PART III

Book II

MODERN INDIA
CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL RELATIONS, 1858-1905

1. Afgânhistân and the North-West Frontier

The period from 1858, when the Government of India began to be conducted in the name of the Sovereign of England, to 1905, when "provincial autonomy" was inaugurated under the reformed constitution of 1935, marks a distinct epoch in Indian history. The age, it is capable of a twofold division, viz., the Era of Imperialism (1858-1905) and the Epoch of Reforms (1905-1935). A notable feature of the age was the control exercised by one of the British Sovereign's principal Secretaries of State over Indian administration, where was this more apparent than in foreign policy. Indeed, it would be hardly any exaggeration to say that from 1858 onwards the foreign policy of India was dictated in large measure by European conditions and formed a part of the foreign policy of the British Government in Whitehall in London.

Regarding the North-West Frontier, the policy was for long based on the relations between England and Russia. After the first Afgânh War there was a revival of friendly feeling between the two countries. In 1844 the Russian Emperor Nicholas I met Queen Victoria and an understanding was arrived at in respect of Central Asia. The basis of the agreement was that the emirates (principalities) of Bukhârâ, Khiva and Samarqand should be left "as a neutral zone between the two empires in order to preserve them from a dangerous contact."

These friendly relations were, however, rudely disturbed by the Crimean War, and Russia, foiled in south-eastern Europe, resumed her forward policy in Central Asia. The rapid progress of Russia towards the border of Afgânhistân was a cause of alarm and anxiety to the British Government. The conquest of the Punjab and Sind had extended the British possessions up to the hills of Afgânhistân, and that country alone now stood between the advanced Russian outposts and the British empire in India. But unhappily affairs in Afgânhistân about that time proved unfavourable to the British.
After the conclusion of the First Afghan War, the relations between the British Government and Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Kabul, were, on the whole, friendly. When the Persians threatened Herat and Qandahar, the Amir made overtures for help to the British, and a treaty was concluded in 1855. By this treaty the Indian Government undertook not to violate the territory of the Amir, and the latter agreed to be "the friend of the friends and enemy of the enemies of the Honourable East India Company."

The friendship was put to the test in 1856 when the Persians again besieged Herat. The British not only helped the Amir with money and arms, but also declared war against Persia, and sent a force from Bombay. The Persians came to terms in 1857.

The friendly feeling was first disturbed in 1862 when Dost Muhammad became aggressive and attacked Herat, then held by an independent Chief. The Government of India disapproved of this action and recalled its Muslim agent who had been installed in Kabul since 1857. Dost Muhammad paid no heed to the protest and succeeded in conquering Herat in 1863.

Shortly after this Dost Muhammad died at the age of eighty, and the inevitable struggle for succession broke out among his sixteen sons. For five years Afghanistan became a scene of fratricidal wars, with all the attendant evils of discord, disunion, and partition of territories. At last in 1868 Sher Ali, the third son of the late Amir and his chosen successor, defeated all his rivals and united the whole of Afghanistan under his rule.

The position of the British during this period was one of extreme difficulty. Sir John Lawrence (Governor-General, 1864–69) adopted a policy of strict neutrality, and logically followed the principle that the relations of the British Government are with the actual rulers of Afghanistan. Accordingly he refused help to the several contending brothers who asked for it, and recognised each of them in turn as soon as he established himself in Kabul. Sher Ali had thrice approached the British Government for help and was thrice refused. As soon, however, as he proved successful in the contest, Lawrence recognised him and sent him money which enabled him finally to consolidate his position.

The policy followed by Lawrence has been characterised by some as one of "masterly inactivity", but it has been severely condemned by others. His policy of neutrality was dictated by the fear that if he took up the cause of one rival, the other was sure to seek the aid of Russia or Persia. Against this it is pointed out that this contingency was almost inevitable whether the British Government interfered or not. It is, however, overlooked
that the neutrality of the British would legitimately entitle them to prevent any interference from outside if and when it did occur, whereas if Lawrence actively backed up one candidate he could hardly, with justice or reason, prevent Russia or Persia from supporting another. In any case it must be admitted that he succeeded in isolating the Afghan Civil War, and prevented any international complication.

The critics of Lawrence no doubt imply that if he had actively supported a rival candidate and enabled him to win the throne, the British could have easily secured a firm footing in Afghanistan, and effectively stopped for ever the Russian influence in that quarter. The experience of the First Afghan War was, however, entirely against any such anticipation, and Lawrence might, after all, have backed the wrong horse and atoned heavily for it. With this serious danger in view, and the almost inevitable complication of a Russian war, Lawrence might well be excused if he chose to follow a more cautious policy. It was one of those enterprises where success would make it an act of far-sighted statesmanship, and failure brand it as a rash and foolish adventure.

That the result of Lawrence’s policy proved to be disadvantageous to the British nobody can deny. Sher ‘Ali, the new Amir, could not be expected to have a friendly attitude towards a power which refused to come to his help in the most critical moments of his life. Sher ‘Ali could easily realise what was no doubt the plain truth, “that the English had looked to nothing but their own interests.” He bitterly commented that “Whoever else they see strongest for the time being, they turn to him as their friend.”

It was precisely during this period of Afghan turmoil that the Russians resumed their aggressive imperialism in Central Asia. In 1864 they made the first forward move. In 1865 Bukhara was reduced to the position of a dependency. In the very next year was created the new province of Russian Turkestan with headquarters at Tashkend, about a thousand miles from their former base at Orenburg. In 1868 Samarkand was added to Russian possessions and five years later Khiva followed suit.

The rapid progress of Russia towards Afghanistan could not but be a cause of alarm and anxiety to the British. Their first endeavour was therefore to placate the new Amir whom the recent events had so much alienated from the British. Lawrence sent arms and money in 1868 and the subsidy was continued by Lord Mayo (1869-72). How far these methods would have succeeded in regaining the friendship of the Amir, it is difficult to say. But the Russian advance constituted a serious menace to Afghanistan, and hence the Amir was
anxious to secure the support of the English. A rapprochement between the two parties was thus rendered easy, and had the English acted with tact and statesmanship they might have completely won over the Amir to their side. Unfortunately, English diplomacy failed miserably at this critical moment, and instead of winning the friendship of the Amir, drove him into the arms of Russia.

A meeting which was held at Ambala in 1869 between the Amir and Lord Mayo offered splendid opportunities for a lasting friendship. The Amir would have conceded all English demands in return for an English guarantee that they would support him against Russia, and would acknowledge no one as Amir of Afghanistan except himself and his descendants. Instead of giving these specific assurances, Lord Mayo merely said in a letter to the Amir that the Government of India would "view with severe displeasure any attempts on the part of your rivals to disturb your position" and that it would "further endeavour . . . to strengthen the Government of Your Highness".

The admirers of Mayo have represented the meeting at Ambala as a great success and pretended to believe that Sher ‘Āli was won over to the side of the British. But Sher ‘Āli was too shrewd not to perceive the difference between a specific guarantee and a general assurance of the kind contained in Lord Mayo’s letter. In any case, being alarmed by the Russian occupation of Khiva he sent an Agent to Lord Northbrook, the next Governor-General, in 1873, asking for specific assurance in writing that if Russia or any of its protected or dependent States invaded the Amir’s territories, the British Government would not only help the Amir with arms and money, but also send troops to his aid if necessary.

Lord Northbrook (1872–76) took a wise view of the situation and was willing to accede to the Amir’s request. Five years earlier, an Indian Viceroy would have probably given such a guarantee on his own responsibility, referring his action for ratification to the Secretary of State. But the establishment of the direct telegraph line between India and London introduced a great change in the relations between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State. So in a telegram to the Secretary of State, dated 24th July, 1873, he proposed to assure the Amir “that if he unreservedly accepts and acts on our advice in all external relations, we will help him with money, arms and troops if necessary to expel unprovoked invasion. We to be the judge of the necessity”.

The proposal was, however, rejected by the Secretary of State, as the ministry of Gladstone was unwilling to have a rupture with
Russia, and did not view the Russian expansion in Central Asia as dangerous to the safety and security of either Afghanistán or India. Under the instructions of the Home Government, Lord Northbrook could only assure the Amir that "we shall maintain our settled policy in Afghanistán". The Amir naturally interpreted it as unwillingness on the part of the English to afford him protection against Russia.

Two other events occurred about this time which further alienated the Amir. The British Government unwisely accepted the task of arbitrating between the claims of Persia and Afghanistán over the boundaries in Seishtán. As the decision of the British went in some details against Afghanistán the Amir resented it as an act of injustice. In the second place when the Amir chose his son 'Abdullah Ján as heir apparent and communicated his decision to the Government of India, Lord Northbrook refused to recognise him as such, and the Amir was convinced that 'Abdullah Ján would receive no more support from the British than he himself had obtained in fighting his rivals for the throne.

Utterly disgusted at the attitude of the English, the Amir naturally longed for a good understanding with the Russians, and they eagerly seized the opportunity. Although they admitted that Afghanistán was beyond their sphere of interest, they carried on correspondence with the Amir and tried to ingratiate themselves into his favour. The Russian correspondence gradually increased and its bearers, treated by the Amir as agents of the Russian Government, were almost always present in Kábul.

In the meantime there was a change in the Home Government. In 1874 Disraeli succeeded Gladstone, and Lord Salisbury became the Secretary of State for India. Two years later Northbrook was succeeded by Lord Lytton (1876-80) as Viceroy. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 strained the relations between Russia and England, and a war between the two appeared almost inevitable. The pendulum now swung violently in the opposite direction. The new Cabinet at once decided to keep a firm hold on Afghan affairs to prevent the influence of Russia in that region.

The first measure they adopted was the annexation of Quetta. It occupied a strategic position on the frontier, as it controlled the route to Qandaháir, and could turn the flank of an army invading India through the Khyber Pass. A treaty was concluded with the Khán of Kalat, and Quetta was occupied in 1877.

