

# THE CRISIS IN INDIA

BY  
K. SRINIVASA RAU

Ex-Member of the Madras Legislative Council, Translator  
Subadar Mahomed Beg's Diary of Jubilee Visit to  
London, and Author of Papers on  
Social Reform.

---

*(All Rights Reserved)*

---

MADRAS :  
REPRINTED AT THE ADDISON PRESS.

1918.



THE  
CRISIS IN INDIA

2004779

ADDISON PRESS,  
MADRAS.

TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY  
SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY, G.C.S.I.,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

OF

THE WARM SOLICITUDE FOR THE  
MILLIONS OF THE PROVINCE

ENTRUSTED

TO HIS CARE

THIS BOOK IS, BY KIND PERMISSION,  
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

## CONTENTS.

---

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. Monarchy <i>versus</i> Democracy ...	1—28
II. India and a Parliamentary form of Government ... ..	29—48
III. British and Native India and the Press and Caste Spirit ...	49—57
IV. The Higher Life of India and the Mission of England ...	58—75
V. Sedition ... ..	76—104
VI. The British Character and Social Intercourse between East and West ... ..	105—126
VII. Bridge-making ... ..	127—135
VIII. The British Policy ... ..	136—144
IX. The Present Situation ... ..	145—158
X. The Solution ... ..	159—168
Appendix I.—Mr. Gokhale's Political Testa- ment ... ..	169—172
The Government of India ...	172—174
„ II.—The Memorandum of Nineteen.	175—178

# THE CRISIS IN INDIA.

---

## PREFACE.

“**P**AGETT, M.P.”, is busy writing and publishing his books about India, after as usual a few months' tour. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., has written his, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has written his. These have seen India through their spectacles of English Socialism and English Labour party. English Socialism and English Labour party have no place here in India, though the Socialist and the Labourite would be only too glad to convert the world to his creed. Monsieur J. Chailly wrote in French his “Administrative Problems of India” (translated into English by Sir William Meyer, I.C.S.) after years of observation and study unlike “Pagett, M.P.,” who has not as much time at his command as the laborious French Deputy Consul. An American came the other day and went round the country and he seemed to take in everything, but he gave out very little. Reticence was his cardinal point, but he may, for aught one knows, jump on us with his book on India, sooner or later. Thus British India and British Indian Administration are fast becoming the perennial topic for book-writers, British politicians and statesmen of all shades of feeling and all schools of thought. The Indians have been contributing their share of political, social and religious

literature all over the country mainly in English and recently in *some* of the Vernaculars as well, but what commands at present most attention in the Western world is apparently what others say about India and not so much what Indians may have to say of themselves under British rule. Indian views and opinions are taken by foreign writers or globe-trotting M. Ps., just to the extent they tally with their own notions of things, either pre-conceived or conceived on the spot or on the spur of the moment of their observations in their tour; and the result is book after book seen through this pair of spectacles or that, but none of them comes up to the Indian eye. While the Indian reads all these books about himself and his fellowmen written so kindly and condescendingly by so many foreigners, he is sore tempted to ask himself "while so many are anxious to write about us, and write us up and down as they like, why should we not tell the world about British rule in India, ourselves, to help to a better understanding of things as they are? While we are seeing ourselves frequently enough as seen by others, will not the Western world like to take first-hand views about India under British rule from Indians, instead of being content with hearsay evidence on all sides, from people who may after all have to confess that they have tried to read India aright, but India is still a puzzle to them. It has been a puzzle after all even to the best of Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Rulers, Administrators and Officers of the best type. It has been a puzzle to the Indians themselves in all conscience. No wonder if only one realizes the vastness and complexity of Indian life and the ever-increasing difficulty of mastering the Indian problems, in a practical working spirit. So



then it may not be one too many for a sketch like this to appear from an Indian, who means well for his country, as much at least as the foreign book-writers do and who knows practically where the shoe pinches. He may labour under some obvious disadvantages, like the want of the literary touch in a foreign language, or want of sufficient knowledge of British Politics,—which perhaps may be a point in his favour,—or above all, want of that knack of advertisement which makes a book in English by an Englishman sell roaringly well in the Western world, and then come down to the Indian plains to be read with dismay and doubt by the Indians themselves for whose benefit, however, it is said to be written. The Indians read such books and say “very clever, but conclusions wrong.” So Indians must write more about India and it has got in its favour the fact that it is the Indian who is writing about himself and his fellowmen under British rule. Foreign doctors who wish to treat diseases Indian in the body politic, may be exceedingly well-intentioned and exceedingly able and even correct in very many particulars, in the diagnosis, but the patient may know about his real ailments a little more than all the doctors, and if he and his doctors understand each other a bit better, the treatment may save the patient instead of killing him, with drugs and nostrums which may do well enough in the countries to which the eminent doctors belong, but which may just fail in the Indian climate in reaching the Indian constitution. It is thus that this book may be of some use, however small, as it is written from the Indian point of view, and meant to catch the British eye with a desire to bridge the gulf between India and England.

