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The nationalist movement in India

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Thesis
The Nationalist Movement in India

Submitted by
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Foreword

In the preparation of this thesis, the author has been greatly handicapped by her lack of personal acquaintance with India, its people, and its problems. All information on the subject had, of necessity, to be secured from extensive reading. It has been the author's aim throughout to present the facts without prejudice. Her purpose has been to meet a distinct need by making available a disquisition which should clearly and adequately acquaint the general reader with the problems facing India to-day. India, with its population comprising one-fifth of the human race, is awakening and in the very near future is bound to figure large among the nations of the world. The world must soon awake to India's possibilities and power.

The author is especially indebted to the clear-cut thinking and logically arranged facts presented by Gilchrist in his volume on "Indian Nationality," and to Lovett's "History of the Nationalist Movement in India." The quotations from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in Lajpat Rai's "Political Future of India" were also particularly valuable. She wishes also to acknowledge special indebtedness to Bose, Cotton, MacDonald, and Farquhar.

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Outline: The Nationalist Movement in India

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The Nationalist Movement in India

Chapter I Introduction

A. The India of To-day

1. The country

India, the "land of contrasts," is larger in area than all Europe excepting Russia (India, 1,900,000 square miles--Europe, 1,600,000 square miles) It is convenient to consider the Empire of India as consisting typographically of four regions: the Himalayan; the great alluvial plain of the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra; the peninsula proper; and Burma. Each of these has its own range of climate, its own productions, its own distinctive races. The Himalayan region is outside of the tropics. Its climate varies from intense summer heat to perpetual snows. Its vegetation includes such sub-tropical species as may be found for example in the Riviera; many of the products of temperate countries, such as oats and barley; in the greater altitudes, the lichens and mosses of arctic regions. The Alluvial plain contains the richest and most fertile part of India, as well as the desert of the Southern Punjab. The productions are rich and varied, including coal and salt, indigo and opium, cattle and sheep, enormous quantities

of rice, and bamboos. The Peninsula proper lies wholly within the tropics. Some of its products are: cotton, coffee, tea, teak and satinwood; coal, manganese, and gold. The climate of upper Burma is hot and dry, that of lower Burma is moist. Rice is the staple food and the great export.

2. The people

The people of the different regions vary greatly also. Those of the Himalayan region are mainly hardy mountaineers of Mongolian stock, with Pathans of mingled Turko-Iranian type on the extreme west and various tribes of mixed ancestry on the extreme east. The population of the alluvial plain varies from the sturdy peasantry of Oudh to the weaker peoples of lower Bengal. In the Peninsula are found representatives of almost every Indian race. The people of Burma are a distinct race, Mongolian in type.¹ Riskey finds that there are eight distinct racial types in India. These types vary not only physically, but also culturally.² The diversity of types is due chiefly to the many invasions to which India has been subject during her long history.

The languages of the Indian peoples are very

1. Duchesne: Dem. and Empire Chap. VI

2. Gilchrist: Ind. Nat. Pp. 59, 60

diverse in correspondence with the diversity of races. Two hundred and thirty-three millions or 74.3% of the people speak the Indo-Aryan languages, which include among other vernaculars: Hindi (80,000,000 people); Punjabi, Kasmiri, and Sindhi (21,000,000 people); Gujarati and Bengala (44 millions). Sixty-three millions or about 20% of the people speak the Dravidian tongue; thirteen millions or about 4% the Tibeto-Chinese language; and four and one-half millions people speak the Austro-Asiatic tongues.¹ There are no less than one hundred and forty-seven distinct languages spoken in India, and the varieties of dialects spoken are almost innumerable. About 3% or one million of the people speak English. These English-speaking peoples include the ruling and the educated classes.²

India, the home of many faiths, according to the report of 1911, contains over two hundred and seventeen million of Hindus and sixty-six millions of Mohammedans. Together, the adherents of these two religions make up about 90% of the native population. The number of Buddhists is given at over ten millions; they are nearly all inhabitants of Burma. The number of native wor-

1. New Inter. Ency. Vol. 12 P. 79

2. Duchesne: Dem. and Empire P. 111

shippers is over ten million while the Sikh religion is professed by over three million of individuals. Besides these, there are over one million Jains, one hundred thousand Parsis and considerably over three million Christians.¹

The illiteracy of the Indians is appalling when we consider that her three hundred and nineteen millions of people comprise one-sixth of the world's total population. The English Government has undoubtedly labored against severe odds in attempting to superimpose upon an ancient culture based upon innumerable social, religious, and racial distinctions, solidified in system of caste, a western culture and civilization. All schools are under Government inspection and must conform to certain regulations. The state educational system is complete in scope. It includes primary, secondary, and collegiate instruction, systematically organized and administered. Normal Schools are maintained in every province. There are five universities--Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, and Allahabad. They consist of examining bodies only, but have a large num-

1. New Inter. Ency. Vol. 12 P. 79

ber of affiliated colleges. The attendance in the schools is largely from the middle classes, and the lower classes have been reached to any extent only by the missionaries. This has resulted in the formation of an educated class which is far removed in thought from the masses. This class has been given classical rather than industrial training, and their acquisition of western ideals without opportunity for the exercise of their newly discovered powers has been the chief cause for the development of the Nationalist Movement in India. In 1912, out of the total Indian population of three hundred and nineteen millions people, only 6,795,971 people were in schools of any sort. Small as this number was, it was a great increase over the 3,692,000 people in school in 1890.¹

In this land of contrasts, it is said that there are private hoards of jewels and precious stones which would shame an European royal treasury, yet seventy millions of the people are said to be perennially hungry. This extreme poverty reigns despite the fact that India exports two-fifths of the world's total supply of cane sugar, one-third of the world's total supply of tea, tobacco, rice, and cattle, one-third of

1. Ibid Pp. 72, 73

the world's total supply of cotton, and one-tenth of the wheat of the world.¹ In India, the average income is only twenty dollars a year, as compared with the average income of four hundred dollars a year in the United States.² This poverty is due not to the general density of population in India, as is sometimes stated, because the average density of population in India is only 244.27 per square mile as compared with an average population per square mile of 310.4 in Germany, 470 in Holland, 589 in Belgium, and 619 in England and Wales. It is due rather to the depressed social conditions of the low caste, Sudras, and of the outcastes or Pariahs, whose fifty million of people make up the great bulk of the poverty-stricken masses of India.

3. The government

Besides the fourteen provinces which are directly under British rule, there are over sixty-five native states. These vary exceedingly in size and importance, from the nineteen square miles of Lawa to the 80,900 and 82,698 square miles respectively of Kashmir and Hyderabad. Among these states are Mysore, repres-

1. Lit. Dig. Mar. 11, 1922 P. 50

2. Fisher: India's Sil. Rev. P. 11

entative of a very ancient Hindu kingdom, the Mahratta states which are remnants of the Mahratta Empire, and Hyderabad which arose out of the ruins of the Mongol Empire and is supposed to be the most powerful guardian of Moslem culture and tradition.¹ The area of these native states covers 824,000 square miles, and they contain between sixty and seventy millions of inhabitants, or two-ninths of the entire population of the Indian Empire. These states came into being in various ways: (1) by partial conquest; (2) by restitution of rights to former rulers after the conquest of the existing rulers; (3) by acceptance of the existing rulers to prevent further disorders; and (4) by treaty. In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, it was declared that:

"We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they as well as our own subjects should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by international peace and good government."²

In some of the native states, education, social reform and industrial advancement is far ahead of that

1. Lajpat Rai: Pol. Fut. of Ind. P. 100

2. Gilchrist: Ind. Nat. Pp. 290, 241

in neighboring British territory. Burma, Baroda, and Mysore are particularly progressive. The states are under the supreme control of the British Government. The states by themselves conduct no foreign relations. The Government of India acts for them in their foreign affairs and guarantees them security from external attack. The states on their part are expected to co-operate with the Government of India in repelling attacks. The states have full control over their internal matters. The Government of India reserves the right to step in if international peace and order are threatened. On their part, the states are responsible for good government and the welfare of their people. As they are independent, the states must not interfere in matters outside their own jurisdiction.¹

The chief gift which the British Government has given to India is the Pax Britannica. She has also given her religious freedom, the beginning of an educational system, and reforms of many kinds. But the inculcation of western ideals has awakened India so that a liberal policy of reform must be inaugurated or India will be lost to the British Empire. Great Britain is engaged in the task of reconquering India. Once it took In-

1. Ibid P. 242

dia by force; now it must take it in a spiritual way if the Empire is to remain intact.

B. The History of India in Brief

1. National, or Hindu, Period (ca. 2000 B.C.-1001 A.D.)

The ancient land of India has had a long and fretful history. Perhaps as early as 2000 B.C., Aryans from the Iranian country entered the Punjab and expelled or subdued the Aborigines. Hindu kingdoms were established in India. These were South Behar (Magadha), West Bengal, East Bengal, Orissa, Malwa, Gujarab, Deccan, Coromandel, Malabar, and Pandgars. It is believed that Cyrus, the Persian monarch, overran India as early as the sixth century B.C. It is definitely known that Alexander the Great invaded the country in 327 B.C. Chandragupta, the first of the Maurya kings, expelled the Macedonian troops and reigned from 305-291 B.C. His grandson, Asoka, (272-232 B.C.) is famed in Indian story for his kind and benevolent rule. He was the great early patron of Buddhism, and did much for the propagation of that faith. It is exceedingly difficult to discover the facts of Indian history, especially since Nationalist leaders of the past half century have done all in their power to rediscover for the Indian people a glorious past. Early Hindu emperors were

strong and prosperous, but their reigns were, according to Lovett, "fugitive intervals in ages of disintegration."¹ Hindu power declined steadily after the sixth century A. D. Petty kings came and went, warred with each other and by their lack of harmony helped to prepare the way for the second great epoch of India.

2. Mohammedan period (1001-1757)

As early as the sixth century A. D., the Mohammedans from Central Asia began invasions into India. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni permanently established Muslim power in India and the Hindu provinces fell one by one before a succession of Mohammedan dynasties. With the exception of the states of Rajpatana² Muslim rule lasted for six centuries with varying vicissitudes of fortune. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Moghul rule was practically confined to Northern India. The zenith of Mohammedan power began with the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) and lasted through the reign of Aurangzebe (1658-1707). The Mohammedans favored a decentralized system of government. As a rule, they divided their empire into provinces. The King seldom interfered with

1. Lovett: Hist of the Ind. Nat. Move. P. 28

2. Lovett: P. 23

the internal administration of these provinces. Law and justice were administered through established courts. Hindus and Mohammedans had equal rights before the law.¹ After Aurangzebe, the government dissolved rapidly, and became effete, corrupt and useless. In 1729, the Persian Nadir Shah invaded India, sacked Delhi, the ancient Indian capital, and carried away much treasure. Viceroys of the great Mogul formed their provinces into independent states while Hindu and Mohammedan adventurers carved out their kingdoms with the sword. The Marhatta force in Deccan was showing signs of consolidating their acquisitions when British intervention turned the scale.²

3. British rule

As early as 1583, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Ralph Fitch, with five others, started overland on an expedition to India to gather information as to the value of trade with that country. The information which he gathered persuaded London merchants that money was to be made in India, but the Queen, from motives of political caution, refused to sanction their propos-

1. Bose: Br. Rule in India Chap. 2

2. Lovett: Hist. of the Ind. Nat. Move. P. 2

al to equip three ships for the East. In 1599, a syndicate was formed and capital subscribed for the opening up of trade with the East Indies. Thus inauspiciously, with a capital of only thirty-eight thousand pounds the company was formed which added to the British Empire her largest and richest possession. In 1600, the company obtained a charter from the crown giving the association a monopoly of commerce with the East for fifteen years if it should prove advantageous to that nation, but liable to cancellation at two years' notice if it should not answer that condition.¹