The second objective of the new Cabinet was the establishment of a British agent at Herát, so that the Government might be constantly supplied with accurate information regarding the
Russian movements on the frontier. Lord Northbrook, who continued as Viceroy till 1876, and the majority of his Council, were opposed to the policy. They thought the Amir was sure to refuse it and the result would be another war. Lord Salisbury insisted on his view. Lord Northbrook thereupon resigned his viceroyalty, and Lord Lytton was appointed Viceroy to carry out the new policy. The Amir was offered the terms he asked for in 1873, but nevertheless he refused to accept any British Mission. He pointed out that in that case he could hardly refuse to accept a similar mission from the Russians.

In the meantime the Amir's relations with Russia grew more intimate. In June, 1878, the Russian Governor-General sent his officer, Stolteoff, to the Amir with a draft treaty which conceded the terms which the Amir had asked of the British in 1873, and Lord Lytton was ready to offer in 1878. The despatch of the envoy was accompanied by that of three columns of troops from Tashkent towards the Afghan frontier. Stolteoff was ordered by the Amir not to enter Afghanistan, but he ignored the orders and reached Kâbul on the 22nd July. There he negotiated a treaty with the Amir, offering him guarantee against foreign attack.

The reception of the Russian envoy in Kâbul made the relations between the Amir and the British Government acute. With the previous approval of the Home Government, Lytton informed the Amir that an English envoy would be sent to Kâbul. The mission was actually despatched through the Khyber Pass, but it was stopped near Āli Masjid on 21st September. On 2nd November Lytton sent an ultimatum to the Amir, threatening war if the latter did not reply, accepting the mission, by the 20th. The Amir now appealed to Russia for help. But in the meantime the Treaty of Berlin had settled the European question, and the Russians could not fight the English without violating that treaty and losing all the advantages they had secured by it. So Kaufmann, the Russian Governor-General, advised Sher Āli to make peace with the British. Sher Āli had been encouraged by the Russians to provoke the hostility of the British, but was deserted by them at the critical moment.

On 20th November the British troops invaded Afghanistan. The Kurram Pass was forced by Roberts, and Kandahâr was occupied by General Stewart. In December, Sher Āli retired to Turkestan and died shortly after. His son, Ya'qûb, opened negotiations with the British and on 26th May, 1879, the Treaty of Gandamak was concluded.

The treaty was extremely favourable to the British and
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conceded all their demands. The Amir agreed to the establishment of a permanent British envoy at Kábul, and to conduct his foreign policy on the advice of the Viceroy. He also ceded the districts of Kurram, Pishin, and Sibi to the British.

In accordance with the terms of the treaty, Cavagnari, the British Agent, reached Kábul on 24th July. But he was murdered by mutinous troops on 3rd September. To what extent, if any, the Amir himself was implicated in this plot has never been determined. There is no doubt that Cavagnari displayed lamentable lack of tact in his handling of affairs, and there is equally little doubt that the Amir desired his withdrawal.

The foul murder led to the revival of hostilities. Roberts occupied Kábul on 5th October. Although the Amir had joined the British, he was thought unfit to rule and was removed to India. Negotiations were opened with Sher ‘Ali’s nephew, ‘Abdul Rahmán, who was a refugee in Samarkand under Russian protection.

But before the negotiations were brought to a close, the Government of Lord Beaconsfield was succeeded by that of Gladstone. The new Government decided to reverse the whole Afghan policy of their predecessors and even to evict the districts ceded by the Treaty of Gandamak. Lord Ripon (1880–81) was accordingly sent as Viceroy to carry out the new policy.

Shortly after the arrival of Lord Ripon (8th June, 1880) the British troops in Qandaháir were severely defeated by Ayúb Khán, son of Sher ‘Ali, at Maiwand (July, 1880). Roberts made his famous march from Kábul to Qandaháir and completely defeated Ayúb’s army. In this he was substantially helped by ‘Abdul Rahmán.

Lord Ripon, after studying the situation in India, decided to continue his predecessor’s policy and entered into a treaty with ‘Abdul Rahmán. The new Amir agreed, in return for an annual subsidy, to have his foreign policy controlled by the Government of India. The districts ceded by the Treaty of Gandamak were retained by the British.

The Second Afghan War was the outcome of the desire of two rival powers, Russia and England, to establish their influence in Afghanistan. The English statesmen were afraid of a Russian invasion of India through Afghanistan. Whether this menace was a real one may be seriously doubted. There is, however, no doubt that Russia, with a friendly Afghanistan, could bring sufficient pressure on the British, and could not only keep them engaged in the critical time of a European war, but might even use their position as a lever for extorting concessions from the British in Europe. Afghanistan was thus a mere pawn in the European
game, and poor Sher ‘Ali was a victim of circumstances for which he was not responsible, and over which he had no control. Strange as it may seem, the Treaty of Berlin was the direct cause of the downfall of Sher ‘Ali.

The Afghan policy of both England and Russia was dictated purely by motives of self-interest, based on an aggressive imperial policy. The forward policy of Lytton and Salisbury can be justified from this point of view alone, as it achieved the main object of British diplomacy, by securing a firm footing in Afghānīstān for the British, and removing the Russian menace of including that country within their sphere of influence.

The Russian forward policy received a severe setback by the establishment of the British influence in Afghānīstān. But, as if to make up for the lost ground, the Russians now pushed forward their outposts. The fears of the British Government were always allayed by the Russian Foreign Office by profuse professions of pacific intentions, and the aggressive acts were explained as unauthorised acts of local officials or as due to local necessities. At last, when in 1884 Merv was added to Russian possessions, the British entered most emphatic protests. The only result was the acceptance by the Russians of a proposal to delimit the Russo-Afghan boundaries. The Commissioners were appointed on both sides, but those of Russia delayed matters on one pretext or another. In the meantime, the Russian forces were occupying the disputed territories in order to convert their claims into accomplished facts.

The climax was reached on 30th March, 1885, when the Russians drove off the Afghans from Panjdeh and occupied it. Even the pacific Government of Gladstone was roused to the frenzy of war. Mobilisation was ordered and a vote of credit for military preparations was moved in Parliament. The war which appeared almost inevitable was averted by the dexterity of Gladstone. The two nations at last came to terms. The Russians retained Panjdeh, but the Zulfiqar Pass was given to the Amir.

After this amicable settlement, the relations between Russia and the British Government improved. In 1886 the Commission for delimitation of boundaries concluded its labours and the Russo-Afghan boundary from the Oxus to the Zulfiqar Pass was formally laid down. For six years uninterrupted peace followed. But in 1892 disputes again broke out over the Russian claim over the whole of the Pāmrā. At last an agreement was reached in 1895, and the boundary-line in this region was formally fixed up. This brought to an end for the time being the long-standing rivalry between England and Russia over Asiatic empires. The English kept a
firm hold on Afghanistan, and Russia directed her energy further towards the east.

Henceforth for several years the North-West Frontier policy of India was confined to relations with Afghanistan. The main problem was the position of the wild hill-tribes, which lived in the regions lying between Afghan and British territories and owed allegiance to neither. In pursuance of what has been termed the "Forward Policy", the British Government desired to extend its power over them, so that the frontier of British India might be pushed far beyond the Indus. After some difficulties the two Governments came to an understanding regarding their spheres of influence. The Afghan Boundary Commission under Sir Mortimer Durand formally laid down the boundary-line. The Amir's subsidy was raised from twelve to eighteen lakhs a year, and he agreed not to interfere with the tribes on the Indian side of the frontier line.

The next problem was to deal effectively with these tribes. This proved no easy task, and punitive expeditions were necessary to quell the turbulent clansmen. A formal protectorate was declared over Chitral and Gilgit in 1893, but two years later the British Officer sent to Chitral to help one of the rival candidates for the throne, was besieged by a large number of tribes who had declared Jihad or holy war against the British. The siege lasted for a month and a half, until a relieving army proceeded from Gilgit and another by way of the Malakand Pass. Again in 1897 there was a serious outbreak of hostilities. A large number of tribes, including the Mohmands and the Afridis, rose in revolt, and regular military expeditions, notably the Tirah campaign, were necessary to put them down.

To prevent the recurrence of these outbreaks strategic roads and railways were built in the frontier districts and a redistribution of troops was made to cope with them more effectively and expeditiously. The frontier districts were separated from the Punjab and created into a North-West Frontier Province ruled over by a Chief Commissioner, immediately under the Governor-General, and subsequently by a Governor.

These measures have not proved successful in keeping the region quiet and free from disturbances. Occasional raids into British territory and other disturbances by the hill tribes have come to be a permanent feature, and recently the British Government had to resort to bombing from aeroplanes to strike terror into them. In the light of these subsequent events we can appreciate the wisdom of Amir 'Abdur Rahman when he described the probable
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results of the British forward policy in the following terms, in a letter written to Lord Lansdowne (1888-94):

"If you should cut them (the hill tribes) out of my dominions they will neither be of any use to you nor to me. You will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them and they will always go on plundering. As long as your Government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quiet by a strong hand, but if at any time a foreign enemy appear on the borders of India those frontier tribes will be your worst enemies."

The advocates of the forward policy on the other hand support the intrusion of the British into these hill territories, as it gives them a better line of defence than the River Indus against any invasion from the west. This is perhaps correct from a strictly military point of view. But the enormous trouble and expense involved can be justified only if there is a real danger of a serious invasion from the west. Such danger was undoubtedly very remote when the policy was first adopted. But in the light of later events which no one could then have foreseen the threat could not be described as altogether an imaginary one.

2. Annexation of Upper Burma

As a result of two wars the British had occupied Arakan, Tenasserim and Pegu in Lower Burma. The old Burmese dynasty was ruling in Upper Burma, and a British Resident was stationed in Mandalay, where the capital was removed in 1857. Trade was opened with Upper Burma, and English rights were safeguarded by two treaties in 1862 and 1867.

The relations between the two Governments were, however, never cordial. The loss of Lower Burma was a source of irritation to the Burmese king, Mindon, while his medieval idea of royal prestige was irritating to the British. According to the Burmese custom, the British Resident, when attending court, had to remove his shoes and kneel before the king. In 1876 the Viceroy objected to this, but Mindon would not yield. The result was that the British Residents ceased to visit the king and in consequence British influence at the Burmese court declined to some extent.