The writer is, however, not unaware that the views enunciated in the following pages run counter in some respects, to the views held to-day by a considerable body of Indian writers and politicians ; but those views have had too exclusive an acceptance hitherto without sufficient scrutiny and discussion ; and therefore it is essential that the other side of the picture should be honestly and faithfully presented to the public in the best interests of India and England.

As these problems come to be discussed more largely and with greater freedom from bias of any kind, there can be little doubt that the true interests of the country will be more efficiently and more comprehensively served. It is this consideration alone that has led to the publication of this book and it is hoped that it will receive at the hands of the public an independent and impartial judgment uninfluenced by pre-conceived notions and theories which have acquired more or less unquestioned authority among the generality of Indian politicians.

There can be no doubt that India is passing through a serious transition both socially and politically. The one great point in which the writer of the book believes is the intimate connection between our Social and Political advance and how largely the latter is dependent for its success upon the former. If he has succeeded in bringing out this point clearly and made his countrymen realize the urgent need for an upheaval in the direction of social reformation the writer of these pages will feel amply rewarded.

LAKE VIEW,  
COIMBATORE. }  
*September* 1911. }

K. SRINIVASA RAU.

*P. S.*—Permission to dedicate the book was very kindly accorded by His Excellency Sir Arthur Lawley on the 15th July, and the publication of the book was finally approved by His Excellency on the 8th September, 1911.

It is remarkable that the declaration suggested in the book as worthy of being made by His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor on the great occasion of the Coronation at Delhi, has been actually announced by His Majesty.

*19th December, 1911.*

K. S.

---

## PREFACE

### TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The very kind reception accorded to the book by the public and the opinions expressed about it by several eminent men have encouraged me to bring out a Second Edition at what appears to be an opportune moment in Indian politics. In less than two years from its inception, the agitation for Home rule for India has assumed a form and shape which calls for a candid examination of the subject at the hands of every well-wisher of India and England. With the dangers and difficulties of planting democracy in India before making the ground fit for it which I pointed out as early as 1911 when this book was published, we are now face to face. It may not be, therefore, inappropriate to observe that several years ago, before indeed the Home rule agitation was started, I

apprehended the possible consequences of carrying on a political agitation in India and in England for the grant of self-government to India in which those domestic and social problems which have been calling aloud for solution as a preliminary to the introduction of the democratic principle in the Government of the country would be more or less ignored. Men who possess an inside knowledge of Indian conditions and, who are capable of taking a sane, sober and impartial view of the present movement have been honestly stirred to their deepest depths as to what may and will happen if the gift of Home rule to India should come to be made prematurely. There is no patriotism in shutting one's eyes to the hard facts in the Indian social system which is at once the most peculiar, the most rigid and the most unbending the world has ever seen and which opposes at every step the democratic principle. It follows, as a necessary corollary, that the foundations for Home rule, if they have to be laid well and truly, must be on an enlarged and reformed Indian social system and that, till this has been secured, any radical political changes are more likely to do harm than good. That some of us demand Home rule as within the region of practical politics is the greatest compliment we can pay to the breadth and benevolence of British rule. But it is wise to recognize our limitations and build up our fitness for Home rule before taking a plunge into the waters of democracy. The fate of the country is trembling in the balance. While on the one side the small fraction of impatient idealists insist on the immediate grant of Home rule to India, there are on the other side entire classes and communities who are opposed to it as premature. It

is clear that at a time like this the leading men should speak out their minds freely and fearlessly.

“Out of evil cometh good” is a great and true saying. The Home rule agitation has ushered into existence “Justice” and the “Non-Brahman Movement.” Friends of Social Reform all over the country will realize that the great conflict between the Home rulers and the anti-Home rulers is nothing more than a loud call for Social Reform once more and will rejoice over it that this conflict only means that we are at the eve of a great Social Reconstruction.

Among the public utterances under the auspices of the Non-Brahman Movement, that of the Zemindar of Telaprole deserves special mention for the clear and telling manner in which he has placed the truth about the social side of the Home Rule Movement. What the Home rulers practically desire is an Indian administration with the British army to guard and to step in just when there is trouble. But what we want still and for a long time to come is the best form of British rule and not merely an ever-receding shadow of the British Government before a game of Indian democracy.

In this small book to which I have added two new chapters, I, as a Social Reformer and a Brahman, have contributed my views. They may be right or they may be wrong. All that I can ask the public to believe is that they are genuine and the result of honest conviction.

K. SRINIVASA RAU.

GUNTUR,  
23rd February, 1918. }