways of improving the country. They are simply following the precepts unintelligently of one of the old prophets, and when some

new spirit was going to be instilled (by men who also did not have a very comprehensive programme) in the congress, it has suffered a split. The attendance of the congress last time was so small that one cannot say whether the congress will survive or die. Thus the creation of uniform national civilization cannot be trusted to the cooperative effort of the people. We must appeal to the government to undertake the task.

Can the government undertake such task ? Yes, it can with the greatest advantage.

The European officers who come to this country should be encouraged by the government to adopt the Indian dress and costumes, especially when appearing before the public.

The highest government officers like the Viceroy and the governors, together with their wives should adopt the Indian dress. Indian people also can demand such a thing as a matter of right. The rulers are of the foreign race. This unfortunate fact cannot be prevented. But the government officers should try to appear as little foreign as they can. They should forget that they are English and should try to feel that they are Indians—and not Anglo-Indians merely. I do not mean to say that the government officers should not wear such dress as they are used to, when they are at home. They should adopt Indian dress at least when they appear before the public. English people, both men and women, usually have a good taste and if they try to adopt Indian dress I am sure that they will be able to dress well. That Indian dress is not liked by the English people is something very difficult for me to believe. How many English women I have

seen who love to drape themselves in a *sari*. European standards of decency will be properly kept even though English women adopt the Indian dress. I do not mean to say, that the government officers should take the dress of any particular race or tribe. They should show proper eclecticism in adopting the same. The Viceroy at least should appear in the public with an Indian turban, of whatever style it may be. Such an action by the Viceroy is humiliating to no race. It is in conformity with the real English liberal traditions. Our Emperor when he goes to Russia dresses himself usually like a Cossack. We have seen a picture of our present ruler with an Indian head dress when he had visited the country at the time of the last memorable durbur. Real cosmopolitanism means respect for each other's dress and customs. When English people come to our country they should become like us as we become like them when we go to theirs. If English people desire us to accept the theory of Imperialism as a motive factor in our political life they should also be prepared to become good Indian nationalists themselves. They are eating our salt and so they should be true to us. They should be champions not only of our cause abroad but of our indigenous civilization. This championship will not be fulfilled merely by writing books about us or by encouraging archæological researches and publishing them in the English language. Rulers are really leaders of the people. People live under political organizations in order to further their own interest, and it is the function of the rulers to lead the society onward the path of progress. The so called "leaders of the people" are leaders only of a particular party, section, or opinion, while the

government is expected to lead all the people. At present it must be said that the government falls short considerably of this ideal which is usually attained in most of the countries.

The preceding facts told above will help the reader to understand how the Indianization of our government is necessary to bring about a required revolution in the consumption determining tastes of the people and to encourage the people to live a higher economic life. If the British adopt a certain type of Indian style, original in itself but composed of Indian elements, this adoption will also have effect of creating a uniformity of life. The influence will be twofold. The desire for imitation will play its part, as all over India there will be a change towards adopting the dress which is known to be aristocratic and which will not be against the Indian tradition but will only be a further development of it. Secondly the British people will have no objection to take to the different dresses which prevail in the different parts of the country. They may take a Maratha dress to day, a Bengali dress to morrow, and a Gujarthi dress on the day after. They are not bound by sentiments to either. The result will be that the different tribal or provincial dresses which are seen in India will become national dresses. At present if a Bengali or a Maratha leaves his own dress he will take to no other but to the English. But under those changed conditions, a man from one province will take the dress of another province without any scruples of conscience. The Indian fashions will thus change far more than they do now.

There is another advantage associated with this. If

the English people who come to India take to Indian dress the non-English foreigners will do the same. Many European and American visitors who come to our wonderful land will be induced to buy our dresses.

Anglo-Indian dress at present is greatly unæsthetic Englishwoman's dress, in India, also needs a change. In many cases the Europeans feel that they do need some change in their dress, but no Englishman individually will dare to adopt the native dress or to invent a new style for himself. The fashions must flow from the high. It is the highest government officers who should undertake the task. Importance of this subject is very great from a social, economic, and political point of view. The writer will watch with keen interest as to how this suggestion will be taken by the European communities in the country. Indians should also advise the English to give up vain notions and accept a more civilized form of habit that is suited to the local conditions.

Indianization of Englishman will take away the evil influences of the foreign tastes. It will promote Indian uniformity. It will set emulation working on healthy lines. All these processes of change will have important favourable effects on the national economy which could be easily imagined from what I said previously.

Let us now turn to the various factors of production.

The natural resources in the country are to be exploited, the natives of India must exploit them, and the government should encourage them to do so. India's prosperity should not mean the prosperity of the foreigners living in the country, but the prosperity of the

people of the soil. Statistics of trade in India may prove that it is devoleping fast, but they may not prove at the same time that Indians are getting richer. Our anxiety is not and should not be merely whether the natural resourcs in the country are plundered or not, or whether, there is more wealth standing on the country's soil or not. Only greedy tax-gathering, and tax-loving governments will have that kind of view, and will sleep on fancying that the country is progressing. Our anxiety is whether the natives of the land get benifitted or not. Exploitation of the resources we want, but we also want that it should be done by the natives. This kind of exploitation cannot properly take place without the development of knowledge and education. These two things will not properly be developed as long as no effort is done to raise the native languages.