Mendon's successor, Thibaw, was a weak and vicious king. He signalized his accession by the massacre of eighty princes and princesses whom he feared as possible rivals. The British Resident protested, but was curtly reminded by the court that Burma was a sovereign power. The Chief Commissioner of Pegu recommended
the withdrawal of the Resident, but the Government of India refused. Thibaw repeated the massacre in 1884. There was an outcry in the name of humanity, and public meetings held in Rangoon urged upon the Indian Government immediate annexation of Upper Burma. It is to be noted, however, that the Burmese population did not attend these meetings, which were really arranged by the English and Chinese merchants, whose main interest was trade. The Government of India took no notice of these events, and were content to let Burmese affairs alone.

A new element was, however, added about this time in North-Eastern politics. France had established a colonial empire in the Far East. In 1884 she possessed Cocham-Chuna and Tonkin, and was pushing towards Upper Burma. The Burmese Government was anxious for the friendship of France. In 1885 a trade treaty was signed between the two powers and the French secretly promised to allow importation of arms into Burma through Tonkin. A French Consul was stationed at Mândalay, and there were semi-official negotiations for opening a French bank at the city, starting a railway, and securing the management of royal monopolies.

The peaceful penetration of the French alarmed the British Government, but they could do nothing as they had no causa belli or ostensible ground for interference. This was, however, supplied by a foolish action of Thibaw's. An English firm—the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation—doing timber business in Upper Burma was accused on some flimsy charges, and, by an ex parte judgment, was condemned to pay a fine of £230,000. The underlying motive was to hand over the forests to a French Syndicate after ousting the British Company.

This grave provocation moved the Government of India, which demanded that the case should be referred to the arbitration of the Viceroy. This the Burmese king refused. Unfortunately for him, the French at this moment suffered serious reverses in Tonkin and withdrew from Upper Burma. The French ambassador in London repudiated the semi-official negotiations of the French Consul at Mândalay. The British seized this golden opportunity and struck hard. An ultimatum was sent to King Thibaw asking him to submit to the following terms:

1. A permanent Resident should be stationed at Mândalay, and he should have free access to the king without degrading ceremonies like taking off shoes and kneeling down.
2. The foreign policy of Burma should be controlled by the British.
(3) The case of the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation should be submitted to the arbitration of the Viceroy.

(4) The Burmese Government should assist British trade with Yunnan.

Thibaw's rejection of the ultimatum on 9th November, 1885, led to the British invasion. Within twenty days Mândalay was occupied and Thibaw found himself a prisoner in his own palace. But the fall of the capital did not mean the fall of the kingdom. A sort of guerilla warfare was maintained by bands of robbers and disbanded soldiers. It took five years to pacify and consolidate the kingdom of Upper Burma, and another six years to bring under effective control the areas ruled over by border tribes such as the Shân and the Chins. The conquered territories, added to Lower Burma, formed the new Province of Burma with headquarters at Rangoon.

The case of Burma affords an interesting parallel to that of Afghânistán on the opposite frontier. In both British policy was dictated by the fear that another first-class European power, Russia or France, would establish political influence in an Asian State bordering on British territories. The rulers of these States defied the English in the hope of obtaining aid from the rival European power, and in both cases they were disappointed at the critical moment. Only the geographical and ethnical factors made the sequel different. Burma was added to British India, but the high and rugged mountain ranges of Afghânistán and the fierce warlike Pathâns made the thorough conquest of that country a more formidable task.

3. The Indian States

The relations of the British Government with the Indian States underwent a great change after the assumption of the Government by the Crown. Before that the relations were neither uniform nor well-defined. The first defect was indeed inevitable, because different States had concluded different types of treaty at different times and in different circumstances. As regards the second, the policy of a growing power like the British was naturally modified from time to time in consequence of various circumstances and influences. Much also depended upon the personal factor. Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Dalhousie, as we have already seen, adopted a far more aggressive attitude than others, although no new policy was formulated by the Company during their regime.
The result was a state of uncertainty and perplexity in the Indian States. They did not know exactly where they stood. Theoretically their existence as a separate political entity was guaranteed by treaties, and many of them enjoyed an independent status, subject only to certain specified restrictions. In practice, however, many States were annexed by the British (such as Oudh, Sátárā, Nágpur, Jhánsi, and the Carnatic) and in many others (such as Bharatpur, Mysore, and Gwálör) the British had not only interfered with the internal administration, but either deposed or definitely lowered the status of the Chiefs.

In 1841 the Court of Directors definitely adopted the policy "of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue", and Dalhousie carried this policy to its extreme limit. The outbreak of the Mutiny served as a direct comment on this policy, and when the Government was transferred to the Crown, an entire re-orientation of policy towards the Native States took place. Like many other changes in British India, this new relation was only slowly and gradually evolved, partly by written declaration of policy, but mainly by precedents and conventions.

The new policy was heralded by a definite pledge in the Queen's proclamation that "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions". This declaration would not perhaps have solved the problem, were it not accompanied by other steps to ensure its faithful observance. The two main grounds for recent annexations were (1) failure of natural heirs, and (2) misgovernment of native rulers. Means had to be devised to deal with them before the policy of non-annexation could be carried into practice.

The first offered a simple solution, and it was readily adopted. In 1860 sanads were granted to princes by which, on failure of natural heirs, the Hindu chiefs were authorised to adopt sons, and the Muslim chiefs to regulate their succession in any manner sanctioned by the Muslim law. These "Sanads of adoption", as they were called, guaranteed the perpetuity of States.

As regards misgovernment, matters were more complex, and obviously could not be dealt with by any fixed rule. To judge from the actual events that took place after 1858, it appears that the new policy was to punish the ruler for misgovernment, and, if necessary, to depose him, but not to annex the State for his misdeeds. A corollary to this new policy was to interfere in the internal administration before misgovernment could reach such proportions as would justify more drastic measures. A few concrete instances will explain the trend of the new policy.

The most important case is that of Malhār, Rāo Gāikwār. He
was guilty of gross misgovernment, and Colonel Phayre, the Resident, exposed the abuses of his administration. Thereupon the Gaikwar is alleged to have made an attempt to poison the Resident by mixing diamond dust with his food (November, 1871). Lord Northbrook had the Gaikwar arrested in January, 1873, and appointed a Commission for his trial. The Commission included three Indians and three Englishmen, and was presided over by the Chief Justice of Bengal. The Commission were divided in their opinion. The three Englishmen held the Gaikwar guilty of the charge, but the three eminent Indian members—the Maharajahs of Gwalior and Jaipur, and Sir Dinkar Rao—were of opinion that the charge was not proved. The Government of India accordingly acquitted the Gaikwar of the charge of attempted murder, but deposed him for "his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms".

A new Gaikwar was installed on the throne. The choice fell upon a boy named Sayaji Rao who was distantly connected with the ruling family. Arrangements were made for the proper education and training of the boy, and Sir T. Madhava Rao ably administered the State during his minority. The boy who was thus called to the throne became one of the most enlightened rulers of India, and under his paternal guidance Baroda became one of the most progressive States in the whole of India. He died in January, 1939.

The case of Manipur affords another illustration of the new policy. In 1890 the Raja of Manipur was deposed at the instigation of his brother, the Senapati or Commander-in-Chief. The British Government recognised the new ruler, but decided to banish the Senapati. Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, proceeded for this purpose to Manipur with a small escort (March, 1891). The Senapati opposed him, and there was some fighting. At last an interview was arranged between him and Mr. Quinton, but the British officers were treacherously attacked, and Mr. Quinton, with four members of his staff, was captured. One of them was speared and the rest were beheaded by the public executioner. A strong British force was sent to avenge this foul murder. The Senapati and the new Raja were captured and executed. A boy Raja was set up, and during his minority the State was administered by the Political Agent.

The cases of Baroda and Manipur afford a striking contrast to those of Oudh, the Punjab, Coorg, and many other States which were annexed, for similar reasons, during the rule of the
East India Company. They show the readiness of the Paramount Government not only to intervene, but, if necessary, to take adequate steps for remedying the state of things, in cases of disputed succession, misgovernment, internal rebellion, etc. On the other hand they have equally demonstrated their unwillingness to annex the Indian States.

A desire to maintain the separate existence of the States is also clearly manifest from the example of Mysore. As already noted, the State was placed under British administration in 1831. After fifty years of British rule the State was restored to its lawful ruler (1881). This "rendition of Mysore" is fully in keeping with, and is a striking demonstration of, the new policy towards the Indian States.

These illustrations definitely prove that annexation of Indian States may now be regarded as a thing of the past, and neither failure of natural heirs, nor misgovernment on the part of any ruler, need constitute any danger to the existence of a State. So far the Indian States have undoubtedly benefited by the change of government from the Company to the Crown. But corresponding with this increase in security and stability, there has been a steady decrease in their status. This was partly inevitable and partly the result of a deliberate policy.

The States in 1858 numbered nearly six hundred. More than five hundred of these were petty principalities whose relations with the British Government were never clearly defined in writing. As to the rest, such relations were defined by treaties. But the treaty-rights were substantially different in the cases of different States, and accordingly they stood in varying degrees of subjection to the Imperial authority. Certain States like Hyderābād had at first entered into treaties with the Company on equal terms, and subsequently parted with some definite rights (e.g., control of foreign policy) and entered into some definite obligations (supply of a specified force). It was obvious that, barring these matters, it was, in theory, absolutely independent of any British control.

In the case of the Rājput States the treaties provided that the rulers should not maintain any relations with any foreign power, and should help the Company, in times of war, with all the resources of their States, but that they should exercise absolute power within their own territories.

These States obviously stood on a very different footing from others like Mysore, Barodā, or Oudh, where the treaties definitely authorised the British to interfere in internal matters. But even in these cases, the relations were defined by treaties, as between
two independent powers, rather than by agreements imposed by a paramount power upon its subordinate State.

The policy of the Government under the Crown has been to ignore these differences in the status of Indian States, and to uphold in theory and practice the paramountcy of the British Crown over all alike. This will be clearly manifest to anyone who studies the attitude of the British Government towards the Indian States since 1858.