The disintegration of the Moghul Empire was the signal for European adventure and enterprise to enter India. Venetian, Genoese, Portuguese, French, and Dutch all traded with India. The Portuguese were the first of the larger nations to withdraw from the struggle. The reputation of the British Company as a sea-power was established as early as 1611. In 1662, the island and dependencies of Bombay were received by Charles II as part of the dower of the daughter of the King of Portugal. Charles II handed the dowry to the East India Company. Thus was Portuguese influence ended in India and Bombay secured to the Company. The

1. Crosthwaite: India, Past, Present and Future P. 623,
624

Dutch paid more attention to the islands of the Malay Archipelago than to the establishment of settlements on the mainland. Their power at sea was broken by long wars with France and Spain. In 1759, their naval and land forces were destroyed by the British. The real struggle for supremacy was between the French and English. The French Company was established in India by Colbert in 1664. For years, they traded side by side, the French at Pondicherry, and the British at Fort. St. George. The Battle of Plassy, June 23, 1757, gave the English the provinces of Bengal and Behar and marked the end of Moghul rule and the beginning of British Empire in India. Dupleix, the French commander of Pondicherry, was defeated by Clive in 1760. The French power in India was definitely ended a year later when Col. Sir Eyre Coote won the decisive victory at Wanderswash. So it was that British rule was established in India: by peaceful penetration, by diplomacy (or perhaps better, political intrigue) and by military supremacy, always achieved by the help of the Indians.¹ Because of the sad disintegration of India, many people were eager to accept any rule that would give them peace, so they welcomed the Pax Britannica. Lajpat Rai

1. Gilchrist: Ind. Nat. P. 181

calls the British conquest of India "a triumph of British diplomacy."¹ Crosthwaite writes as follows in regard to the conquest of India:

"How the rivalry of the several national companies and the utter absence of any respect for international law forced the associations ostensibly formed for peaceful trade, to become the masters of armed fleets and military forces; how the necessary acquisition of sites for trading stations and warehouses on land led to war on shore as well as on sea, and to the gradual extension of the area of occupation; how the inevitable collision with the native powers followed, to be succeeded in turn, by fresh acquisitions of territory with rights of sovereignty, is an interesting story."²

It is undoubtedly true that if India had been a united nation in any sense of the word, Great Britain could not have established her power over it, but India as we know it today, can never, in all its history, have been called a nation. We quote the Aga Khan:

"Historically, neither in Buddhist, Hindu, nor Mohammedan times, has the entire peninsula been under one single Government; and the actual India of to-day contains provinces that were never ruled by either Asoka or Akbar."³

In 1773, a Regulating Act was passed "for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company." This act was the first step in the final shifting of

1. Lajpat Rai: Young India P. 100

2. Crosthwaite: India, Past, Present and Future P. 625
626

3. Aga Khan: India in Transition. Pp. 39, 40

the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. This Act also organized the Government of Bengal with a governor-general and a council composed of four members. By giving to the Government of Calcutta in Bengal a limited control over the actions of the Madras and Bombay presidencies, it was made the political head of the British possessions in India. Warren Hastings was established as the first Governor-General of India. He secured the British footing therein and gave it its first British Civil Government. In 1784, the English Government was made directly responsible for the administration of India. Pitt instituted a Board of Control under a Cabinet Minister. This Board of Control had final authority except that the directors could recall any servant of the Company. The directors could initiate all new measures, except the determination of war and peace. The Governor-Generals' Council was reduced from four to three members.

Governor-General Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835) was the first to introduce the idea of governing India for the good of the governed. He introduced humane and civilizing influences in India: religious liberty, abolition of cruel rites, liberty of the press, etc.

The British dominion in India was constantly ex-

tended. During the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie (1848-1856) four kingdoms were annexed. They were: The Punjab, Pagu, Nagpur, and Oudh. Several lesser territories were also added to British India during the same period. By 1858, about two-thirds of the country was under direct British administration. The rest was, and is now, held by its hereditary chiefs all owing allegiance to the British Crown.

By the Government of India Bill of 1833, the East India Company ceased to be traders in any respect whatsoever and became only rulers and administrators. The Governor-General of Bengal was made the Governor-General of all British India. According to Bose, the significant part of this Act was its designation that the Company should continue to draw "an annual dividend at the rate of ten pounds, ten shillings percent on the whole amount of their capital stock (that is six hundred thirty thousand pounds) this amount to be met by taxes levied on the Indian tax payers."¹ According to this act, no person by reason of his birth, creed, or color should be disqualified from holding any office in the India Company.

The act of 1858 was the immediate consequence of

1. Bose. Br. Rule in India Chap. 2

the Sepoy mutiny of 1857. This mutiny had various causes. In general, they were three in number: (1) the annexation policy of the British; (2) the rapid introduction of modern European improvements, which by threatening to destroy the whole native civilization of India, roused the fears and superstitions of Hindus and Mohammedans alike; (3) English civil and military officials failed to respect the religious feelings of their subjects. According to this new Act, the Government was finally transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. Henceforth, "The Government was to be administered for the benefit of all Her Majesty's subjects resident in India."¹ Queen Victoria's Proclamation of Nov. 1, 1858 further stated that:

"The rights, dignity and honor of Indian ruling princes were to be preserved as Her Majesty's own, and that, so far as might be, all Her Majesty's subjects, of whatever creed and race, were to be freely and impartially admitted to office in the public service for which they were properly qualified."²

This Act abolished the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The President of the Board of Control became the Secretary of State for India, and assumed the sole responsibility for its administration.

1. Lovett: Hist. of Ind. Nat. Move. P. 15

2. Ibid: P. 15

The Secretary, who was the nominee of the Crown, was to be assisted by a council of fifteen members, and was to have a seat in the Cabinet. The Councils Act of 1851 sowed the seed of representative institutions in India. It was decided that this council of fifteen should be reduced to five members, three of whom had been in the Indian service of the Crown for ten years at least. The Commander-in-chief of Indian Military forces was to be an extraordinary member. For the purpose of making laws and regulations, the Governor-General could nominate to his Council not less than six or more than twelve persons, not less than half of whom must be non-officials. In 1877, through the diplomatic genius of Disraeli, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and the good feeling between the two countries was more thoroughly cemented.

Although the Nationalist party in India consists of only a very small percentage of the people, yet it has so dominated the last half-century of Indian history that the history of India during that period may well be included in an outline of the history of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Therefore, we shall pause here in order to relate the chief causes for the unrest leading to the growth of such a powerful movement.

Chapter II

Causes of Indian Unrest

A. The Awakening of an Indian National Consciousness

In general, the unrest in India is due to the awakening of an Indian national consciousness caused by the inculcation of Western ideals of freedom and democracy into young India by means of education, missionary, and civil European influences. The importance of this awakening cannot be over-estimated. From time to time, during her long history, India knew great rulers who patronized learning and art. But such enlightened periods were only occasional in long periods of darkness. Invasions caused the decline of the Hindu power and the end of the most enlightened period in Indian history. With invasions and foreign domination, the Indians dropped back into the spiritual absorption which is so characteristic of them. Someone has described India thus:

"The East bowed low before the blast,
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past;
And plunged in thought again."

So India lay until her British rulers opened the door to the world before her sleepy eyes, and presented an amazing picture of nations, much poorer and smaller than herself, who were writing their names large and in glowing colors on the pages of modern history. Once

again, the old story of an awakening nation repeated itself; first came the trader exploiting the country, yet inevitably bringing with him the breath of free, progressive England. The trader was followed by missionaries, who emphasized the worthiness of each individual, and brought the ideals of freedom, democracy, and equal opportunity for all. Finally the British raj established itself. The Indians looked about and saw the happy position of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia under the British Empire, and pictured their beloved Motherland with equal privileges. That Indian ambitions have grown faster than her rulers have realized is not surprising. But to-day Great Britain is faced with a serious problem. Either she must sacrifice her interests for the sake of a self-governing India within the Empire, or be forced to lose India altogether. Mody says:

"If the Government of India had moved with the times there would have been no unrest, no sedition. If it had recognized and encouraged the disinterested labors of the popular leaders the extremists and the anarchists would not have been produced. If it had respected the voice of the people, the cult of the bomb would not have developed."

"The stability of English rule in India depends not upon the valour of British arms, not upon the physical force which England can command, but upon the firm basis of justice, sympathy, and righteousness."¹

"The unrest in India today is a legitimate unrest,

1. Mody: Pol. Fut. of India Pp. 173, 174

that it is not factional or political, but based on very real grievances that must grow till they are relieved."¹

"It is really the dawning of India's consciousness of strength and of a purpose to take her place, and to play a worthy part in the great world drama."²

B. Particular Causes

1. Educational

We have just said, in a general way, that education is one of the chief causes for India's unrest. The illiteracy of the masses of India is appalling. Only six per cent of the total population of India is literate, and less than four per cent is under instruction. In 1917, only 22.3% of the Indian boys of school age were in school, and 2.3% of the Indian girls of school age were in school, making a total of 12.5% of the Indian children of school age under instruction. Emphasis has been given to higher education rather than to primary education. The educators of India have emphasized the development of leadership to the exclusion of the education of the masses, regardless of the fact that the selection of leaders is by the masses in modern society. This misplaced emphasis has led to the development of an

1. Fielding Hall: Passing of Empire P. 158

2. Jones. India, Its Life and Thought P. 2

educated minority and an illiterate majority. Between these two classes there is a steadily growing cleavage which is a fruitful cause of unrest. Moreover, the form of education given in the higher schools has been too literary. This system of higher education has produced a growing native intelligentsia, which cannot find employment and becomes humiliated and soured, affording the best possible soil for discontented and anarchistic teachings. There is a great need for vocational training in India to largely displace their exclusively literary educational system. At the present time, the professional colleges in India are those of law, medicine, engineering, agriculture, and teaching. A common complaint against the existing educational system of India is that it fails to develop character. Western education hastened to break down old traditions of caste, social customs, and religion, and has failed to substitute anything substantial in their places. So it is that unrest has been caused by education and by the lack of it. Those who are educated are discontented because they cannot secure positions worthy of their dignified station in life, and because they become imbued with democratic ideals and yearn to apply them in their own beloved Motherland, which they feel to be unrightfully held in subjection by a domineering, grasping, foreign mistress.

The masses of India which are unable to secure education because of lack of educational facilities are restless for some degree of justice to be done them.

2. Social

The antiquated social system of India is another chief cause of present unrest. There are various theories as to the origin of the caste system. According to the laws of Manu, the progenitors of the four chief castes issued from the body of Brahma, the Brahmans from his head, the Kshatriya or warriors from his arms; the Vaisya, or husbandmen, from his thighs; and the Sudra from his feet. Another theory, based on colour, holds that the castes were founded as a result of the different invasions, that the Brahmans are descendants of the Aryan invaders, and that castes were formed for the sake of preserving purity of blood. A caste, according to Risley, is a "collection of families bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."¹ The number of minor castes and sub-castes is innumerable. The census enumerates over

1. Gilchrist: Ind. Nat. P. 108

two thousand, three hundred castes. The whole social fabric of India rests upon caste. Caste is stronger as a social than as a religious institution. Although a Hindu may renounce the religious tenets of his father, he is very careful not to violate any caste rites or ceremonies lest he break caste. When one considers that two hundred and eighteen million Indians are Hindus, he comes to realize the enormity of the caste problem. The outcastes, of whom there are between fifty and sixty million in India, live under the worst possible social conditions. They are not allowed near a person of caste. If an outcast so much as allows his shadow to cross the path of a caste man, he is severely punished. He may not drink from the same well as the caste man lest he pollute the water. The outcastes are compelled to live in a particular part of the village, often without the city limits. Their poverty and ignorance are appalling. Truly, they are the lowest of the low.