As far as the Indian capital is concerned, it is becoming less timid and more ready to flow into new channels. The capitalists also are showing an ability for co-operation and for large undertakings. New mining companies, new large banking companies, new insurance companies, have sprung forth here and there like mushrooms. There is an unpleasant tale also with reference to this. The recent bank failures have shown that some companies were managed by speculators and thieves, and I am afraid that some day we shall see failures of many of the insurance companies also; but in a new movement it should be expected that some rogues also may carve out a living along with the good. The timidity of the Indian capital is however too much talked about. It is true that the commercial class did not venture its money in the new

manufacturing channels, but if they showed any reluctance they did it with reason. First of all when the isolation of a country is breaking up, the attention of the capitalists is first taken up by commerce and exchange. Moreover the bad railway policy had serious cramping effect on the development of Indian industry. If the railways were built from one town to another in India to promote business only in those internal places, then the result would have been, that a re-arrangement of production in those two towns would have taken place, and the small producers would have become large producers, and the class of large manufacturers would have developed out of the original class given to the manual trades. But the isolation of different parts of India against foreign countries was broken before the isolation one part with another was done away with, and thus the "opening of India" ruined the class of Indian producers. Generally the class of manufacturers must arise out of men given to particular trades but, in India, the natural process not being allowed to work itself it must arise out of moneyed men deriving their income either from commerce or from land or from professions or from the noble occupation of lending money at a Marvari interest. All these classes are not sufficiently fitted to manage a manufacturing concern. Capitalists have to bring managers from Europe on very high salaries and have to depend upon them. In order that a business may be carried in that manner it must be done on a very large scale. In India we have such large businesses but we do not have a sufficient number of small manufacturing establishments unless we go to the very smallest, which use no power at all.

These facts will show that there are potent reasons for the apparent timidity of the Indian capital.

The labour in India is extremely inefficient. One often sees a very great difference even between the English and the Indian domestics. The cheapness of Indian labour is no great advantage in many cases. It is hoped that our labour force will improve along with education. The literacy of a labourer counts a great deal; but more than that counts the training which the labourer may get under good disciplinarians. The desire to discourage illiteracy is growing. Many castes are trying to promote education among their own members, and one of our ablest leaders is fighting the cause of education in the Council, although with only a small amount of success. For the sake of discipline to our labour we must depend on the foreigners yet.

Leaving aside the industrial element in the economic structure of our society, we shall turn to the most important of the Indian sources of livelihood, *i.e.*, agriculture. A great deal needs to be done for the agriculturist by the state, and the government is becoming conscious of the fact. It may be said, however, that the charge of extreme conservatism which is very often made against the Indian farmers is not a true one. If one does not see a binder, or a steam-plough with an Indian farmer, or bulky thrashing machines going about in the country districts one need not accuse the farming class of conservatism. The Indian farmer, like a man from Missouri, has got to see things. All the argument against the conservatism of the Indian farmer will go to the walls if we take into consideration a few simple facts, which may illustrate his willingness

to take up to new things. Take for example ; crops like potato, sweet potato, peanuts, maize and tobacco are foreign to the country and still they have made their way into every corner. One only needs to see how the cultivation of cotton is taking the place of many crops in Berar. Even a casual inquiry about Bengal will inform us that jute is taking the place of other crops. I know Indian farmers as well as the English and American small farmers. I have myself worked on the American farms and have mixed with all the classes. I find that a small farmer in America with all his newspaper reading does not show much greater intelligence in seeking his own economic advantage. To this statement men from business life going into farming, and some college graduates taking farming as a career are, of course, exceptions. The influence which the more educated farmers bring on the farmers' circles is important and valuable. This influence is non-existent in India. In America, the schools and colleges are closed during summer which is the most important period to a farmer, and open during the winter which is not an important and active period in the country districts. Thus a son of a farmer who goes to the city for education or even to the university is not deprived of the earnings, of the farm experience and of the excellent habit of doing hard manual labour.

To speak of the manual trades. In India, excepting in large cities it is very hard to find even good workmen. The ideas regarding style and beauty have not yet entered among the Indian workmen. Education in art and its principles is quite far off from the workmen in small towns. My friends Dr. Coomarswamy and Mr. Havell have

said a great deal about Indian art and Indian craftsmen. There is a great deal of truth in what they say and yet I think they also will be prepared to say that master craftsmen knowing any art at all, whether Indian or European, are not sufficiently abundant, and that the work of ordinary workmen is rude and repulsive to a considerable extent. Whatever Indian art that may still be existing has lingered only in extremely few places like ancient capitals and places of temples. An average English or American wood-worker is much superior to an average Indian wood-worker. An Indian book-binder has much less information as to how he should make the binding beautiful than his brother in the west. The causes of these phenomena are various. The general public which ought to create a demand for better things has much less sense of the beautiful. Other causes such as the suppression of our languages, are extremely potent and yet I must not dwell upon them for the fear of irritating the reader.