The most direct enunciation of this new policy is to be found in the Act of 1876 by which Queen Victoria assumed the title of "Empress of India" with effect from 1st January, 1877. This act once brought the Indian States within the British Empire, and, legally speaking, the rulers and the people of the States were henceforth to be classed as vassals of the British Sovereign. In theory, at least, the change was really very great. The status of these States in the days of the East India Company has been discussed above. This was fully recognised by the Crown in the famous proclamation of 1858 as the following passage will show.

"We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

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

It is obvious from the above that even after the assumption of the Indian Government by the Crown, the Indian States were recognised as independent sovereign States, and regarded as allies of the British Government rather than their subjects. But the Act of 1876 entirely changed this aspect, and made the Sovereign of England the suzerain of Indian States as well. Henceforth the British stood forth frankly as the Paramount Power, a position which in practice they had been assuming for some time past.

The new status is very clearly indicated in the Instrument of
Transfer setting forth the conditions under which Mysore was restored to its Indian rulers in 1881. A comparison of this document with the Treaty of Seringapatam by which Wellesley defined the position of the newly created Hindu kingdom of Mysore is both interesting and instructive.

In the Treaty of Seringapatam it was laid down that "the friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties should be considered as the friends and enemies of both". In the Instrument of Transfer the ruler of Mysore was required to "remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to Her Majesty".

This frank assumption of the paramount authority is supplemented by a series of provisions in the Instrument of Transfer which are entirely wanting in the Treaty of Seringapatam. By these the Government of Mysore was to co-operate with the British in matters of administration such as "the telegraphs and railways, the manufacture of salt and opium, the extradition of criminals, and the use of the currency of British India".

There is one new provision in the Instrument which demands special consideration. It is a definite declaration that no succession in the Government of Mysore was to be valid so long as it was not recognised by the Governor-General-in-Council. While the Crown had made a great concession to the demands of the Indian States by legalising adoption, it was more than counter-balanced by this new theory of succession. The Company had claimed to control succession in the States only in case of the death of a ruler without leaving any heir. The theory enunciated in the Instrument, however, is that no succession in an Indian State is valid until it is sanctioned by the British Government. That this is now the accepted policy of the Government is proved by declarations of both the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The former wrote in 1884: "The succession to a Native State is invalid until it receives in some form the sanction of the British authorities." The latter reiterated it in 1891 in the following terms: "Every succession must be recognised by the British Government, and no succession is valid until recognition has been given." Thus in theory there is an interregnum on the death of a ruler of an Indian State and even a son cannot succeed until his claim is approved by the British Government.

The theory of paramountcy over the Indian States also serves as the basis and justification of the claim of the British Government to interfere in their internal affairs whenever it is necessary to do so for ensuring good government. As the Paramount Power they have undertaken the responsibility of maintaining a high
level of administration in the States. Previously the Company would let a State alone so long as it was loyal, and would not interfere in its internal administration, save that in extreme cases of misgovernment they would most probably annex it permanently. Under the Crown a State, besides being loyal, has to maintain a high standard of administration, and failure to do this would lead to the interference of the Paramount Authority. In addition to the cases of Barodi and Manipur discussed above, reference may be made to interference in recent times in the States of Hyderabad, Kashmir and Alwar.

The new policy was very lucidly stated by Lord Reading in connection with the interference in the Nizam's State:

"The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise this right without grave reason. But the internal, no less than the external, security which the Ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility."
CHAPTER II

WHITEHALL AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (1858-1905)

India under the Crown

1. The Home Government

The Act of 1858 put an end to the dual authority exercised by the Board of Control, or rather its President, and the Court of Directors. A parliamentary minister, the Secretary of State for India, was now invested with the powers of supreme control over the Government of India. In view of the general ignorance of English politicians about India, and partly, no doubt, in order to control the exercise of such large powers and patronage by a single individual, a Council was set up to advise the Secretary of State. The Council of India included men of Indian experience. In order to give them independence in the exercise of their duty the members were appointed “during good behaviour”. They were given specific powers, and their consent was needed for the appropriation and expenditure of the Indian revenue, and for the appointment of ordinary members of the Viceroy’s Council. The Secretary of State was not, however, absolutely subject to his Council, and could act on his own authority in urgent and secret matters. It was, however, hoped that the Council would have an effective share in the determination of policy.

But it was soon apparent that the Secretary of State was in a position to ignore his Council on all vital matters. The position was legalised by the Act of 1869, which took away most of the powers of the Council, and further provided that its members were to hold office only for a period of ten years, renewable at the pleasure of the Secretary of State. The change was clearly pointed out by Sir Charles Dilke in the House of Commons: “At the time the Council was appointed the idea was to curb the power of the Secretary of State; that feeling had passed away, and it was now recognised on all hands that the Council should be a consultative and not a controlling body.”

The Secretary of State, like other ministers, was responsible to the British Parliament. But here, again, English politicians
generally speaking possessed so poor a knowledge of Indian affairs, and took so little interest in them, that parliamentary control over the Secretary of State for India scarcely ever became a reality.

In practice, therefore, if not in law, the Secretary of State possessed unlimited authority over the Government of India. This had an unnatural reaction on the relations between the Home Government at Whitehall and the Government in India.

To a superficial observer the Act of 1858 meant nothing more to the Indian Government than a mere change of master. In reality, however, it brought about striking changes.

The concentration of the powers of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control in the hands of a minister of State led to important consequences. To serve two masters may be an irksome business, but it had its obvious advantages. Fully cognisant of the eternal rivalry between the two, a shrewd and able Governor-General could, and often did, play one against the other, and had his own way. Besides, the same rivalry between the authorities stood in the way of their formulating a strong and vigorous policy to which the Indian Government did not subscribe. Further, a minister of State was always likely to be a person of far greater weight than the President of the Board of Control. In the present instance, the Secretary of State, as we have seen above, exercised his large powers practically without any control and could naturally exercise a greater degree of influence. Besides, the Act of 1858 vested the Council of India with large powers over the financial policy of the Government of India. These powers gradually fell into the hands of the Secretary of State and enabled him to exercise an effective control over the Viceroy and his Council.

But in addition to legislative enactments, other factors were at work to enhance the powers of the Secretary of State. The establishment of a direct telegraph line between England and India in 1870 was an event of far-reaching importance. The delay in communication was a great advantage to the Government of India in so far as it of necessity left the initiation of policy in urgent matters to its own hands, and enabled it to confront the Secretary of State with accomplished facts. But all this was bound to change when the Secretary of State had to be kept constantly informed of the course of events in India, and was in a position to issue immediate orders. Henceforth the Secretary of State exercised a far more effective control over the administration of India than was the case before, and the Viceroy really tended to be a mere "agent" of the Secretary of State.
2. The Indian Government

When the Crown took the Government of India into its own hands in 1858, the supreme legislative and executive authority in India, as we have seen above, was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. For executive powers it was composed of the Governor-General, the four ordinary members (three officials of ten years' standing and one barrister), and the Commander-in-Chief, who was an extraordinary member. For legislative purposes six members had been added to this body in 1853.

The change of 1853 marks the modest beginning of a parliamentary system in India, and as such deserves special notice. As Cowell observed: "Discussion became oral instead of in writing, Bills were referred to Select Committees instead of to a single member; and legislative business was conducted in public instead of in secret."

There were, however, two grave defects in the Legislative Council. No Indian element was associated with it, and its knowledge of the local conditions outside Bengal was not adequate for making laws for other provinces.

The first of these defects was forcibly realised by many at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny. "The terrible events of the Mutiny brought home to men's minds the dangers arising from the entire exclusion of Indians from association with the legislation of the country." Enlightened Indians like Sir Syed Ahmad pointed out the twofold character of this danger. On the one hand it deprived the people of the means of entering any protest against any unpopular measure, while on the other hand the Government had no opportunity of explaining their aims and intentions, which were consequently misunderstood. Even English politicians endorsed the same view. In his able Minute of 1860, Sir Bartle Frere advocated the need of including Indians in the Legislative Council, in order to do away with "the perilous experiment of continuing to legislate for millions of people with few means of knowing, except by rebellion, whether the laws suit them or not".

Apart from these inherent defects of the existing Legislative Council, difficulties soon arose which threatened to alter the whole structure of the Indian Government. These have been ably summed up in the following lines:

"Contrary to the intentions of the framers of the Act of 1853, it (the Legislative Council) had developed into 'an Anglo-Indian House of Commons' questioning the Executive and its acts, and
forcing it to lay even confidential papers before it. It had refused to submit legislative projects to the Secretary of State before their consideration in the Council, and had refused to pass any legislation required by the Secretary of State (or the Court of Directors before 1858); on the other hand it asserted its right of independent legislation."

The spirit of independence displayed by the Legislative Council from the very beginning disturbed its author, Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control. "I do not look upon it," said he, "as some of the young Indians do, as the nucleus and beginning of a constitutional parliament in India." But Dalhousie pointed out that he had not "conceded to the Legislative Council any greater power than the law clearly confers upon it". It has been very aptly observed that Wood "was neither the first nor the last legislator to fail in limiting the consequences of a Bill to his intentions".

The state of things soon underwent a change. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 constituted the next landmark in the evolution of Legislative Councils in this country. It added a fifth ordinary non-official member to the Executive Council, and the power of the Secretary of State to appoint the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member was continued. The powers of the Governor-General were considerably enlarged. With the sanction of his Council he could exercise all the executive powers of the Governor-General-in-Council. Further, the Act empowered him to make rules and orders for the transaction of the business of the Council. Lord Canning used this authority to introduce what is now known as the Portfolio System. By this system, which is virtually even now in force, each member was placed in charge of one or more Departments, and could finally dispose of minor matters in his department on his own authority, and matters of greater importance in consultation with the Viceroy, only the questions of general policy being referred to the Council for decision. In view of the large increase in business such a system was almost inevitable, but it resulted in a considerable diminution of the importance of the Council, and a corresponding increase in the power and influence of the Viceroy.