The caste system must have benefited the Hindus in some way or it could not have survived. Undoubtedly, during periods of disintegration when there was no national unity for protection against invaders, it was very valuable to have loyalty within the caste as a basis for some measure of individual protection. But the common sense of an Indian people, inconvenienced by the archaic

demands of these old customs battling against the necessities of modern civilized life, is demanding a revision of the caste system. One writer has briefly summarized the evils of the system thus:

"It has enfeebled India politically by substituting class exclusiveness for solidity, class vanity for patriotism. It has impoverished her physically by fostering a marriage system which is thoroughly unhealthy both in its obligations and in its restrictions. It has corrupted her morally by making insensate arrogance a religious and a social duty. It has paralyzed her intellectually by forcing her to occupy her mind with infantile rules and distinctions and to regard them as the most serious interests in life."¹

Moreover, the caste system is the source of interminable discord and dissension all over the land. Rather than being a cohesive force in India, it arrays caste against caste, and sub-caste against sub-caste. It is diametrically opposed to the universal principles of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and, as such, is opposed by all Mohammedan as well as Christian teachings. The caste system narrows the sympathies of the people in a most lamentable way, causing the people of one caste or sub-caste to be most indifferent to the need and suffering of one outside his particular caste or sub-caste. It has also degraded manual labor until it is regarded as sinful for a Brahman to put his

1. Wm. Archer: India and the Fut. P. 84, quoted by Fisher: India's Sil. Revol. P. 67

hand to a plough. Indeed, social conditions in India are so topsy-turvy that while to do manual labor is considered sinful, it is honorable to beg. There are five and a half million professional beggars in India today. These are organized into their castes like the members of any other profession. Hindus are completely dominated by caste rules and rites. Caste stultifies individual desire for growth and progress. It is the foster-mother of all the manifold social evils of the land, including child-marriage, purdah, and the ban on the remarriage of widows. These social evils are being combated by education, Christianity, and Western influences. Today, young India is beginning to realize the injustice of these old customs and is demanding social reforms.

3. Religious

It is unfortunate that Christianity has been presented in foreign lands as a Western religion, but such presentation was inevitable by missionaries imbued with Western civilization and Western ideals. The resulting tendency in India has been to cause unrest. Educated Indians have felt that a new religion should not be 'imposed' upon their Motherland which is the home of three of the greatest religions in the world, viz., Buddhism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism, the first

two of which are indigenous to Indian soil. They have resented the introduction of Christianity which tends to break down caste and to raise the status of the lowest castes and of the out-castes. It is natural that they should resent proselytizing, and a loosening of their grip upon their peoples. Further unrest is the result of the neighboring of two religions so vastly different as are Hinduism and Mohammedanism. In some places, the peoples of the two faiths accept each other without question. The Hindus regard the Mohammedans somewhat as a caste with whom they have no more relations than they would with another Hindu caste, while the Mohammedans respect the faith and customs of the Hindus. But in some places, the race hatred between Hindus and Mohammedans is keen. In eastern Bengal, especially, this has been marked of late years. There the Mussalmans are in a large majority, and the Hindus have become most embittered since the Muslims have opposed the boycott against British goods which is part of the Indian Swaraj movement. The increasing hatred between the members of these two faiths in eastern Bengal has spread all over the country, according to Jones,¹ and has carried the Indian people into opposing camps. The Indian people

L. Jones: India, Its Life and Thot. P. 3

are essentially religious to the point of fanaticism. Hinduism and Buddhism have never emphasized the importance of the individual, or of individual development and attainment. Their emphasis is on absorption into the Divine. While Christianity teaches that Christ's followers should come into line with the Divine Will, it emphasizes the value of individuals and of personal relationships. The great Indian religions emphasize adaptation to the environment rather than the modification of environment to accord with the highest ideals. Religion for the Indian is a distinctly personal matter. He does not worry about his brother's welfare. His concern is that he himself live so apart from all the world and its cares that he may pass through higher and higher incarnations, until he is finally absorbed into Brahma. All this is directly opposed to Western practicality and materialism. It is evident that where these two ideals of living come into contact as they have for the past hundred years in India, unrest is inevitable. How is India to adjust her religious ideals to her developing industrialism, to democratic ideals, to participation in world affairs, to her new life as a whole? Some of her attempts at adjustment will be discussed in a later chapter of this thesis.

4. Economic

The economic condition of a country is always exceedingly important because a very large per cent of the people in this world are chiefly concerned with the struggle for physical existence, and in no country is this physical struggle keener than in India. It is said that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were seventy million continually hungry people in British India.¹ Even in normal times, Indian villages swarm with the hungry. The majority of Indian farmers are in a state of chronic indebtedness. The handicaps of poverty drive thousands to crime; indebtedness often reduces the Indian peasant to serfdom, and his illiteracy makes him the easy prey of the unscrupulous. Frequent famines result in untold misery and needless loss of lives. Why is this condition of the Indian people so pitiable? We said above that their degraded condition is not due to a general over-population because, as we saw, the general density of population in India is less than in many happy and prosperous European countries. We find that the population of India is very unevenly distributed, being very dense along the Ganges River (over five hundred and twelve inhabitants per square mile) and very slight in Burma, Baluchistan, and Kashmir

1. Lit. Dig. Mar. 11, 1921 P. 52

in particular (under twenty-six to one hundred and twenty-eight inhabitants per square mile). When one considers that five-sixths of the whole Indian population are dependent upon agriculture for their living, one begins to understand some reason for Indian poverty.

The land problem in India is a trying one. The Government takes the position of the private landlord and exacts rents as well as taxes from all peasants. The Government claim is exorbitant. It was formerly paid in kind, but must now be paid in cash. This land revenue is the most important financial asset in the Indian budget. In Bombay at present, the land revenue represents between twenty and thirty-three per cent of the gross produce. In Madras, the exaction is even higher.¹ In northern India, the Government claim is one-half of the net produce. If the payment is not made in full, everything that the peasant possesses is seized and sold by the revenue authorities. This land system is one of the most potent means of keeping India down. It paralyzes agriculture and keeps the peasant in perpetual poverty. The cultivator has no incentive to industry because the more he toils, the more the Government exacts from him. The Indian peasants are too poor to buy im-

1. Bose: Br. Rule in India P. 75

provements for their land, so they continue to live year after year, cultivating the land in their age-old, superficial way, existing in the most abject poverty. It is sometimes said that the Indian rate of taxation is not high when compared with other countries, but when we consider the comparative income of the average Indian and of the average Englishman, we find that the Englishman may be taxed on the average of ten pounds a head and the Indian only one shilling, yet the Indian impost will be heavier than the English.¹

It is exceedingly difficult for Indian farmers to keep free from debt. Often there are droughts and the crops fail; nevertheless, the land taxes must be paid. In order to keep his little plot of ground out of the grasp of the revenue officer, the Indian peasant mortgages his land, or borrows money in some other way. The rate of interest which he must pay is very high. Normal minimum rates of interest are twelve per cent in southern India, and eighteen per cent in northern India. Rates are higher for small sums and for money lent on mortgages, with a time limit for repayment. If the debt is not paid, the money-lender sells the land as well as the grain or produce, and leaves the poor peasant homeless and penniless. Ancient Hindu customs

1. Mac Donald: Gov't of India P. 149

add greatly to the necessity for the incurring of indebtedness. For example, it is customary for the Hindu father to give a dowry with the daughter who is given in marriage. It is this custom which makes the birth of a girl baby an occasion to be lamented in the Hindu home, and has led to the countless instances of girl infanticide.

Cotton says that the increasing poverty of India is due primarily to the decay of handicrafts and to the substitution of foreign for home manufactures.¹ Indian manufactures were flourishing in the days of the Moghul courts down to the close of the eighteenth century. Dyeing, carpet-making, fine embroidery, the manufacture of cotton, and silk goods, jewelry-making, metal work, the damascening of arms, carving, paper-making, architecture and sculpture were some of old India's chief industries and occupations. England's commercial policy in regard to India has always been to import manufactured products and to export raw materials. To-day, seventy percent of India's exports are raw materials, and sixty percent of her imports are manufactured goods. As early as 1769, the directors of the East India Company formulated plans dis-

1. Cotton: New India P. 113

couraging the manufacture of cotton and silk goods in India. The English policy was to limit Indian industry to agriculture. The mills of Paisley and Manchester were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufactures. Old Indian industries were annihilated, not by competition with British goods, but by monopoly and coercion.¹ India, unlike any other British possession, has a free trade policy. It is generally conceded by political economists that such a policy is unfair to a country which is struggling to develop its own new industries. Indians feel that the British Government has imposed her free trade policy upon India in order to make a clear road into India for British merchants.

Indians bitterly lament their economic dependence upon Great Britain. We quote from Lajpat Rai:

"For a nation of three hundred and fifteen millions of human beings in a country which nature has endowed with all the choicest blessings, rich and fertile soil, plenty of water and sun, an abundant supply of metals and coal, willing labor, artistic skill and power of manipulating for beauty and elegance unexcelled in the world--to exist in pitiful economic dependence is a condition most deplorable and most pathetic. We want no charity, no concessions, no favors, no preference. What we most earnestly beg and ask for is an opportunity."²

Most of the new operations which have been started

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1. Bose: Br. Rule in India P. 163
 2. Lajpat Rai: Pol. Fut. of India P. 145

in recent years--railways, cotton mills, jute mills, gold and coal mining, oil wells, and refineries--are in British hands. This results in a severe drain of money from India. Furthermore, much Indian wealth goes into England through the high salaries paid to Government of India servants. These Indian servants receive exorbitant salaries compared to the salaries paid to officials of other countries. Carefully note the following comparison made from the latest records available: In the Executive Department of the United States, there are twenty-two officers who receive more than eight thousand dollars per annum. They are as follows:

President	\$75,000.
Vice-President	12,000.
10 Cabinet Officers	12,000. (each)
9 Executive Officers	10,000. (each)
1 Executive Officer	9,000.

In our Judicial Department, we find the following salaries:

Chief Justice of Supreme Court	\$15,000.
7 Associate Justices	14,500. (each)
9 Federal Circuit Judges	8,500. 1

In regard to the Government of India, we find the following statistics:

Viceroy, or Governor-General	\$60,468.88
Commander-in-chief	24,109.04
7 Members of the Viceroy's Council	19,288.96 (each)
2 Secretaries to the Gov't of India	14,466.00 (each)
18 Secretaries	11,572.80 (each)
9 Secretaries from	\$10,849.50 - 8,679.60 (each)
20 Secretaries	8,679.80 (each) ¹

We are impressed with the fact that the governing of India is a very great task, yet the Indians feel that their money is unjustly expended. Besides, the munificent salaries paid to the officials of the Government in India, practically all of whom are English, out of Indian revenues, the cost of the Secretary of State's establishment in London is also charged to this same source of supply. Royal visits to India and visits of the Secretary of State are paid for by the Indians. Moreover, the British troops in India are paid from Indian funds. To be sure, the British troops aid in protecting India from foreign invasion, yet their chief business is un-

1. Whitaker's Almanack for 1923 P. 610

doubtedly to keep India in subjection to British power. It was no less a reason than the imposition of British troops upon the American Colonies at colonial expense that was an important immediate cause of the American Revolution. Frontier wars and wars of annexation like the Burmese wars, as well as the Abyssinian Expedition, have all been paid for by the Indian taxpayers. Only five million of the twenty-one million pounds which the Afghan war cost were paid out of the Imperial Exchequer. Such expeditions as these are, in reality, events in Imperial policy and should not be charged to the Indian account at all.¹ In order that these injustices may cease, India demands fiscal autonomy. Again we quote Lajpat Rai:

"If India is to prosper and take her legitimate place in the British Commonwealth, and in the great family of Nations of the World, it is absolutely necessary that she should be given complete fiscal autonomy to manage her own affairs, develop her own industries, and do her own trading. Considering her size and resources, it wounds her self-respect and makes her feel exceedingly mean and small to go begging for alms and charity every time there is a failure of rains and the cry of famine is raised."²

Another important economic cause of unrest in India is the lack of employment. This is particularly a cause