In order that we may have a bright future, the different classes in society should understand their burden. The society for this purpose may be divided into three classes, viz., 1. the workers, 2. the leaders and 3. the government. A few words need to be said here on the duties of the leaders of society and of the government as well as on those of individual workers. The social and economic advancement takes place through the aggregate result of the efforts of individuals to improve their own condition, and also through the organized effort of people, that is, through corporate action or agency of the government, to create such surroundings as will enable the individuals to

reap the highest advantage of the social existence and to contribute their best towards social well-being. Private associations like the Chambers of Commerce, and governments have, to some extent, the same kind of duty. Both of them should try to make the individual effort most productive. Man can make use of his talent but its productivity is always limited by the surroundings.

Man cannot make the opportunities or change the environment ; all what he can do is to acquire skill, choose his vocation, and work honestly and diligently. He may perhaps, as a citizen, point out to the society as to where the society is erring and is decreasing his opportunities, but he cannot do more. Every man moreover while engaged in earning his own bread cannot be a social reformer or a missionary or an agitator. The leaders of the society and the government must try to change the conditions which may be acting as impediments to the economic progress *i.e.*, to man's effort to earn wealth. Efforts are to be made by man to take advantage of the environments, and to adapt himself to them. But he should not be asked to change himself too much. He must not be asked to do the impossible. Environments themselves need to be changed sometimes.

Man's ability to contribute to the wealth of the country depends on the period of life he can devote to the earning of wealth and on the environments which set limits to his usefulness, and on his own efficiency.

Decrease of death-rate, or rather the prolongation of human life, has important effects on the economic condition, as a man is enabled to create more during his lifetime. Economically the most important part of life is the

one when a man begins to earn after finishing his education. Until he grows too old to work the longer he lives the more useful he becomes.

Very little, I think, is done to remove the great evil of early death in society. The government is adopting curative remedies but not the preventive ones. Medical relief is granted but the causes which lead to the destruction of health have not been fought against. The liquor policy of the government is bad. The government has given to the people the great privilege of drinking, without educating men sufficiently to understand the evils. The country could profitably have been spared of this liberty. Revenue of course is an important consideration, but the prevention to the sale of liquor will be justified even from the standpoint of revenue. Prohibition will not only prolong human life but will also promote expenditure in other directions, and this scope for greater expenditure will enable people to raise their standard of living.

The methods for the prevention of disease, and for the prolongation of life can never be carried out by government, completely. Hygienic ideas must gain hold of masses, and the people must be taught to live better. This is another reason why I advocate the regeneration of a higher kind of life of purely indigenous origin. As long as the higher sanitary and hygienic precautions are coupled with the European manners alone, the Indian life itself does not improve but becomes worse. This statement looks absurd at the outset and therefore requires further elucidation. The higher hygienic life is not always developed by the sanitary ideas alone. What is dirty or clean is determined usually not by analysis but by sight.

What looks neat and pleasant to the eye is taken as clean. In a number of cases this test will be false, but, on the whole, an anxiety to do what looks clean is advantageous. Many women will not desist from any particular act or indulgence if they are told that it will injure their health. But if they are told that it will spoil their complexion, the argument weighs more strongly on their mind. The desire for keeping the beauty unimpaired helps a woman to live a life more conducive to health ; and similarly a desire of giving a pleasant appearance to the house brings with it a better sanitation. People must have a higher imitable life before them, and in order that a life may become imitable to the masses, it must be a further development of the indigenous life. If the higher life of indigenous origin is developed and if that life is moulded according to the sanitation ideas then that life will serve as a model to the masses and they will strive to live better.

Another thing which increases the economic value of the labour force is the individual efficiency. This efficiency when analyzed will be found to be consisting of the following components.

- (i) Skill of work.
- (ii) Capacity for hard work
- (iii) Ability to understand the environments.
- (iv) Equipment of the working men for the changed conditions.

Increasing the individual skill and the capacity for hard work may be trusted to individuals. It is also the duty of every individual to try to understand the environments and to equip himself to take advantage of the same. He must change himself according to conditions. Adapt-

ability of a people is an important cause which leads to their survival. But it should also be realized that, to a man's ability to adapt himself, there is a certain limit. The principle I lay down on the subject is this; when there exists any phase of environment which requires a man to change himself radically but his changing to that extent is impossible and when to keep that phase of environment itself is optional for the society then efforts are to be made to change the environments. The number of changes which I have advocated in this book and which relate to the development of indigenous civilization doing away with the unnecessary domination of the foreign languages, foreign dress are advocated with this idea in my mind—by realizing the optional character of some of the existing conditions and by realizing the impossibility of bringing about an entire change in society.

The preceding discussion will enable the reader to understand how our economic development is related with the political conditions. We need quasi-political reforms. By quasi-political reforms, I mean those reforms which could be brought about only by influencing the government I do not think that direct political reforms, that is, redistribution of political power are at present necessary. There is already a considerable representation given to our people. Most of our representatives as well as the government need an ideal to work for. Most of our men do not have any programme for action. If this little booklet succeeds in giving such a programme the author will regard that his labours have been justified.

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