The legislative provisions of the Act of 1861 were far more important. For the purpose of making laws the Viceroy's Council was enlarged by the addition of "not less than six nor more than twelve additional members", of whom not less than half should be non-official members. These additional members were to be nominated by the Governor-General for two years.
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The function of this Council was strictly limited to legislation, and the Act expressly forbade the transaction of any other business. It was empowered "to make laws and regulations for all persons whether British or native, foreigners or others, and for all places and things whatever within the said territories, and for all servants of the Government of India (afterwards extended to all British subjects) within the dominions of princes and States in alliance with Her Majesty".

This wide legislative power was subject, however, to several restrictions. In the first place the previous sanction of the Governor-General was necessary for introducing any legislation concerning certain specified subjects, such as Public Debt, Public Revenue, Indian religious rites, Military discipline and Policy towards Indian States.

Secondly, no laws could be made which infringed the authority of the Home Government or violated the provisions of certain Acts made by the Parliament.

Thirdly, the Governor-General had not only the power of vetting any law passed by the Council, but was authorised, in cases of emergency, to issue ordinances which should have the same authority as any law passed by the Council.

Lastly, any Act passed by the Council might be disallowed by Her Majesty.

The Act of 1861 restored to the Governments of Bombay and Madras the power of making "laws and regulations" for the peace and good government of those Presidencies, subject, of course, to the same restrictions as put upon the Governor-General's Council. In addition, the Provincial Councils had to obtain previous sanction of the Governor-General before making regulations on such all-India subjects as currency, copyright, posts and telegraphs, Penal Code, etc. For the purpose of legislation the Executive Council of the Governor was enlarged by the addition of the Advocate-General, and "not less than four nor more than eight" members, nominated by the Governor, of whom at least half should be non-official members.

The Act authorised the Governor-General-in-Council to create similar Legislative Councils not only in the remaining provinces such as Bengal, the North-Western Provinces (now the United Provinces), and the Punjab, but also in new provinces, if any, which it was empowered to constitute. In pursuance of this a Legislative Council was established in the three provinces, in 1862, 1886 and 1898 respectively.

It must be admitted that the Act of 1861 was retrograde in
many respects, and deprived the Legislative Council of any independent power. It ceased to exercise any control or check upon the Executive, and even its legislative functions were circumscribed by too many restrictions. But in spite of all its defects the Indian Councils Act of 1861 must always be regarded as a memorable one. It gave the framework to the Government of India which it has retained up till now, and all the subsequent changes have been made within that framework. It ushered in one of the great developments that distinguish the subsequent reforms of administration in this country, viz., the admission of Indians into the higher Councils of the Government. Although not expressly provided for in the Act, there was no definition of the non-official element of the Legislative Council, which accordingly could include Indians. Dalhousie had urged the inclusion of Indians in the Council created by the Act of 1863, but without success. Evidently the Sepoy Mutiny changed the views at home in this respect, and in 1862 Canning nominated the Maharajah of Patiala, the Raja of Benares, and Sir Dinkar Rao to the newly constituted Legislative Council.

It is not necessary to describe in detail the various legislative measures during the thirty years that followed (1861-1891). Among the notable changes may be mentioned the considerable increase of legislative authority both of the Viceroy and his Council. By the Indian Councils Act of 1870, the Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to pass regulations without reference to the Legislative Council. The same Act also repeated and more clearly defined the power of the Viceroy to override the decisions of the majority of his Council and to adopt and carry into execution or suspend or reject, even against the opinion of the majority, any measure affecting "the safety, tranquillity or interests of the British possessions in India, or any part thereof".

The Act of 1874 provided for the addition of a sixth ordinary member to the Viceroy's Council, "the member for Public Works".

The same period of thirty years, however, witnessed the first great national movement in India and the foundation of the Indian National Congress, to which detailed reference will be made later. The newly-roused political consciousness of the Indians manifested itself in demands for constitutional rights formulated by the Congress. The Congress put in the forefront of its programme the reform of the Legislative Councils, both local and central, especially on the following lines:

1. The establishment of councils in provinces, other than Bengal, Bombay and Madras.
2. The expansion of the councils with a large proportion of elected members.

3. Grant of additional powers to the councils, especially the right of discussing the Budget and of eliciting information by means of interpellations.

To meet these demands, at least partially, Lord Dufferin suggested some measures to the Home Government which led to the Indian Councils Act of 1892, another great landmark in the history of constitutional development in India.

By this Act the number of additional members, both in the Supreme and local Councils, was slightly increased, the maximum being fixed at sixteen in the case of the Supreme Council, twenty in the case of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, and fifteen for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, where a Legislative Council had been established in 1866. The increase was much below the expectations not only of the Congress, but even of many English politicians who sympathised with the political aspirations of the Indians.

Far more important was, however, the change in the mode of appointing these members. The principle of election demanded by the Congress was not directly conceded. But the Act authorised the Governor-General-in-Council to prescribe the method of appointing the additional members, and the Government members explained, in the course of the discussion of the Bill in the House of Commons, that under this clause it would be possible for the Governor-General to provide for the election of additional members. As a matter of fact, Lord Lansdowne (1888–94) utilised this power in having eight members of the local councils elected by Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, Universities, etc., and four members of the Supreme Council elected by the non-official members of the local councils.

The Act of 1892 also conceded to the members of the Legislative Councils the right of discussing the Budget and asking questions on matters of public interest.

Although the Act of 1892 fell far short of the demands made by the Indian National Congress, it was a great advance upon the existing state of things. By conceding the principle of election, and giving the Legislative Councils some control over the Executive, it paved the way for further reforms on these lines which were destined to place in the hands of Indians a large measure of control over the administration of the country.
CHAPTER III

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION, 1858-1905

1. Recruitment for the Public Services

The assumption of the direct administration of India by the Crown led to great changes both in the spirit and details of internal administration. The administrative machinery was gradually organised with a thoroughness not possible under the Company’s regime, and the administrative principles and political ideals of England were applied to a large extent. The Indian administration became more efficient and more up-to-date. The old rivalry and jealousy between the Company and the Board of Control disappeared, and the unitary control of Parliament was established.

But the picture has its dark side also. During the old regime the periodical renewal of the Charter of the East India Company afforded an opportunity for Parliament to scrutinise affairs in India with a jealous eye. But as soon as the Secretary of State was put in sole charge of India, it ceased to evoke that interest. Theoretically, no doubt, the House of Commons was responsible for the administration of India, but few persons took an interest in matters affecting the country. In the days of the Company, a Select Committee was appointed by Parliament to report on the administration. They went thoroughly into the whole subject, exposed abuses, and suggested remedies which were frequently adopted in the new Charter. But now the Secretary submitted an annual report before the whole House. Every member was supposed to take interest in it, but as often happens, everybody’s business became nobody’s business.

Its effect on the large increase in the powers of the Secretary of State has been referred to above, but the internal administration of India was also profoundly affected by it. The Indian officials were now responsible only to the Secretary of State, and so long as they could satisfy him, had not to fear any other authority. The Secretary could hardly exercise any effective control over the details of administration from such a distance, but he had to defend the actions of the officials as the ultimate responsibility devolved upon him. The result was the growth of an all-powerful
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Bureaucracy in India headed by the members of the Superior Indian Civil Service. This service soon became a powerful corporation, and its members became—in the words of Blunt—"the practical owners of India, irremovable, irresponsible, and amenable to no authority but that of their fellow members". The members of this service were no doubt very able, and, generally speaking, honest men. But the position in which they found themselves invested them with a superiority complex, and a wide gulf was created between the rulers and the ruled. That sympathy and mutual understanding between the two, which lies at the root of all good administration, was at a discount.

Unfortunately other causes were at work to accentuate the isolation of the higher British officials. In the days of the Company English officials mixed freely with Indians, and there was a genuine good feeling and often friendship between them. The dark horrors of the Mutiny generated a feeling of aversion towards Indians in the minds of the British. Perhaps this feeling would have been weakened in the normal course, and might have ultimately disappeared. But steam navigation, the Suez Canal, the telegraph and the overland route, all served to bring the British in closer touch with their home. They were no longer exiles in a foreign land, but in direct and constant touch with their own country. Gradually an English society grew up in big towns. All these factors did away with the necessity of making friends with Indians, and the British official led a more and more exclusive life so far as the Indian people were concerned. His time was divided between his office and club and he had hardly any social intercourse with Indians. In spite of long residence in India, he remained to all intents and purposes a foreigner, and knew little of their feelings, sentiments and aspirations. Blunt very correctly observed that "the Anglo-Indian official of the Company's days loved India in a way no Queen's official dreams of doing now; and loving it, he served it better".

The Indians naturally concluded that this state of things could only be improved by the appointment of a larger number of Indians in the public offices. The Charter Act of 1833 legalised the appointment of Indians even to the highest offices of State. But the provisions in the Act of 1793, still unrepealed, laid down that "none but covenant-bound servants of the Company could hold any office with a salary of more than £800 a year". Thus no Indian could fill any high post unless he were a regular official who had entered into covenant with the East India Company, or, after 1858, with the Secretary of State. Formerly these officers were
nominated partly by the Directors and partly by the Board of Control, and after nomination they received a training for two years at the East India College at Haileybury. The system of open competitive examination for these appointments was introduced in 1853 and re-affirmed in 1858. The competition was open to all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, whether European or Indian. The maximum age for admission was at first twenty-three. In 1867 it was lowered to twenty-two, and the selected candidates were to remain on probation in England for a year. In 1866 the maximum age was still further lowered to twenty-one, and the probationers had to go through a special course of training at an approved University for two years.

It was extremely difficult for Indians to pass this examination. The journey to England was not only expensive and unfamiliar, but, in the case of the Hindus, was frowned upon by the more orthodox leaders of the community. To compete with English boys in an examination conducted through the medium of English in an English University was indeed a formidable task. It is no wonder, therefore, that comparatively few Indians were successful.

The repercussion of this state of things on the political movement in India will be discussed in a later chapter. The British Government also realised the inadequacy of the Indian element in the Superior Civil Service. In 1870 an Act was passed authorising the appointment of Indians to the higher offices without any examination, but effect was given to this only in 1879 under circumstances to be related later (p. 891).