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1. MacDonald: Gov't of India P. 154-156
 2. Lajpat Rai: Pol. Fut. of India P. 145

of dissension among the educated classes. "Nine-tenths of these believe that it is the duty of the Government to give them employment as soon as they graduate. As this is impossible, many of them nurse their disappointment and discontent and opposition to the powers; that is, many of them become dangerous demagogues and founders of sedition."¹ The old, strictly literary education is the cause of much of this un-employment. Practically the only avenues of employment for the educated Indian are: law, teaching, or the Indian Civil Service. The first two professions are very much over-crowded, Until the last few years, it has been very difficult for Indians to get into the Indian Civil Service. As early as 1833, a Government of India Act included a clause regarding Indians in Civil Service. This clause had no practical result and the Indian Civil Service remained closed to Indians. The Act of 1853 imposed competitive examinations as the way of entry into the Civil Service, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to have examinations in India simultaneous with those held in England. Various reforms along this line have been made through the years, but the conditions are still far from satisfactory. The following are three of the most important

1. Jones: India, Its Life, and Thought P. 3, 4

objections made to the Public Services in India:

(1) That racial discrimination is shown in the appointment of public servants. In 1913, in the posts paying two hundred rupees and upwards, forty-two per cent of the people were of unmixed Asiatic descent. Of those paying five hundred to eight hundred rupees, nineteen per cent were of unmixed Asiatic descent. Of those appointments paying eight hundred to one thousand rupees per month, ten per cent were Indians; and of those paying one thousand rupees and upwards, only eight per cent were Indians.¹ It is this descending percentage of Indians in the public Services that causes discontent. A reform has made sixty-one 'listed posts', which are high posts, which the Indians may hold with two-thirds the salary paid to Europeans. But these 'listed posts' do not satisfy the Indian claimants for high office. They complain that the men appointed to these 'listed posts' do not really pass into the higher service, but always remain inferior; that they are too old to fill their places with energy, and that those who are appointed to the Covenanted Service have so fallen into the grooves of the Provincial Service as to have lost their self-

1. MacDonald: Gov't of India P. 105

confidence and initiative, and so are unable to fill their new posts with credit.

(2) That the services monopolize too much power and are practically uncontrolled by and irresponsible to the people of the country.

(3) That by the gathering of all powers of initiative and execution into their hands, they have emasculated India.

5. Political

But the "Current of Indian discontent centers around ambition for a greater degree of representation in the administration of Indian affairs, and progress toward equality with Australia, Canada, and the other British dominions."¹ "They tolerate the existence of our Government as an irrevocable necessity, which has done immense service to them in the past, but which they are determined to modify until it adapts itself to changes which, under its own impulse, have come into existence outside its constitution. They claim that the Government should repose confidence in them and not shrink from raising them to the highest posts in civil and military life. They demand real, not nominal, equality, a voice in the government of their own coun-

1. Fisher: Sil. Revol. P. 183

try, and a career in the public service."¹

The Indians have rebelled at the injustice of being under a government which is in no sense responsible to themselves. Their local officers are responsible to the governors of the provinces, the governors are responsible to the Viceroy, who is in turn responsible to the Secretary of State for India, who is responsible to the King in Parliament, responsibility finally resting in the people of England who have hardly the slightest interest in the welfare of the poor 'natives' of India.

Successful national movements in other countries have done much toward arousing Indian nationalism. The Indians have seen the Russian movement resolve itself into an apparently permanent soviet government. They have watched the Egyptian movement with its strong nationalistic leanings, the Pan-Islamic agitation, the popular movement in Persia, Ethiopianism in South Africa, and the marked activity of young China. The example of Japan has had a particularly strong effect upon them. Japanese society was formally divided into sections whose broad distinctions suggested the exclusiveness of caste. Under the old Japanese feudal system, there were the throne and court nobles (Mikado and Kuge) the mil-

1. Cotton: New India Pp. 41, 42

itary class (Buke or Sumarai) and the common people (Heimin). Outside of these classes were the eta and hinin. The eta were looked upon as defiled; the hinin were mendicants. Beginning with the admittance of the pariah classes into the heimin in 1871, this old system was gradually broken up. The reasons were four-fold:

(1) Political, arising from the ambition of the southern clans to seize power from the Sokugawa.

(2) Loyal, arising from the training of the samurai and a revival of the study of the history of the country.

(3) Religious, arising from the revival of Shintoism.

(4) National, arising from foreign intercourse.

The Japanese called in foreigners to help them until they themselves could become efficient enough to protect their own democracy. Japan's marvelous success in establishing and administering constitutional government has been very inspirational in its effects upon India. Japan's crushing defeat of Russia, too, in the Russo-Japanese war made India see that the European nations in their conflict with Asiatic powers are not invincible. It aroused her hope that the days of Asiatic servitude to the West were over and that their day of independence had dawned.

There are a number of particular causes leading to political unrest in India. The exclusion of Indians from high military posts has been a severe irritant. At the present time, Indians are excluded from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, British Guiana, and other British possessions. Indentured Indian labour in South Africa has been the cause of much unrest. Indians demand that they be treated justly. They feel, and rightly so, that India should be on a plane of equality with the most respected British possessions. During the war, hopes for the betterment of the status of India were aroused by a new British sympathy for the subjects who responded so valiantly to the need of the dominating country. Indians hoped that the war would be followed by a golden era for India. Naturally, when reforms could not be made all at once, the Indians were disappointed, grew impatient, and even anarchical. Repressive measures of various kinds have been frequent since 1898. These have added fuel to the smoldering flame of Indian unrest. So it has come about that Indian unrest has grown. It is impossible in a democratic age, when nations of all the world are seeking larger measures of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" that a country of the size and strength of India should be content to remain subject to a power

whose dominant motive has always been selfish. It is natural that India should also demand a place in the sun.

Chapter III

The Rise of Nationalism in India

A. Political Movements in India - First Stage

"A distinct advance in thought and action made itself manifest about 1870. Young India began to think of political influence and to defend the ancient religious heritage. Yet there was a sort of half-dependence on the ideals and the thought of others, which gave the time an appearance of unripeness."¹

1. Birth of the Indian National Congress, 1885

It is interesting to find that the first movement toward Indian Nationalism was fostered by an Englishman. Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, an ex-Secretary of the Government of India, considered it "of paramount importance to find an overt and constitutional channel for discharge of the increasing ferment which had resulted from Western ideas and education."² Since retirement, he had lived at Simla, largely devoting his energies to propagating among educated Indians the pre-

1. Farquhar: Mod. Rel. Move. in India P. 354

2. Lovett: Hist. of the Ind. Nat. Move. P. 34

cepts of English Radicalism. He felt justified in so doing because the Pax Britannica had failed to solve the economic problem; the peasantry were ravaged by famine and despair; the Government was out of touch with the people; and there was no safety for the masses until the administration was gradually leavened by a representative Indian element. The first Indian National Congress met in Bombay on the days of December 28, 29, and 30, 1885. The Government of India was friendly toward the new Congress for the first several years. In fact, the Congress was started with more of the idea of saving the British Empire from danger than with that of winning political liberty for India. Originally, the purposes of the Conference were these: (1) To enable the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other. (2) To discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year. It was originally hoped that the Conference would be a sort of Native Parliament, which would interpret the needs, demands, and policies of India and England to each other. The first Congress was attended by seventy-two delegates, mostly lawyers, schoolmasters, and newspaper editors, called sometimes after considerable effort. From the

first, the Mohammedans opposed the Congress because of its critical attitude toward the Government and because they feared that it would not properly protect their minority interests. Of late years, the Mohammedans have more and more found their interests coinciding with those of the Hindus. A Moslem Congress party has arisen inspired by educated Mohammedans and papers have been published on Congress lines. In 1912, the Moslem League was founded and its drift was inevitably toward the Congress. In 1916, Hindu and Mohammedan leaders met and agreed on certain points concerning their ideals of Government.

2. The second Congress and purposes of the Indian National Congress

The second Congress which met at Calcutta on December 27, 28, 29, and 30, 1866 marked a total change of character. Everybody wanted to come of his own accord, while in 1885 the delegates had to be urged to come. Four hundred and forty delegates attended this conference. A majority came from Bengal. So the Congress grew from year to year. In 1890, came a break between Congress and Government. The Government of India officially stated that the Congress belonged to that class of conferences which private individuals may legitimately provoke, but from which Government officials

are necessarily debarred. The Congress became more and more of an opposition to the Government. From the time that it first met in Bombay, it was "bound to fulfil the functions and services of an opposition to the Government, not a friendly consultative opposition, but an opposition which challenged the status and the authority of the Government."¹ Sinha says this of the Indian National Congress:

"An association of independent politicians, Indian and British, whose objects are the progressive advance of India towards a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing units of the British Empire, and its participation, on terms of equality, in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire. The Congress seeks to achieve these objects by steadily advocating liberalizing changes in the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organizing the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country."²

3. Failures of the Indian National Congress

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1. MacDonald: Gov't of India P. 6
 2. Sinha: Fut of India, Pref.

For twenty years the Congress met annually but with disappointing results. Some of the delegates grew discouraged, and challenged the optimism and authority of the old Congress leaders. "It was felt that the mild methods of Congress with its deputations to London and its annual declaration of needs, would never compel the governing bureaucracy to listen and never gather behind them such a force of public opinion as would make the organization a political power in India. Nor was that the only fault. The younger men were not satisfied with the Congress spirit. They wanted something more strenuous; something more thorough; they wanted a crusade that would stir the heart of India, something with more self-respect and independent challenge. In their own hearts, India had revived. It is all but impossible for the governing race to understand the feeling of a youth suddenly aware that it belongs to a subject race; it is difficult for the people of that race who accept the comforts of the rulers to realize it."¹ Almost all of the Indian students are anti-congress. "The Congress failed to communicate high ideals and principles, and to create that spirit of self-sacrifice, that willingness to suffer without which no national movement can grow, prosper, and inspire."²

1. MacDonald: Gov't of India Pp. 14,15

2. Lajpat Rai: Young India, Page 154

B. Political Movements in India - Second Phase

1. Arrival of the new spirit of nationalism in India

Farquhar believes that the year 1895 may be taken as the year which marks the arrival of the new spirit in Indian history. It was in that year that Bal Gangadhar Tilak organized a great celebration of the birthday of Sivaji, the chieftain who, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, made of the Maratha tribes an iron army and a united nation to resist the Mohammedans. The celebration was widely commemorated. "Thus for the first time all the features of the Extremist propaganda stand out clear; and there is unquestionable proof that it contained the poison of anarchy; for within two years, it worked itself out in murder in the streets of Poona!"¹

Most authors agree that the second stage of the Indian Nationalist Movement begins with the twenty-first Congress, held at Benares in December of 1905. The tone of the Congress was notably aggressive. National indignation as a result of the Partition of Bengal was high. The Province of Bengal, originally, was very large and contained seventy-eight million inhabitants. Lord Curzon, who was Viceroy of India at the time, divided it into sections: Western Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and Eastern Bengal and Assam, in order that it

1. Farquhar: Mod. Rel. Move in India. P. 359

might be administered more easily. Cotton says that the partition was part and parcel of Lord Curzon's policy to enfeeble the growing power of India and to destroy the political tendencies of a patriotic spirit. If this be true, the partition had the opposite effect upon India than was intended, for it crystallized Indian National sentiment and all India acted together in protest against a common wrong.

This Congress of 1905 justified the boycott of English goods which had been proclaimed by the leaders of the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal, and declared that the time was sensibly nearer when the bureaucratic monopoly of power could be successfully assailed. Mr. Gokhale, the President, asked for a proportion of one-half elected members in all the Councils, for an extension of Council privileges, and for the appointment of three Indians to the Council of the Secretary of State. Bitter complaint was made of the treatment of Indians in the British Colonies.

2. The Congresses of 1906, 1907, and 1908

Lajpat Rai believes that the real nationalist movement in India had its birth at the Calcutta session of the National Congress in 1906. According to him, at this session the ideal of the Congress was changed from 'good government to

'self-government.'¹ This Congress again justified the boycott and requested annulment of the Partition of Bengal. The delegates began to divide into two parties. This division was marked at the 1907 Congress. The chief Moderate leaders at this time were Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. The Extremist leaders were Mr. Tilak and Mr. Arabinda Ghose. The Moderates have no desire for permanent separation from England, but they demand autonomy. They believe in the ultimate sense of English justice, and hold that they will gain their point by means of constitutional agitation. The Nationalists, or Extremists, are entirely opposed to a bureaucratic system of administration and want self-government. There was a serious riot between the two parties at this Congress and the house was split. The Moderates met separately in order to frame a new constitution for the Congress which should exclude the Nationalists. This constitution was drafted in 1908. The new Congress met at Madras in that year, peaceful but weak, united but small. Congress was no longer a meeting-place of all independent opinions and all Indian policies. Nationalism was defined and limited.

3. Description of the revolutionary movement in India (1897-1917)

1. Lajpat Rai: Young India P. 140

The Extremist party identified itself with the revolutionary societies which were forming in Bengal and Bombay about this time. These Societies felt that Hindu manhood was stunted, and Hindu religion and mysticism were losing vitality under foreign rule. They purposed the overthrow of British control of India by the sedulous diffusion of revolutionary propaganda, by the winning over of Indian troops, by sapping the confidence of the people in their foreign rulers, and by a widespread concentration of determined effort. A Government Commission was appointed to report on this movement. Their report was published in 1918. They found that in the period from 1897-1917 outside the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, the revolutionary crime was limited to three outrages, and three conspiracies in the Bombay presidency, one outrage in Behar, one outrage and one conspiracy in the Madras, and some intrigues and conspiracies in Burma during the war period. It was only in Bengal that, before the war, revolutionary propaganda was carried on to any large extent. The partition of Bengal was the particular grievance in Bengal, and agrarian trouble combined with a particularly oppressive administration have been the chief sources of agitation in the Punjab. We quote the summary of the report:

"(1) That the object of the movement was the over-

turning of the British Government in India by violent means.

(2) That the class among whom the movement spread was comprised of the respectable middle-class. (p. 152)

(a) The Movement originated and spread among people who had received Western education, most of the leaders having been educated in England, and

(b) That the root cause of the movement was economic.

(3) That various circumstances occasioned by certain Government measures specially favored the development of the movement. Among the measures mentioned are

(a) the University Law of Lord Curzon's which was interpreted by politicians as designed to limit the numbers of Indians educated in English and thus to retard national advance.

(b) The partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon (p. 154) It was the agitation that attended and followed on this measure that brought previous discontent to a climax.

(4) That the revolutionary movement received a substantial impetus by the failure of constitutional agitation for the reversal of the policy that decided on partitioning Bengal into two divisions. This failure led to two different kinds of agitation, open and secret.

(a) Open economic defiance by Swadeshi and boycott.

(b) Open propaganda by a more outspoken and, in some instances, violent press.

(c) Open control of educational agencies by means of national institutions.

(d) Open stimulus to physical education and physical culture.

(e) Nationalistic interpretation of religious dogma and forms.

(f) Organization of secret societies for more violent propaganda for learning and teaching the use of firearms, for the manufacture of bombs, for illicit purchase and stealing of firearms, for assassination and murder.

(g) Secret attempts to tamper with the army.

(h) Conspiracies for terroristic purposes or for obtaining sinews of war by theft, robbery, and extortion. (p. 155)

(5) That except in five cases the idea of private gain never entered into the activities of the revolutionaries. (p. 156) and of the five persons referred to, three were taxi-cab drivers either hired or coerced to co-operate in revolutionary enterprise.

(6) That the circumstances that robberies and murders are being committed by young men of respectable extraction, students at schools and colleges, is indeed an amazing phenomena, the occurrence of which in most countries would be hardly credible.

(7) In regard to revolutionary outrages in Bengal since 1906: 210 revolutionary outrages, 101 attempts at such outrages, 1038 persons involved, 84 of them only having been convicted (p. 157)

(8) That persons involved in revolutionary crime belonged to all castes and occupations and the vast bulk of them were non-Brahmans."¹

Mr. Gokhale, a Brahman of great intellectual ability and a keen statesman of the pre-war period, strongly denounced the active participation of students in politics and the tactics and objects of the Extremists. But his words were ineffective against the rising tide of revolution and youthful agitation for 'Swaraj.' (Home-rule)

C. History of Indian Nationalism from 1908 till the outbreak of the Great War

1. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1908

We turn back in order to trace the growth of the Nationalist movement in India to the outbreak of the war. By the Morley-Minto reforms of 1908 the legislative councils were greatly enlarged, the provincial councils were given non-official majorities, the exec-

1. Lajpat Rai: Pol. Fut. of India Pp. 152, 154-158

utive councils of the supreme and subordinate governments received Indian members, but the official majority was retained in the Imperial Council. The Moderates hailed the reforms with delight, but the Nationalists found little satisfaction in them.

2. India from 1910 to 1914

The Indian National Congress of 1910 demanded that certain salutary repressive acts be removed from the Statute books. It protested strongly against the treatment of Indians in the British colonies. For the first time, an address was presented to the Viceroy. He was asked to show clemency to all purely political offenders. The deportation of Lajpat Rai and Mr. Tilak caused considerable agitation. Extremists were entreated to return to Congress, and the partition of Bengal was denounced by a Bengali. In 1911 a royal visit to India was very successful in cementing anew the bonds of goodwill between ruler and ruled. Indians are particularly fond of pomp and display. Their belief in the glory and all-powerfulness of the British raj has been a chief element in their submissiveness during the years that they have been dominated by Great Britain. In this year the partition of Bengal was altered sufficiently to gratify Congress sentiment. The capital was moved from Calcutta to Delhi. This

was a diplomatic move because it tended to associate the British raj with all the past glories of India which centered around the ancient capital of Delhi. The Congress continued to cry 'swaraj.' In 1912 a Royal Commission was appointed to report on the constitution and conditions of the public services with the main object of investigating the possibilities of admitting Indians in larger numbers to the higher grades. This report was published in January of 1917. By this time, although the proposals were quite generous, the war had raised the hopes of the Indians so high, that the proposals were disregarded by the Indians as being wholly inadequate. Revolutionary effort was intensified in Bengal during this year and the next.

D. The Condition of India at the Outbreak of the War

At the outbreak of the war, India was generally tranquil. Hindus and Mussalmans were drawing near a common platform, and were seeking vaguely for representative government on colonial lines. Most of the advanced politicians felt that Great Britain was making reforms as rapidly as possible. There was a small section of revolutionists, but the majority of the Indians were conservative and indifferent in regard to affairs of Government. The European mercantile and non-official communities also stood apart but were not in-

attentive to the progress of events. The ranks of the Nationalists were slender, and drawn from the better educated and more systematically organized intelligentsia of the country. They dominated the Indian press. They had started and spread the idea of a united, self-governing India. Their views had become increasingly biased by racial feeling, by a lessening faith in British efficiency, and by a growing belief that India unfettered by foreign ascendancy, could rival Japan.

E. The War Period in India

1. Indian loyalty to Great Britain

During the war period, the ideals of the Nationalist movement spread very rapidly in India. As soon as the war broke out, it seemed that India forgot her grievances and put forth her best efforts toward the winning of the war. Despite the fact that Indian volunteers were not asked for, nor were Indians given military commissions, yet India helped the allied cause very substantially by her gifts of men, money, and Red Cross aid. The native princes were exceedingly generous in their gifts and loyalty to the British Government. All this deeply touched the heart of England. She began to think of Indians as men and women, not just as 'natives.' With the increasing sympathy between Great Britain and India, the latter began to hope that with the close of

the war would begin a new and golden age for India. The demands of the Indian National Congress of 1916 showed "that absolute political independence had become the professed ideal of Moderate and Extremist politicians alike, and that Government was confronted with a more definite situation than any that had hitherto presented itself in this connection."¹

2. The Home-Rule Movement started

Under the leadership of Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant, a Theosophist, who has been very prominent in India for some years, a Home-Rule movement was started in India. Its origin assumed that similar conditions existed in India as in Ireland, and that there would come about a peaceful adjustment in India between castes and creeds if the British Government would only leave India alone. This Home-Rule propaganda with its cry of 'Swaraj' appealed especially to students and school boys. From the start, interest was particularly keen in Madras and Bombay.

Chapter IV

Phases of the Indian Nationalist Movement

Just what are the Nationalist aims for India and to what degree have they already been achieved? It is

1. Lovett: Hist. of the Nat. Move. in India P. 119

to these questions that we direct our attention in this chapter.

A. Educational

1. First steps toward compulsory school attendance in India

Since the earliest years of the present century Indian leaders under the inspiration of G. H. Gokhale, 'that greatest of modern Indians,' have advocated universal and compulsory free education. The claim for at least a beginning in this direction has been made by the National Congress since 1904. A first step was made along this line in 1917, when the Government of Bombay supported the bill which duly passed into law, giving municipalities power to compel school attendance. The experiment of universal compulsory education has already been tried in India with substantial success in the native states of Baroda, Bikaner, Mysore, Kapurthala, Cochin, and Bhavanagar.

2. The appointment and report of the Calcutta University Commission

In this same year, the Calcutta University appointed a commission whose purpose it was to inquire into the conditions and prospects of the University of Calcutta, and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the questions which it presented. The Commission was convinced that the reform of primary

and secondary education in India is a matter which does not safely admit of delay. In January of 1920 the Government of India issued a Resolution summarizing the main features of the Report and the recommendations of the Commissioners:

"(1) High Schools fail to give that breadth of training which the developments of the country and new avenues of employment demand.

"(2) The intermediate section of University education should be recognized as part of school education and should be separated from the University organization.

"(3) The defects of the present system of affiliated colleges may be mitigated by the establishment of a strong central teaching body, the incorporation of unitary universities (as occasion arises), a modification of the administrative machinery which will admit of fuller representation of local interests, and supervision of different classes of institutions by several appropriately constituted bodies."¹

The Commission also recommended a standing committee of the Board of secondary and intermediate education to deal with the education of girls.

3. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on education

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report based all its recommendations upon the principle that "Educational extension and reform must inevitably play an important part in all political progress of the country."² It admitted the inadequacies of Indian education in the

1. Ind. Yr. Book, 1922 P. 157

2. U. S. Bur. Educ. Bull. 1919 Pp. 49: 203

past, chief of these being the want of co-ordination between primary and higher education, which in turn has reacted upon the efficiency of the secondary institutions and to a great extent has confined universities and colleges to the unsatisfactory function of mere finishing schools. The report emphasized the need of female education, and of intensely practical agricultural training. It pointed out the urgent necessity of an enormous development of educational opportunities side by side with any extension of political activities, basing all upon the contention that political thought in India is coming to recognize that advance in all lines must be influenced by the general educational level of the country."¹

The Reforms Act of 1919 which was Parliament's answer to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform, altered the educational administration conditions in India. (This act went into effect in January, 1921) Education is now a "transferred" subject, and is in each province under the charge of a Minister. The education of Europeans in India is a "Provincial reserved" subject, that is, it is not within the charge of the Provincial Minister of Education. The Government of India also reserves matters relating to the non-Provincial Universities like

1. Ibid: P. 204

Aligarh and Benares and all new universities and university legislation generally.

4. The general progress of education in India

D r. Sharp, Secretary to the Government of India Educational Department, summarizes the situation briefly in a concluding paragraph upon the general progress of education in India.