The rules adopted in 1879 ordained "that a proportion not exceeding one-sixth of the total number of covenanted Civil Servants appointed in any year by the Secretary of State should be natives selected in India by the local governments subject to the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council". These officers were called "Statutory Civil Servants" and were recruited from "young men of good family and social position possessed of fair abilities and education". The system was, however, subject to the same defects from which all systems of nomination were bound to suffer. Indians themselves preferred open competitive examination. But in order to give Indians a fair and equitable chance, they recommended that there should be simultaneous examinations both in England and India. For the same reason they were against the lowering of the maximum age of admission below twenty-one as it would adversely affect the Indian candidates who were to be examined in a foreign tongue. The lowering of the maximum age-limit to nineteen in 1877 was regarded as a deliberate attempt to
shut out Indians, and led to that agitation which culminated in the Congress movement. The Congress vigorously took up the question of simultaneous examinations and employment of Indians in larger numbers.

In 1886 Lord Dufferin appointed a "Public Services Commission" to investigate the problem. The Commission rejected the idea of simultaneous examinations for covenanted service, and advised the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service. They proposed that a number of posts hitherto reserved for covenanted service should be thrown open to a local service to be called the Provincial Civil Service, which would be separately recruited in every province either by promotion from lower ranks or by direct recruitment. The terms Covenanted and Uncovenanted were replaced by Imperial and Provincial, and below the latter would be a Subordinate Civil Service.

These recommendations were accepted. The Covenanted Civil Service was henceforth known as the "Civil Service of India", and the Provincial Service was called after the particular province, as, for example, the Bengal Civil Service. A list was prepared of posts reserved for the Civil Service of India, but open to the new Provincial Service, and local governments were empowered to appoint an Indian to any such "listed post". In other branches of administration, such as Education, Police, Public Works and Medical departments, too, there were similar divisions into Imperial, Provincial, and Subordinate services. The first was mainly filled by Englishmen, and the other two almost exclusively by Indians.

This system remained in being with slight changes till the end of British rule. It improved the standard of service, but failed to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indians for employment in larger numbers in higher offices of State.

In 1893, the House of Commons passed a resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Indian Civil Service. The resolution was forwarded by the Secretary of State to the Government of India for opinion. Lord Lansdowne's Government, after consulting Provincial Governments, definitely opposed the principle of the resolution. "They maintained that material reduction of the European staff then employed was incompatible with the safety of the British rule. The system of unrestricted competition in examination would not only dangerously weaken the British element in the Civil Service, but would also practically exclude from the service Muhammadans, Sikhs and other races, accustomed to rule by tradition, and possessed of
exceptional strength of character, but deficient in literary education.” Nothing came of the proposal, and more than a quarter of a century had elapsed before any step was taken in this direction.

2. Local Self-Government

From time immemorial ideas of local self-government prevailed in India to a far greater extent than anywhere else in the world. The villages and towns were small States in miniature where all the local needs for sanitation, communication, the judiciary, and the police were served by assemblies of the people themselves with a chief executive officer.

During the turmoil that followed in the wake of the dissolution of the Mughal Empire, these self-governing organisations almost entirely disappeared from towns and greatly decayed in villages. The British Government tried to keep up the village assemblies wherever they were in working order, and revived them in places where they were wanting. But they were confronted with the task of evolving a definite system of local government both for the vast rural areas as well as for towns.

To begin with, the Government adopted no definite system in the administration of local affairs in the rural areas. They worked through the existing institutions or improvised others as the need was felt. In Bengal regulations were passed in 1816 and 1819 authorising the Government to levy money for the maintenance of ferries and the repair and construction of roads, bridges and drains. In administering the fund so raised, Government were advised by local Committees, with the Magistrate as Secretary, which they appointed in each district.

Outside Bengal, the necessary amount was raised by imposing a cess or small percentage on land revenue. In 1869 the matter was put on a definite basis in Bombay by means of legislation. It provided for expenditure on public works by legalising the cesses and set up committees for the administration of funds, not only for the district as a whole but also for its subdivisions.

A great stimulus was given to the development of local self-government by the Government of India’s Resolution of 1870. Within a year, Acts were passed in various provinces on the lines of that of the Bombay Government. Existing cesses were legalised and even increased. For the administration of the funds, Committees were set up for the district as a whole, but not for smaller areas as in Bombay. These Committees were all nominated by the
Government and controlled by them. They consisted of both officials and non-officials and had an official Chairman.

In Bengal the cess was imposed for the first time by the new Act and a great hue and cry was raised that it was a violation of the Permanent Settlement. The Government partly yielded and decided to restrict the cess only to the amount required for the roads. Thus the road-cess, as it was called in Bengal, could not be diverted to purposes of primary education as was done in other provinces.

The system introduced in 1871 was no doubt a distinct improvement upon the existing situation. Much was done to improve the communications, sanitation and education of the localities. But there were several grave defects. The Committees were entirely dominated by officialdom, and popular wishes and feelings had no scope in them. Besides, the area served by them was too large, and the private members had very inadequate knowledge of, and consequently little interest in, the local affairs of a large part of the area.

Lord Ripon made an earnest endeavour to remove these defects and to introduce a real element of local self-government somewhat on the lines of English law. His ideas were laid down in the shape of a Government Resolution in May, 1882. The two essential features of this new plan were:

1. The sub-division, not the district, should be the maximum area served by one Committee or local board, with primary boards, under it, serving very small areas, so that each member of it might possess knowledge of, and interest in, its affairs.

2. The local boards should consist of a large majority of elected non-official members, and be presided over by a non-official Chairman.

Here was a real beginning of self-government. But unfortunately the principles underlying this resolution were not fully given effect in many of the provinces. The legislation that followed differed in different provinces. In the Central Provinces the Chairman became non-official and the principle of election was adopted to a certain extent. In other provinces the old system was continued, and only a small number of members were elected. Everywhere the district continued to be the area of the local boards. In Bengal alone an attempt was made to carry Lord Ripon's principles to the fullest extent, but the Bill introduced for the purpose was vetoed by the Secretary of State. Under the Act finally passed in 1885 the District
Boards continued to function under the chairmanship of the District Magistrates.

The ground for the great departure from the principles of the Resolution of May, 1882, was everywhere the demand for efficiency. To a certain extent this was perhaps achieved. But the value of these new principles lay in a quite different direction. Their author, Lord Ripon, stated it quite clearly in the following words:

"It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that the measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as a measure of political and popular education.

The liberal views of Ripon were not, unfortunately, shared by either the local governments or the authorities in England. The high hopes raised in the minds of the Indians were thus dashed to the ground. But the Congress took up this question and pressed it upon the Government year after year.

Municipalities

Up to the time of Lord Ripon the local administration of towns, like that of rural areas, was not conducted on any uniform or definite principle. In big towns there was a municipal Committee nominated by the Government with the District Magistrate as Chairman. Their power of taxation for meeting local needs was based in some cases on legislative enactments, but in others on local usage and customs. In most cases the Government had complete control over the administration, though in a few areas the limit of Government interference was prescribed by law.

Lord Ripon's Resolution of May, 1882, aimed at the introduction of principles of self-government in municipal administration as in the case of rural Boards. He proposed that while the ultimate supervision, control, and superintendence should be left in the hands of the Government, the actual municipal administration should be entrusted to the elected representatives of the people. Under a non-official Chairman, the people should be trained to govern themselves through their own representatives. He further proposed that the police charges should be met by the Government, and the municipalities should busy themselves with education, sanitation, provision of light, roads and drinking water and such other objects of public utility.

Lord Ripon's ideals were realised to a large extent. Acts were passed for the various provinces, providing for the compulsory election of a large proportion—varying from one-half to three-quarters—of municipal Commissioners. The Acts also provided for
the election of a Chairman. This was, however, only a permissive clause, and the power was not actually granted in many cases. Even where such power was granted, the district officer was often elected as the Chairman. In course of time, however, non-official Chairmen became the rule rather than the exception.

Thus Lord Ripon made a real beginning in the direction of local self-government in modern India. His ideas were not given full effect, but he sowed the seeds which ultimately germinated in a real development of local self-government.

Presidency Towns

The development of self-government in the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras requires separate treatment. Being the earliest seats of British authority in India, the history of their local government goes back to a much earlier period, and shows an evolution of a very different character from that of the other towns of British India.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, a Parliamentary Statute authorised the Governor-General to appoint justices of the peace in these towns. They provided for sanitation and the police, and were empowered to levy rates on owners and occupiers of houses for meeting the necessary expenditure.

The arrangement was inadequate and unsatisfactory, and two Acts were passed in 1856 for the conservancy and improvement of the towns and for the better assessment and collection of rates. Three Commissioners were appointed in each town, and in the Act for Calcutta special provisions were made for gas-lighting and the construction of sewers.

From this time the development in the three towns followed different lines, and we may treat them separately.

Calcutta

The new arrangement proving ineffective, the justices of the peace were again vested with general control, but the executive power was left in the hands of a Chairman appointed by the Government. The Chairman was also made the Commissioner of Police. Under such a strong executive authority great improvements were made, and Sir Stewart Hogg laid the foundations of a proper system of drainage and water supply.

The constitution, however, did not work well. The relation between the executive and the large number of justices of the
peace was not clearly defined, and there was constant conflict between the two. By an Act of 1876 the Corporation of Calcutta was reconstituted. It consisted of seventy-two members, two-thirds of whom were elected by rate-payers. In 1882 the number of elected members was raised to fifty, and the jurisdiction of the Municipality was extended by the addition of suburban areas.

The progressive development of the principles of self-government in the administration of the city of Calcutta was suddenly checked by Lord Curzon. By an Act passed in 1899 the number of members directly elected by the rate-payers was reduced to half the total strength, and the Chairman, nominated by the Government, was vested with large independent powers. The Corporation could only fix the rate of assessment and lay down the general policy. In the details of administration the only check upon the Chairman was a General Committee of twelve, of whom four were appointed by the elected Commissioners, four by the other Commissioners, and four by the Government.

The grounds for thus curtailing the powers of the people were that there was too much talk and too little action in the Corporation, and that the necessary driving power could only be secured by a strong independent executive undeterred by the control of the Corporation or its special Committees.