"There is no denying the fact that while public interest in education has increased, public opinion so far as it is expressed often remains crude and unformed. Press utterances are frequently actuated by vested interests or political motives. The criticism of measures of reform is attractive and the student community is a valuable political asset....There is a tendency to lower standards and to oppose their improvement. Publicists support pupils in acts of indiscipline, openly blaming the teachers and depreciating punishment.....Below these manifestations there is a great body of sound public opinion. Nor is it always inarticulate. An important section of the press has, during the quinquennium approached educational questions in the spirit of the educator. This is a hopeful sign. But before a thoroughly sound advance can be made it is essential that educational questions should be regarded on their own merits, that the teacher should come into his own and that due values should be set upon the respective merits of knowledge and of understanding."¹

B. Social

1. The importance of social reform

"The root of India's present incapacity for self-government is not intellectual, but social and moral... The most urgent need of India at present is social reform, which depends entirely upon the people, and not

1. Ibid P. 231

political reform, which must come from the State."¹

Says Gilchrist:

"The question of India is not a mere question of political machinery. It strikes far deeper than that; for the concepts of modern political liberalism must inevitably produce in India, as in all countries in which they have been applied, a profound and far-reaching social revolution."²

2. Caste

We have described briefly the social conditions in India, and the poverty and wretchedness of its fifty million outcastes and the rigidity and harshness of the caste system which is at the root of its social depression. Indian Nationalists are making genuine and whole-souled efforts to better social conditions in their beloved Motherland. A phase of reform is the organization of castes to meet new political and social conditions. These organizations may be viewed from two points: first, as indicating tendencies to reform, and, second, as adopting recognized political methods of organization. The aims of the caste organizations are:

1. Jones: India, Its Life and Thought Pp. 65, 66

2. Gilchrist: Intro to Ind. Nat'lity. P. VII

to defend caste privileges, to settle caste questions, and to encourage Hinduism and national faiths. Social reform is also emphasized. Such laws as the Baroda Caste Usages Bill and the new Civil Marriage Act illustrate the flexibility which Hinduism is demonstrating under the impulse of democratic ideals. According to the former, a person who wishes to ignore or break some custom of his caste, may obtain from the court a declaration that this particular restriction is not binding provided that he can prove to the satisfaction of the court that the custom is opposed to public morals, restricts intermarriage, is ruinously expensive, needlessly checks travel, hinders the physical, material, or moral welfare of the members of the caste, or is disapproved of by not less than one-fourth of the adult members of the caste. Such a court decision makes the person exempt from fine or excommunication by the priests. The New Civil Marriage Act of the Native State of Indore allows any Indian who has resided in the State for fourteen days to contract a monogamous marriage with a member of a different caste.

Gilchrist points out that all castes are democratic today, inasmuch as they all insist on education, the "sledge hammer of democracy." Those who are inclined

to believe that caste should be immediately abolished must be reminded that, for the present, caste is necessary in Hindu society. Upon it the whole social fabric of India rests. Its sudden abolishment would mean the disintegration of Hindu society. Reforms along this line must, and are, coming gradually. It is most encouraging to find that the most vigorous of all pro-Hindu movements, the Arya Samaj, vigorously opposes caste. Indian nationality is arising, but it will be many years before Western democratic ideals and Christianity will have so permeated the life of the Indian people that their caste problem will be finally solved. The common sense of the Indian people will inevitably demand the abolition of a system which is, in its rigidity and exclusiveness, diametrically opposed to the ideal of the brotherhood of man.

3. Reform societies in India.

In recent years, various reform societies have been organized in India by Nationalist leaders. Most important of these is the "Servants of India" society which was founded by Mr. G. R. Gokhale in 1905. Its objects are "to train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of the Indian people." This society

engages in both propagandist and active work of political, educational, social, agricultural, and philanthropic character. The society is composed of about twenty-five workers, most of whom are university men of considerable standing. The number is not large because entrance into the society demands that the individual give up all else and devote himself wholly to the service of India. The society enlists a large number of voluntary workers, both men and women, to help in the work. At the present time, Mr. V. S. Srinivasi Sastri is the president of the society (Mr. Gokhale died in February 1915) There are four branches, one in Bombay, another in Madras, a third in the United Provinces, and a fourth in the Central Provinces. Each branch consists of ordinary members, members under training, and permanent assistants who work under the direction of a senior member. A list of the specific fields of activity of the Bombay Branch will serve to illustrate the kind of work done by this society:-

1. Social Purity
2. Social reform organization
3. Rousing of public opinion about elementary education.
4. Promotion of the cause of the elevation and education of Indian women

5. Social Service
6. The spread of co-operative movements among agriculturists, compositors in Poona, and mill hands in Bombay.
7. Relief work.
8. Organization of public opinion on the question of Indians in South Africa.

Fisher says: In a merging of the self-abnegation of the East with the practical purposefulness of the West lies the distinction not only of the Servants of India, but of the various samajes and other progressive Hindu organizations.¹ This society has also established other societies for specific purposes. The Indian Economic Society was started in 1915, with the object of affording facilities for an accurate and scientific study of economics, for the formation and dissemination of current economic ideas and for collecting first-hand information regarding the industry and commerce of the country with a view to the removal of difficulties in the way of their promotion and development. In 1917, the "Servants of India" organized the Indian Liberal Club in order to promote a systematic study of politics in general and of Indian politics in particular, to organize free and well-informed discussions on current political topics as well as on abstract questions, to

1. Fisher: India's Sil. Rev. P. 92

provide facilities for the collection of information on questions arising, and to form and maintain a library containing the needful material for such a subject.

Besides these organizations for social reform, the Indian Year Book for 1922 lists the Bombay Sanitary Association and the Consumptives' Home Society. The former was founded "(a) to create an educated public opinion with regard to sanitary matters in general; (b) to diffuse the knowledge of sanitation and hygiene in general, and of the prevention of the spread of disease amongst all classes of people by means of lectures, leaflets, and practical demonstrations, and, if possible, by holding classes and examinations; (c) to promote sanitary science by giving prizes, rewards, or medals to those who may by diligent application add to our knowledge in sanitary science by original research or otherwise; (d) to arrange for homely talks or simple practical lectures for mothers and girls in the various localities and different chawls, provided the people in such localities or chawls give facilities."¹ The Consumptives' Home Society was organized in 1919. It maintains a Sanatorium for Consumptives in the Himalayas. This Sanatorium accommodates seventy-five patients.

1. India Year Book 1922 P. 583

There are also several women's reform organizations which are very important. The pioneer Indian Ladies' Society was the Seva Sadan. The purpose of this society is to train Indian sisters ministrant and to serve through them the poor, the sick, and the distressed. It maintains for the benefit of poor Indian women a home for the homeless, a dispensary, an industrial home, free educational classes, a library, and reading rooms in Bombay, home-classes in poor quarters of the city and normal classes for training Marathi women for the teaching profession. The Poona Seva Sadan Society was started in 1909. It was originally promoted by the "Servants of India" but is now an independent organization. Its main objects are to make women self-reliant and to train them for missionary work, undertaking educational and medical activities for their sisters and brothers, especially for the former in backward areas. Like the other social reform societies mentioned, it works on a non-sectarian basis. The Poona Seva Sadan Society gives free instruction excepting the special classes in Music, English, etc. Its work is divided into seven different departments and forty-six classes. It also maintains a college for training mistresses for Vernacular Schools. There are one hundred and thirty students in the college. The to-

tal number of pupils under the direction of the society is seven hundred and twenty-four.

The Women's Indian Association, started in Adyar, Madras in 1917, has aims of service to women similar to those of the Seva Sadan, in Bombay. This new organization has grown very rapidly. In 1922 it had branches in forty-eight towns, and had enlisted two thousand members. It conducts classes to teach vernaculars, English, needle-work, and music. Weekly lectures are given under its auspices on subjects of general interest relating to women: health, education, religion, civic responsibility, woman suffrage, etc. Its objects may be summed up as follows:

- (1) To present to women their responsibility as daughters of India.
- (2) To help them to realize that the future of India lies largely in their hands.
- (3) To secure for women the vote for municipal and legislative councils as it is, or may be granted, to men.
- (4) To secure for women the right to be elected as members of all municipal and legislative councils.
- (5) To band women into groups for the purpose of self-development, education, and for the definite service of others.

When social programs such as these are launched by the intelligent men and women of a country, one may confidently assert that better days are in store for that country, for all are working toward the same end--the

material, mental, and spiritual advancement of India and her people.

C. Religious Nationalism

1. Phases

One of the most pronounced movements in modern Hinduism Dr. Farquhar calls 'Religious Nationalism'. He dates it from 1895, the year of the commemoration of Sivaji, the Maratha, mentioned above. For a people as intensely religious as the Hindus, whose life is permeated and stereotyped by religious do's and countless don'ts, religious nationalism must manifest itself in many forms. So we find it in India. In one form it is seen in anarchism, based on the theory that Hindu civilization in all its branches is superior to either the British or the Mohammedan, and that, therefore, it is the duty of the Hindus to extirpate the foreigner. It exhibited itself in Swadeshi movements which demanded Indian products for Indians and the exclusion of foreign manufactures, also in revivals of Indian art, music, and poetry. Another manifestation of Hindu nationalism was the organization of Reform Societies in Hinduism itself. The Servants of India Society mentioned above is open to all religions. Its only object is service to India as a whole. Organizations such as the Brahma Samaj and the

Arya Samaj emphasize social reform.

The story of the founding of the Brahmo Samaj (Society) well illustrates awakening Indian nationalism. MacDonald tells the story thus:

"The rebels had been worshipping for sometime in a Unitarian Chapel under an English minister. One Sunday evening as he (Ram Mohan Roy) was returning home from prayers with his friends, Tarachand Chakravarthi and Chandra Sikhar Deb, the latter, in course of conversation, said to him, 'Dervarjie, we now go to a house of worship where a foreigner officiates. Should we not have a place where we might meet and worship God in our own way?' That impulse of 'our own way' was the assertion of the quickening Indian Nationalism asserting itself through Western influence."¹

Ram Mohan Roy founded this society at Calcutta, January 1830. The Brahmo Samaj was the first concrete expression of the religious revival in India. Roy desired to restore Hinduism to its ancient ideal of pure monotheism. The society holds that no religious book is infallible. It accepts all truths wherever they may be found. It regards Christ as a great man, but not as God incarnate. Furthermore, God is to be worshipped only in spiritual ways. Hindu asceticism, temples and fixed forms of worship are unnecessary. Men of all castes and races may worship God acceptably. Salvation is only through character. This society is interested in social reform. It favors re-marriage of widows, the abolition of early

marriages, the spread of education among women, and the uplift of the depressed classes, the outcastes, and the aborigines. This society has had its chief influence in Bengal and has failed to find acceptance among the common people.

The Arya Samaj is the most vital of the Hindu reform societies. It was founded by Swami Dayananda Sarasvati in Bombay in 1875. Swami Dayananda's religion was of what we would call the Old Testament type. He tried to get back and to lead others back to the simple lives and the simple ideals of the old Fathers. The watchword of the society was "Back to the Vedas." The Arya Samajists accept the Vedas as infallible. Their objects are:

(1) The reform of Hinduism by a return to the Vedas, thus uprooting the accumulated superstition of centuries and the Brahminical hierarchy.

(2) The extirpation of Christianity and Mohammedanism

The Arya Samaj is an intensely nationalistic movement, emphasizing Hindu culture, dwelling on the glories of India's past, and making every appeal to racial pride and self-respect. It leads in all phases of social and religious reform. The Arya Samaj denounces caste, the seclusion of women, early marriage, compulsory widowhood,

and other social evils. It strongly advocates the spread of education. Under its auspices are the Dayananda, Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, and several secondary and primary schools in the Punjab and United Provinces. Its chief religious institution is the Gurukulu at Hardwar. Fisher says that "the extent and volume of its school work is exceeded only by that of the Government and the Missionary forces. It organized the first exclusively Indian Orphanage and Widow's Home, has its own primary schools in many villages, and has been a pioneer in social service and religious reform work."¹ The Arya Samaj repudiates Christianity and makes part of its program the reconversion to Hinduism of Hindu converts to Christianity. It is an aggressive organization. It challenges and fights. The Arya Samaj is based on the "Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man, equality of the sexes, and justice and fair play between man and man, and nation and nation."² This society has had its chief influence in North India, especially in the Punjab and the United Provinces. It is a growing sect. In 1910, it had already more than two hundred and fifty thousand followers.