Needless to add, the measure evoked the strongest protest from the public. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea uttered one of his most eloquent denunciations when this measure was discussed in the Bengal Legislative Council. On the last day of the debate, 27th September, while opposing the bill for the last time, he remarked that the date "will be remembered by future generations of Bengalees as that which marks the extinction of local self-government" in the city of Calcutta.

As a protest against the measure, twenty-eight members of the Corporation, including Surendranath, tendered their resignation. By a curious irony of fate, it was left to Surendranath, as a Minister, to undo the great wrong—twenty-four years later.

Bombay

In Bombay, as in Calcutta, the old system was revived in 1865. Five hundred justices of the peace formed a corporate body for the administration of the town, with a highly-paid official, called Commissioner, as Chairman, and an independent Controller of Accounts. The system did not work well. The Controller of
Accounts scarcely exercised any effective control, while the Corporation was too unwieldy for the purpose of check or guidance.

The constitution was changed in 1872. The strength of the Corporation was reduced to sixty-four members, of whom half were elected by the rate-payers, one-fourth were elected by the resident justices, and the remaining one-fourth were nominated by the Government. The executive authority was vested, as before, in the Commissioner, but the post of the Controller of Accounts was abolished. Instead, provision was made for the weekly audit of accounts by a standing Committee of the Corporation, and monthly audit by paid professional auditors.

This constitution worked fairly well and continued with slight changes till the end of the nineteenth century.

*Madras*

In Madras the system of government by three Commissioners continued till 1867. By an Act passed in that year, the town was divided into eight wards, and four councillors were appointed for each by the Government.

In 1878 half the members of the Corporation were elected by the rate-payers, but the President and two Vice-Presidents were all salaried officials appointed by the Government. In 1884 the principle of election was further extended, and twenty-four out of thirty-two members of the Corporation were elected by the rate-payers.

During Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty reaction followed, and the Corporation of Madras was reconstituted on the lines of the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899.

Thus after various trials a system of government was evolved for the three Presidency towns which had the same essential features, viz., a large Corporation with a proportion of elected members, a strong independent executive authority vested in a Government nominee, with adequate safeguards for checking of accounts and statutory provision for the performance of essential duties, such as sanitation, water-supply, etc. The Government had the right to intervene in case of gross negligence or mismanagement.

3. Financial Administration

Important changes were introduced in the financial system of India by the Act of 1858. The Secretary of State in Council had now the supreme control of financial administration, and, subject to some discretionary powers vested in the Government of India,
no expenditure of Indian revenues could be incurred without the sanction of the India Council. Subject to this control, the Government of India exercised supreme authority over financial administration in India, the Provincial Governments having no power to spend without the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council. The system of budget was introduced in 1860, and the appropriation of revenues under different items, as provided therein, had to be implicitly followed by the local authorities.

This highly centralised system did not work well. The Provincial Governments having no discretion in matters of expenditure, had little incentive to increase of income or economy in expenditure. The Government of India did not possess the requisite knowledge to make an equitable distribution of the available resources over such a vast country. It was inevitable, under these circumstances, that there should be constant friction between the local and central Governments. Strachey has very justly observed that under the system “the distribution of the public income degenerated into something like a scramble in which the most violent had the advantage with little attention to reason”.

These glaring defects led to some amount of decentralisation between 1871 and 1877. Under the new scheme centralised subjects like Post Office and Railways were wholly taken over by the Central Government. The receipts from these departments, together with some other sources of revenue, as salt, opium, and customs, were retained wholly by the Central Government. The revenues from other sources, e.g. land-revenue, excise, stamps, forests and registration, were divided between the Provincial and Central Governments, the share of each being determined according to the needs of particular provinces. This settlement of respective shares was subject to periodical review and readjustment. Under this system the Provincial Governments had to manage their expenses from the revenues assigned to them. They had thus not only more freedom and latitude in spending the revenues they collected, but also a direct interest in increasing the revenues and economising in their expenses.

Of the various heads of revenue referred to above, the land-revenue in different parts of British India and the income derived from the Government monopoly of salt and opium have already been dealt with. The stamp-revenue was really a direct tax on judicial proceedings and commercial transactions; people filing suits in law-courts or entering into business transactions had to affix stamps of specified values on the documents in order to make them legally valid.
INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION, 1838-1905

The revenue under the head of customs was derived from an ad valorem duty on various articles exported from or imported into India. The rate of this duty varied from time to time. The most important was the import duty on cotton goods which yielded an income equivalent to nearly two-thirds of the total income from imports. But as soon as cotton mills were established in India, this duty adversely affected the import of cotton goods manufactured in England. The English manufacturers brought pressure upon the Home Government, and the Government of India was persuaded to adopt the policy of Free Trade then current in England. Consequently, in 1882 all the import duties were abolished, save on such commodities as wine and salt on which internal taxes were levied.

But it proved exceedingly difficult to compensate for the loss of customs duty from other sources. The heavy fall in the price of silver, which formed the standard of currency in India, the military expenditure caused by wars in Burma and the threatening attitude of the Russians in the north-west, and the provisions of the Famine Insurance Fund—all imposed heavy strains upon Indian finances. In order to balance the Budget, the Government of India was forced, in 1894, to reimpose a general import duty at the rate of 5 per cent ad valorem. In order to safeguard the interests of English manufacturers of cotton goods, an equivalent excise duty was levied on the cotton goods manufactured in Indian mills.

The abolition of the import duties on cotton goods, and still more, the levy of duty on cotton goods manufactured in India when the import duty was reimposed, were so obviously unjust to Indian interests that even the Council of the Viceroy protested against the measures. In both instances the British Cabinet forced their views upon the unwilling Government of India. In the latter case Sir Henry Fowler, the Secretary of State, enunciated the general policy as follows:

"When once a certain line of policy has been adopted under the direction of the (British) Cabinet, it becomes the clear duty of every member of the Government of India to consider not what that policy ought to be, but how effect may best be given to the policy that has been decided on."

In addition to the revenues mentioned above, the income-tax proved to be a valuable source of receipts. It was introduced in 1860 as a temporary measure, to cope with the financial stresses caused by the Mutiny. At first it was in the form of a general levy of 4 per cent on all incomes of Rs. 500, or above, and 2 per cent on all incomes between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500. It was
abolished in 1865 but revived again two years later, in the modified shape of a licence tax on trades and professions. A general income-tax was reimposed in 1869, but again dropped. Ultimately the financial difficulties again forced the Government in 1886 to impose a tax on all incomes other than those derived from agriculture. The tax has since been continued, though the rates have varied from time to time.

A few words may be said regarding the vexed problem of currency. During the early period of Mughal rule, gold mohurs and silver rupees were both current in Northern India, though gold was the principal currency in Southern India. The rise of numerous independent kingdoms on the break-up of the Mughul Empire led to the introduction of a multiplicity of coins, as the issue of coins was regarded as one of the insignia of sovereignty. It has been estimated that as many as 994 different types of coins, of both gold and silver, were current in India.

Its disadvantages for purposes of trade and commerce were obvious, and the East India Company tried to solve the difficulty by issuing both gold and silver coins with a definite legal ratio, weight, and fineness. But owing to fluctuations in the value of the two metals it proved exceedingly difficult to maintain the legal ratio between the two types of coins. Gradually the gold mohur, being undervalued, disappeared. In 1818 the silver rupee of 180 grains (1/12th fine) was substituted for the gold pagoda of Madras, and in 1835 the rupee of the present form and size, but having the same weight and fineness as that of 1818, was made the sole legal tender throughout the British territories in India. The Government mints coined this rupee freely for the public, the value of the bullion being identical with its legal value.

In 1841 an attempt was made to reintroduce gold coins, and gold mohurs were accepted for public payments at the rate of fifteen rupees to a mohur. But the price of gold fell owing to discoveries of the metal in Australia and California in 1848-1849, and Lord Dalhousie definitely abandoned the experiment of 1841. Gold was thus given up as the medium of exchange. But this led to scarcity of money, and trade suffered. Several proposals were made to introduce a gold currency in India, instead of silver, but no effect was given to them.

From 1874 the problem became acute. The adoption of a gold standard by most European countries, and an increase in the output of silver, depreciated the value of silver in terms of gold. Thus while a rupee was equivalent to two shillings of English money in 1871, its value fell to 1s. 2d. in 1892. In view of the extensive trade
of India with foreign countries which had a gold currency, the situation appeared desperate. In 1878 the Government of India recommended to the Secretary of State the introduction of a gold currency in India, but the latter rejected the proposal. In 1883 the Government introduced the following important changes in its currency on the recommendations of the Herschell Committee:

1. Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of gold and silver for the public.
2. Gold was received in mints in exchange for rupees at the ratio of 1s. 4d. to the rupee.
3. Sovereigns were received in payment of public dues at the rate of Rs. 15/- for a sovereign.
4. Issue of currency notes in exchange for gold coins or bullion at the same rate.

The result of these measures was that although gold was not yet made legal tender it became the standard of value and the exchange value of rupees ceased to coincide with the actual price of silver.

The new measures were regarded as first steps towards the ultimate adoption of a gold currency. Another Committee was appointed in 1898 under Sir Henry Fowler. According to its recommendations, adopted in 1899, both sovereigns and rupees were made unlimited legal tender at the rate of 1s. 4d. to the rupee, and the mints were opened only to the free coinage of gold. A Gold Standard Reserve was formed in 1900 out of the profits accruing from the coinage of rupees for the Government, which was resumed.

But even this did not solve the problem of Indian currency. Other changes were made in the twentieth century, and even to-day it constitutes one of the most disputed questions in Indian economics.

4. Higher Standard of Government

The transfer of the government of India from the Company to the Crown effected, as we have seen, a closer association between the Governments of India and England. In course of time, both in theory as well as in practice, the Indian Government came to be treated almost as a subordinate branch of the British Government. The Secretary of State, Sir Henry Fowler, stated in unequivocal language that the Government of India must always abide by the decision of the British Cabinet, even when it was regarded by them as injurious to the interests of India. Another Secretary of
State made a similar observation as regards foreign policy. It was inevitable that in formulating policies and lines of action, the British Cabinet should be mostly guided by the paramount consideration of the interests of Britain, and, not unfrequently, Indian interests would be sacrificed for Imperial considerations. This was particularly noticeable in matters affecting trade, manufacture, currency and foreign policy, and in a less degree in other branches of administration.