1. Fisher: India's Sil. Rev. P. 85

2. MacDonald: Gov't. of India Pp. 2,3

2. The influence of Christianity in India

It is interesting to note the influence of Christianity in impelling a desire for reform in Hinduism, and in dominating the creeds of the organized societies. Perhaps these Samajās are but intermediary steps between Hinduism and Christianity. We do not know.

3. The dangers in Indian Religious Nationalism

The results of this Religious Nationalism are not all good. It has tended to bring a religious intolerance which is exceedingly unwholesome, and which is bound to impede the progress of political nationalism.

"The preaching of a pan-Hindu India could have only one result, and that result modern India (as distinct from Hindu or Moslem) politicians are only now becoming able to overcome. The result was to awaken the forces of pan-Islamism."¹ Since the war, the Mohammedans have turned toward the Hindus as a direct result of England's policy toward the Turks, and because of the occupation of Constantinople, both of which events they resent as direct insults to their religion.

D. The Economic Phase of the Indian Nationalist Movement

1. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the financial condition of India.

In regard to the financial condition of India,

1. Gilchrist Ind. Nat'lity. P. 137

the Montagu-Chelmsford Report contains the following:

"We are agreed, therefore, that there must be a definite change of view; and that the Government must admit and shoulder its responsibilities for fathering the industrial development of the country. The difficulties by this time are well known. In the past, and partly as a result of recent Swadeshi experiences, India's capital has not generally been easily available. Among some communities at least there is apparent distaste for practical training, and a comparative weakness of mutual trust; skilled labor is lacking, and although labour is plentiful, education is needed to inculcate a higher standard of living and so to secure a continuous supply; there is a dearth of technical institutions; there is also a want of practical information about the commercial peculiarities of India's war products. Though these are serious difficulties, they are not insuperable, but they will be overcome only if the State comes forward boldly as guide and helper. On the other hand, there are good grounds for hope. India has great natural resources, mineral and vegetable..... We have been assured that Indian capital will be forthcoming once it is realized that it can be invested with security and profit in India; a purpose that will be furthered by the provision of increased facilities for banking and credit. Labor, though abundant, is handicapped by still pursuing uneconomical methods, and its output would be greatly increased by the external use of machinery. We have no doubt that there is an immense scope for the application of scientific methods. Conditions are ripe for the development of new and for the revival of old industries, and the real enthusiasm for industries which is not confined to the ambitions of a few individuals, but rests on the general desire to see Indian capital and labour applied jointly to the good of the country, seem to us the happiest augury."¹

By the Government of India Act of 1919 the "revenues of India" are definitely divided between the Central and Provincial Governments. The Provincial Governments now have almost complete control over the administration

1. Lajpat Rai: Pol. Fut. of India Pp. 142, 143

of their "allocated" revenues. They have power to supplement them by raising loans on the security of these revenues, and their right, subject in certain cases to the Governor-General's sanction, to initiate new taxation measures is formally recognized. It was found that any possible scheme of allocation of revenues between the central and provincial governments left the central government with a deficit. This is to be met partly by an annual contribution from seven of the eight governors' provinces, the province of Behar and Orissa, owing to its poverty, having been exempted from this contribution. In no case is this contribution to be increased; instead, it is to be decreased as soon as possible.

2. The need of fiscal autonomy for India

As to Indian fiscal autonomy, the Government of India Act of 1919 reads as follows:

"Whatever be the right of the fiscal policy for India for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain and the Dominions overseas; and this liberty, they hold, should be afforded whenever the Government of India and its legislature are in agreement. Exciting times are evidently in store for Lancashire."¹

3. The economic condition of India in 1921

1. Cotton: Contemp. 117:66 Jan. 1920

The Indian Year Book (1922) says in regard to the economic condition of India in 1921:

"Amidst these political distractions, India has made substantial recovery from the economic malaise which followed the war. After two famines in three years--1918 and 1920--the rains of the year were abundant and the harvest good. Trade and industry revived, though the complete recovery of Indian trade is dependent on the re-establishment of the buying power of Europe and the collapse of the German mark caused anxiety."¹

The economic problems of India--land, taxation, economic dependence, lack of employment--have not yet been touched upon in a substantial way by Government action. They must be faced squarely before India can become a self-respecting unit of the British Empire.

E. The Political Phase of the Indian Nationalist Movement.

1. The condition of Indian Government since the Government of India Act.

The Government of India Act which went into effect in January, 1921 considerably improved political conditions in India and was a step on the road to self-government, the ideal of young India. Its aim is "The progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of one British Empire."² The Act is confessedly transitional. Upon the expiration of

1. Ind. Yr. Book, 1922, P. 1

2. Gilchrist: Ind. Nat'lity. P. 48

ten years, a statutory commission will be appointed for the purpose of examining the working of the scheme in the various provinces as well as in the Government of India and to advise whether a farther advance along the road to self-government may be undertaken.

Few changes were made by this Act in the central government. The only concrete changes made in the constitution of the central government are the removal of the statutory bar to the appointment of more than six members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the reconstruction in a much more enlarged, representative, and independent, form of the central legislature. Provision is made for larger Indian representation in the Executive Councils. There are now three Indian members in the Viceroy's Executive Council out of a total of eight members, and three Indian members in the Secretary of State's Council at Whitehall. The tenure of office in the latter council has been cut from seven to five years. Moreover, the salary of the Secretary of State is henceforth to be paid out of money provided by Parliament, and a High Commissioner in London will supervise the agency business of the Government in India. That considerable modification is made in the relationship existing between the provincial governments on the

one hand and the Government of India and the Secretary of State is illustrated by the following extract from the Act:

"That only in exceptional circumstances should the Secretary of State interfere in matters of purely Indian interests where the Government of India and its legislatures are of one mind: and, further, that in so far as reserved subjects are concerned, the relations of the Secretary of State and the Government of India with provincial administrations shall be regulated on similar principles."¹

The Indian legislature has been entirely remodelled by the Act of 1919. It now consists of two chambers. The upper chamber, or "Council of State" contains sixty members, thirty-four of whom are elected and twenty-six are nominated. Not more than twenty of the nominated members may be officials. The lower chamber, or "Legislative Assembly," consists of one hundred and forty-four members, of whom one hundred and four are elected. Of the forty nominated members, twenty-six must be officials. The members of the Governor-General's Executive Council must be appointed members of one or the other chambers. The president of the upper chamber is a nominee of the Governor-General. For the first four years, the president of the Legislative Assembly is also nominated by the Governor-General. After that period, the lower chamber is to elect its own president. The

1. Cotton: Contemp. 117: 67

normal lifetime of each Council of State is five years, and of each Legislative Assembly three years; but either chamber, or both simultaneously, may be dissolved at any time by the Governor-General. The Governor-General and the provincial governors may also pass acts upon their own responsibility if such a step is deemed necessary for the proper fulfilment of their duty to Parliament. It is in this final responsibility to the Governor-General and indirectly to the British, rather than to the Indian, electorate, that the chief objection to the whole reform scheme lies.

The method of election for both chambers is direct. The number of electors is considerably smaller than for the provincial councils. The basis of representation is designed to give separate representation to the various races (European, Anglo-Indian) of communities (Non-Mohammedan and Mohammedan) and special interests (landholders, universities, planters, commerce, industry) into which the diverse elements of the Indian population naturally range themselves. The qualifications for electors and candidates vary in the different provinces. In general, the franchise is based on a property qualification as measured by the payment of a prescribed minimum of land revenue or its equivalent, or of income or municipal taxes, but in all provinces retired, pensioned,

or discharged officers and men of the regular army are entitled to the vote, irrespective of the amount of their income or property. The franchise for the Council of State is more limited in that it adds to high property qualifications, the requirement that the voter or candidate possess certain personal attributes which are likely to connote the possession of some past administrative experience or a high standard of intellectual attainment. According to the election rolls of 1920, one five thousand and one hundred and seventy-nine men out of a possible sixty thousand, one hundred and eighty-two men were entitled to the franchise.¹ The suffrage qualifications operate most unfortunately in that they tend to exclude the educated classes. Bose is responsible for the statement that hardly one per cent of the total voting strength in India is from the educated class.²

For administrative purposes, British India is divided into fifteen provinces, each with its separate local government or administration. Eight of these provinces--the three presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam,

1. Ibid P. 65

2. Bose: Br. Rule in India P. 41

have governments, each consisting of a governor, an executive council of not more than four members, and two or more ministers. It is in regard to these provinces that the Act of 1919 gave special attention. Burma which is now under a lieutenant-governor unaided by council or ministers, is reserved for special treatment in one of two ways. It will either become a governor's province like the eight mentioned above, or it will receive a constitution of its own on analagous line, under a separate bill. The remaining six provinces are directly administered by chief commissioners, who are technically mere agents of the central government of India. The Act of 1919 made no change in the system of administration of these minor provinces.

The form of government instituted in the eight provinces may be called a dyarchy. At present, the executive government in each of these provinces is a dual organism, which owes its unity to the governor. One-half of the organism consists of the governor and his executive council, all of whom are appointed by the king. This body is responsible for the administration of the subjects which are "reserved." These are concerned with peace, order, and good government. The other half of the executive organism is the governor acting with the

advice of ministers who are appointed by him, hold office during his pleasure, and must be elected members of the provincial legislative council. To the governor acting with the minister is entrusted the administration of "transferred" subjects. These "transferred" subjects are those of local government, education, public health, and medical administration, agriculture, industrial development, and (except in Assam) public works and excise. It is the duty of the governor to endeavor to hold an even balance between the two branches of the administration, and to encourage joint deliberation, while ensuring that each side shall shoulder its own responsibility for the matters of government entrusted to it.

Previous to the Act of 1919, the provincial legislative councils were mere accretions to the executive government of the provinces for the purpose of advising on, and enacting, legislation. The most important changes made by this Act in the powers of the provincial councils were:

- (1) The power to vote (and consequently to withhold) supplies.
- (2) A greatly enhanced freedom of initiation in the matter of legislation, and
- (3) Power to frame their own rules of procedure in

matters of detail, subject to the governor's concurrence. After the first four years, the president of the legislature is to be elected by the members of the council. Nowhere else is the government's giving with one hand and taking back with the other, which is so bitterly complained of by the Indians, better illustrated than in the provincial government. It seems on first reading that the ministers have considerable power, yet we discover on second reading that they are entirely responsible to the governor, who is indirectly responsible to the British electorate, and not in any sense responsible to the Indian electorate. The real powers of the legislative council are very limited. It is stated that they may vote and withhold supplies, yet the Act further states that:

"(b) The Governor shall have power in cases of emergency to authorize such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the Province, or for the carrying on of any department, and (c) No proposal for the appropriation of any such revenue or other moneys for any purpose shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor, communicated to the Council."¹

1. India Yr. Book, 1922: P. 19

The number of members of the legislative councils vary in each province. Always at least seventy per cent are elected. Not more than one-fifth of the total number of members may be officials.

The Atlantic Monthly for July, 1922 (Pages 96,97) describes the peculiarities of the Government of India Act of 1919, as follows:

(1) The makers of this Act tried to change the eternal laws of political science and to divide sovereignty. The arrangements seem to make government responsible to the Indians, when it is actually responsible to the British electorate ultimately.

(2) The division of the functions of provincial governments into "reserved" and "transferred" subjects.

(3) Communal representation, by which certain Indian minorities--the Sikh in the Punjab, the Parsis in the Bombay presidency, the non-Brahmans in the province of Madras, the Mohammedans in various parts of India, the European business interests everywhere, receive a representation in the legislative bodies wholly out of proportion to their numbers.

2. Political classes in India

There are two important political classes in India, Moderates and Extremists. These have been dis-

tinct since 1907 when an extreme faction of the delegates in the Indian National Congress separated from the Moderates. The two parties were not united again in Congress until 1916. But the union effected at that time was purely superficial; the difference between the Moderates and the Extremists was fundamental. Since September 1920, the Indian National Congress has been completely dominated by the Extremist party. The London Daily Telegraph for February 23, 1923 (P. 10) announces that the "Congress party (Extremists) have ruined every chance they had by deciding largely from fanatical devotion to the personality of Gandhi, to continue ploughing the barren furrow of non-co-operation," and that the new Das party which includes many of the best brains among the younger Indian Nationalists is likely to be victorious in the next elections.

First of all, there is a great illiterate mass in India, two hundred and eighty-eight million souls who know nothing about politics, and care little for reform. "They are silent, not able to express an opinion because they are not able to form one."¹ "Only four million men (over the age of fifteen) and one and one-quarter million women (over the age of fifteen) can be

1. Bradley: World Outl. J1. 1920 P. 12

called literate. Thus the term Modern India, New India, Young India," writes Mohini Maya Das, "can be properly applied only to this small group."¹ There is a small group of Extremists who "stand for absolute and immediate national independence. They would make no compromise with the British Government. They would tamper with the army, raise the standard of revolt, and stop at nothing to reach their end. They blend religious zeal and bigotry freely with their political arguments and shibboleths. They are desperate men, who would even invite in a foreign power to overthrow the established Government."² Another group may be called 'Radicals' to distinguish them from the more extreme group. This party includes most of the leaders of Hindu and Mohammedan India. They agree with the Extremists in demanding speedy national independence. But they do not advocate a bloody revolution; neither are they interested in "reform" movements. They want political independence before social, ethical and economic reform. They want ultimate authority, regardless of present national con-

1. Mod. India and the Stud. Move. (The Canadian Student Feb. 19, 1923)

2. Bradley: World Outl. Jl. 1920 Pp. 11, 12

ditions. The "Moderates" are the minority party, but they include some men of outstanding national influence. They see both the difficulty and the danger in going faster than the internal conditions warrant. Their aim is to achieve ultimate self-government for India as an integral part of the British Empire. They emphasize social, educational and economic reform before political. The Extremists and Radicals denounce the Government of India Act as being a mere make-shift; the Moderates appreciate the reforms which it makes and the changing English attitude which it denotes. Although the term "Nationalist" is ordinarily applied only to those seeking complete independence, we would apply it in a larger sense to include the Moderates as well. All three parties are striving for the recognition of Indian nationality and the Moderates most truly know the way. Nationality cannot be achieved in a day, in a week, or in one year or ten. It is a matter of slow growth and steady progress toward a fine and unselfish ideal.

2. Phases of the Nationalist political program in India.

In 1915, the Muslim League decided to consider a Home-Rule scheme propounded by Mrs. Anne Besant. The Muslims were inclined to be unsympathetic towards the British Government because of the foreign policy of

Great Britain, in regard to Turkey. In the same year, Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak promoted the scheme at various meetings and in some of the larger Indian cities. The Home-Rule propaganda appealed in a marked way to students and school-boys. Mrs. Besant formally established her League on September 3, 1916. Its influence spread very rapidly. By October 10, there were fifty branches of the League already established, mostly in Madras and Bombay. In December of 1916, the Congress Moderates and academic Extremists proclaimed their reunion, and the principal leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, finally composing their principal differences, alike declared for Home-Rule. In 1917, a brief internment of Mrs. Besant awakened a great deal of excitement, and furthered the growth of the movement. On June 16, of the same year, Home-Rule Day was celebrated at Madras. It was on that day that "passive resistance" was first advocated as a constitutional method of enforcing claim for Home-Rule in India. "Passive Resistance" had been successfully used by the Indians in South Africa under the leadership of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. This struggle against British oppression had excited the keen sympathy of educated India. Gandhi's influence in India grew very rapidly, and in September of 1920, the

Indian National Congress passed entirely under his domination.

Swaraj is defined by Mr. Gandhi as follows:

"One separate existence without the presence of the English. If it is to be a partnership, it must be a partnership at will. There can be no Swaraj without our feeling and being the equals of Englishmen. Today, we feel that we are dependent upon them for our internal and external security, for an armed peace between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, for our education and for the supply of daily wants, nay, even for the settlement of our religious squabbles. The rajas are dependent upon the British for their powers and the millionaires for their millions. The British know our helplessness.....¹ To get Swaraj, then, is to get rid of our helplessness."

Mahatma Gandhi whose personality has dominated India for the past five years is an intensely interesting character. Despite the fact that he is in a prison cell near Poona, (On Mar. 18, 1922 he was sentenced to six-years' imprisonment) Sherwood Eddy speaks of him as "The most potent force in India today."² "He is the one recognized leader who has been able to unify and lead the awakening political elements of this vast continent of India with its three hundred and twenty million people or one-fifth of the human race. He has done more than any one man in history to unify India."³ His countryman, Tagore, calls him "the greatest man in the world."

1. Lit. Dig. 62: 20

2. Christian Cent. Apr. 19, 1922 P. 489

3. Ibid P. 489

His followers term him "Saint." Some Englishmen call him "India's evil genius." Hume says of him: "An idealist of most simple habits, who practices what he teaches. He intensely loves his native land, and is ready to undergo anything for the injury which has befallen some interests in India through contact with the materialism of the West. He is a deeply religious man, and has been considerably influenced by the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Some of these teachings are refraining from returning evil for evil, and love for all men, even for enemies."¹

The term "Mahatma" which the Indians have applied to Gandhi means "Great Soul" and occurs several times in their sacred scriptures to designate a mighty being, or a person regarded as very holy, saintly, perfected. "Gandhi has awakened the national consciousness in a way that no other man could awaken it," says E. Candler, "at the same time, he has unloosed forces that he is unable to control....But he has lighted a candle. Swaraj will not be attained by his scheme of progressive, non-violent co-operation; nevertheless because of his idealism, India is infinitely nearer Swaraj. In Mahatma Gandhi, the youth of the country have their own national

1. Hume: Outl. J1. 12, 1922 P. 451

hero now--a man to whom they can point, without moral or physical fear, like Garibaldi or Mazzini, only saint-lier, a man whose spirit is unclouded by anger or envy or pride. When they listen to him, they feel that the Vedas and the Bhagavadgita are no legends. To them Mahatma Gandhi embodies the essence of the selfless spirituality that is personified in their sacred books; he is the living incarnation of the Spirit that once made their country great."¹

We may distinguish four distinct elements in Gandhi's teachings. They are as follows:

1. "Certain great moral and spiritual principles of a high idealism which his whole life and work are based on. Among these might be mentioned the principle of 'soul-force' implying that moral suasion is more powerful than physical coercion, and that in the end right makes might;

2."The principle that vicarious suffering, or dying to live, self-renunciation as the means of self and social realization, are the ultimate principles of the universe, and love, creation's final law;

3."The principle of the democracy of brotherhood, the triumphing of all over the divisions of caste, creed, and color;

4." The principle that liberty is the spiritual inheritance of the race."²

Gandhi's non-co-operation party makes three claims: they demand freedom, equality of race treatment, and

1. Atlan. Month. P. 114

2. Eddy, Christian Cent. Apr. 19, 1922, Page 489

economic self-development under self-government. In order to win that which they claim, Gandhi advocates four methods: non-violence, Hindu-Moslem-Sikh-Parsi-Christian unity, the total removal of untouchability, and the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar completely displacing foreign cloth.

There are many good things in Gandhism; there are also bad things. Gandhi's principles show an inadequate understanding of human nature. The chief item in Gandhi's teaching is absolute and universal abstention from violence, yet Gandhi himself used violent language in denouncing the British Government. It was inevitable that the people lacking his self-control should employ violent methods to further their ends. Gandhi's teachings intensified the hatred between Indians and Europeans, and introduced religious excitement into Indian politics. Moreover, in teaching lawlessness to the government, he spread the seeds of anarchism.

The non-violent cooperation movement launched by Gandhi expressed itself in the boycott of everything foreign and in Swadeshi--the demand for indigenous industries. The non-cooperation movement aims to overthrow the British rule in India by a general strike. In July of 1922 Hume wrote: "In my judgment, a reaction

against Gandhism has already set in."¹ The Toronto "Globe" of December 6th, 1922 reports an address made by Rev. Dr. R. A. King, Principal of Indore College, Central India. Rev. King attributed the collapse of Gandhi's propaganda to its lack of constructive criticism. Gandhi, he said, could not keep his diversified following the moment he advocated a definite program. He could not find a platform to which both Hindus and Mohammedans could subscribe. Rev. King stated that the passive, non-cooperation resistance of Gandhi and his followers had defeated its own ends. By endeavoring to boycott the elections they had only failed in securing representation in the Indian Government. We quoted the London Daily Telegraph (Feb. 23, 1923) above to the effect that the Congress party had ruined their chances to continue in power because of their fanatical devotion to Gandhi's personality, and their continued advocacy of non-cooperation.

The new Das party which is forming into power in India aims at Swaraj for India, to be attained by all peaceful, legitimate means. If this party secures a majority in legislative councils and assembly, they will present on behalf of the country "its legitimate demands

1. Hume: Outl. July 12, 1922 P. 451

as formulated by the party as soon as the elections are over, and ask for their acceptance and fulfillment within a reasonable time by the Government. If the demands are not granted, the party will adopt a policy of uniform, continuous, consistent obstruction within the councils, with a view to making government through the councils impossible. In no case will any member of the party accept office. The party will also control elections to local and municipal boards, with a view to securing control over all local affairs"

Chapter V

Summary

A. The Nationalist Aim for India

The ultimate aim of the Indian Nationalist Movement is self-rule; not necessarily severance of connection with the British Government but partnership in the Empire,--home-rule inside the Empire, like that enjoyed by Canada, Australia, and South Africa. We have seen how keenly alive young India is today, the spirit of sacrifice which she is demonstrating, and have traced the development of the nationalist spirit throughout India. Great Britain must meet India half-way or an Indian revolution will be inevitable. Surrounded by countries which have either achieved their independence or are

driving rapidly toward that goal--China, Japan, Persia, Egypt--herself impregnated with western ideals, it is inevitable that India, too, with her three hundred and nineteen millions of people should yearn and actively strive for liberty, equality, and fraternity.

B. Possibility of the Achievement of Indian Nationalism

But, you ask, in a country with such diversity as is found in India, is it possible that there may ever be a nation? Surely modern India already has the spirit of nationality and this spirit is spreading as rapidly as reforms can make it possible. Gilchrist defines Nationality as follows: "Nationality is a spiritual thing formed by common ideals acting on a number of minds.

Its natural basis may be one element or a combination of elements; in itself it is essentially spiritual, usually seeking its physical embodiment in self-government of some form."¹ Despite Indian diversity, there is a certain "underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin", an Indian character, a general Indian personality which cannot be resolved into its component elements. Common grievances like those which we described in chapter two; common ideals like those dominat-

1. Gilchrist: Ind. Nat'lity. P. 15

ing the Nationalist Movement in India today, even the hated British raj itself has been a powerful unifying factor in India. It has been the cause of common grievance; it has also inspired common ideals as it has shown how all India may be held together under a single power.

C. Difficulties of the Achievement of Indian Nationalism

While there are many hopeful elements in the Indian situation, there are also many difficulties which stand in the way of the achievement of self-government therein. We have described the caste system which seems such an insuperable barrier to the attainment of equality and fraternity; we have noted the diversity of religions in India and the religious antagonism found among the various religious groups. Great Britain is awakening to the fact that she must grant reforms to India if she is to maintain her stronghold in the East, but great governments move all too slowly and whether the British Government will arouse herself sufficiently to meet the rising tide of Indian demands is a question. A brighter day for India is dawning. We cannot see what clouds she may pass under before the sun breaks through to shine upon a glorious, democratic nation--either distinct from all other power, or a self-respecting, and respected,

self-governing part of a great British Commonwealth.