But against these undoubted evils we must set off the equally undoubted advantages that accrued to India from the same causes. The close and intimate association with the British Government almost revolutionised the Government of India by introducing those higher administrative ideals and the "modern" spirit which distinguished Europe from Asia in the nineteenth century. The British Government naturally tried to impose the same high standard of administrative efficiency in India which had been evolved in their own country, and the enlightened liberal humanistic spirit of the West did not fail to make its influence felt in India. The scientific inventions of the West were also rapidly utilised in India to increase her material resources. In short, England served as the medium through which the modern progressive spirit of Europe remodelled the age-long inert medieval form of government in India. This process had no doubt begun even before the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, but there were no appreciable effects and notable transformations until the latter part of the nineteenth century. The new spirit can best be understood with reference to some typical measures of the Government to which we now turn.

We may first consider the measures dictated by a humanitarian spirit.

A. Restriction of Intoxicating Drugs

The ideals of temperance were sedulously propagated both in England and India, and there was a large and insistent demand by a section of the English public for the complete abolition of the use of opium, hemp, and alcohol in India. The Government of India derived large profits from the monopoly of the opium trade in China and the Straits, and the excise duty on opium, alcohol, and hemp in India. Nevertheless it was forced to yield to public opinion to a certain extent. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1894 to examine the matter. An agreement was concluded with China in 1907 for the gradual decrease and ultimate extinction of the opium trade. As regards home consumption of the three intoxicating
drugs, the Government refused to accept the scheme of total abolition, but adopted a definite policy of restricting and controlling their use by imposing a high excise duty and licensing the retail trade in the commodities. It openly declared that "its settled policy was to minimise temptation for the abstainer and to discourage excess among others; and that no considerations of revenue could be allowed to hamper this policy".

B. Factory Legislation

Students of English history are aware of the continued agitation in England for reducing the hours of work of factory workers and providing them with other amenities of life. By a series of laws the British Government forced the mill-owners to improve the lot of their workers even at a considerable pecuniary loss. In the same spirit the Government of India also passed several Acts to improve the lot of factory-workers in India. By the Acts passed in 1881 and 1891 the hours of work for women and children were limited, and the local governments were authorised to make rules for the supply of good drinking water and the maintenance of proper ventilation and cleanliness in the factories.

C. Famine Relief

Perhaps the most important achievement of Indian administration during the period under review was the formation of a definite system of famine relief. In an agricultural country like India, famine must have proved a great scourge to its people from times immemorial. The statement of Megasthenes that famine never visits India can hardly be regarded as accurate, but perhaps the Greek writer was misled by the fact that the rigours of famine were not so severely felt over a wide region, and were mostly confined to local areas. With the growth of population and the diminution of industrial activity, the periodical famines assumed more threatening proportions. We have no accurate information as to the devastation caused by these up to the commencement of the British period. A terrible famine broke out in Bengal in 1770 and nearly one-third of the population fell victims to it. During the next century famines occurred in different parts of India. The year 1866-1867 witnessed a severe famine which took a heavy toll of human lives in Orissa, and spread all along the eastern coast from Calcutta to Madras. During the next ten years there were local famines in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Rajputāna in 1868-1869, and in Northern Bihār in 1873.
Then followed another terrible famine in 1876 which lasted for nearly two years, and extended over a wide area in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Bombay, and the United Provinces. On all these occasions various measures were adopted by the Government to afford relief to the people, but they were not very effective. It was observed that in the absence of definite principles and well-thought-out methods of work, the relief afforded in various areas was neither uniform nor even commensurate with the expenditure involved. In Bombay, for example, more human lives were saved than in Madras at less than half the cost. The Governor-General, Lord Lytton, rightly held that it was necessary to formulate general principles of famine relief, and appointed a strong Commission under General Sir Richard Strachey for this purpose. The Commission reported in 1880, and its recommendations formed the basis of the Famine Code promulgated in 1883 by the Government of India, and of the various provincial famine codes prepared in following years.

The Commission started with the fundamental principle that it is the duty of the State to offer relief to the needy in times of famine. The relief was to be administered in the shape of providing work for able-bodied men and distributing food or money to the aged and infirm. For the first, schemes of relief-work should be prepared in advance, so that actual operations may begin immediately after famine breaks out. These works should be of permanent utility, and on an extensive scale, so as to give employment to a large number of persons. Local works, such as excavation of ponds or raising embankments, etc., in villages might also be undertaken for the employment of persons who were not fit to be sent out on larger works. It was specially emphasised that the people should be provided with work before their physical efficiency had deteriorated through starvation.

Further relief was to be provided by suspension and remission of land-revenue and rents, and offer of loans for purchase of seed-grain and bullocks.

The Commission held that in order to prevent waste and extravagance in affording relief, a large share of the cost involved should be borne by local authorities, and the Central Government would only supplement the provincial funds after carefully examining the resources and abilities of the province. In order further to bring home to the people concerned a sense of responsibility, the Commission recommended that relief should be administered through the representatives of the tax-payers who were to provide the major part of the funds.
INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION, 1858-1905

In order to meet the heavy unforeseen expenditure caused by famine, it was decided to set apart fifteen millions of rupees every year in order to constitute the "Famine Relief and Insurance Fund".

The principles of the Famine Code were put into effective operation during the minor famines that occurred in subsequent years, and the terrible famines of 1896-1897 and 1899-1900. The famine of 1896-1897 affected the United Provinces, Bihār, the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay, the area under acute distress measuring about 125,000 square miles with a population of thirty-four millions. During 1899-1900 Bombay, the Central Provinces, the Punjab, Rājputāna, Barodā and the Central Indian principalities suffered in varying degrees. Relief measures were undertaken on an extensive scale and Lord Curzon estimated "that one-fourth of the entire population of India had come, to a greater or less degree, within the radius of relief operations".

After the famine of 1896-1897, a Commission was appointed under Sir James Lyall. It fully approved of the principles adopted in 1880, suggesting merely some alterations in the detailed working of the scheme.

Another Commission was appointed in 1900 under Sir Antony MacDonnell. It also endorsed the principles of 1880, but laid stress on the benefits occurring from early suspension of land-revenue and rents, and early distribution of advances for purchase of seed-grain and cattle. It recommended the appointment of a Famine Commissioner in a province where relief operations were likely to be adopted on an extensive scale. Among various other recommendations of the Commission, the following may be regarded as the more important:

(a) In particular circumstances preference should be given to local works in a village over large public works which had hitherto been the main feature of relief operations.
(b) Non-official assistance should be utilised on a larger scale in the matter of distributing relief.
(c) Establishment of agricultural banks and introduction of improved methods of agriculture.
(d) Wide extension of irrigation work.

These recommendations were accepted and acted upon by the Government. Thus a great step was taken to prevent and combat famine in India. It may be added that the extension of railways also served as an important means of famine relief by facilitating
the transport of grains to the affected province, and their distribution to the various areas where they were badly needed.

We may next turn to activities of the Government directed towards improving the material resources of the country with the aid of scientific discoveries.

D. Railways

The most important among these is the extension of the railway system. Since the very modest beginning made by Dalhousie—36,000 miles of railway have been constructed at a total cost of 350 millions sterling. To begin with, these enterprises were let to private efforts. Private Companies were encouraged to undertake them on a guarantee given by the Government of India that if their net profits fell below 5 per cent, the balance should be paid by the Government. In return for this the Government secured certain privileges. If the profits of the Company exceeded the guaranteed 5 per cent, the Government would be entitled to half the excess profits. Further, the Government could exercise control over the management of the railway lines, and purchase them at a fixed rate at the end of a stipulated period, usually twenty-five years.

At the beginning, and indeed up to the end of the nineteenth century, the Government suffered heavy losses. But on the expiry of the early contracts, more favourable conditions were imposed on Companies, and in some cases the Government themselves constructed and managed the railway lines. Gradually the railways became a source of revenue. The importance of the railway should not, however, be judged merely by the profits it earned. Its importance lay in the facility of communications and the impetus given to trade and industry. By bringing the distant places of this vast country within easy reach, it has served to foster a spirit of unity and nationality among the Indians.

E. Forests

The forests of India have always proved a valuable source of revenue. But the development of a science of forestry, especially in Germany and France, showed the great influence which forests on a large scale exercise over climate, and laid down the lines on which a forest should be maintained and developed to yield the maximum benefit to the country. The appointment, in 1864, of a German expert as Inspector-General of Forests in India ushered in the new scientific method in the management of
Indian forests. An Act was passed in 1865 for the protection and efficient management of the Government forests, and it was followed by several other Acts in later years. In 1878 a training school was established at Dehra Dun. The Forest Department now controls an area of 500,000 square miles, and India enjoys the benefit of a scientific system of forestry.

F. Irrigation

In an agricultural country like India, irrigation has always formed an important branch of administration. Remarkable irrigation projects were undertaken by both Hindu and Muslim rulers, and the early British rulers also followed in their footsteps. But a new policy was inaugurated by Lord Lawrence in 1866. He financed by public loans extensive irrigation schemes. The results of this new policy were the Sirhind Canal (1882), the Lower Ganges Canal (1878) and Agra Canal (1874). The first had a total length of 3,700 miles, including the feeder canals.

The "Colony canals" of the Punjab formed a class by themselves. They were intended to reclaim vast areas of waste land which belonged to the Government. The Lower Chenab Canal, constructed between 1890 and 1899, has a total length of 2,700 miles, and irrigates an area of more than two million acres between the Chenab and Ravi Rivers. This region, originally lying waste with no population, supported 500,000 in 1901. The canal yields an annual revenue amounting to 40 per cent of the capital outlay.

Irrigation now forms an important branch of every provincial administration, and various projects, both large and small, are being initiated with a view to irrigating the cultivated area and extending cultivation over waste lands.

5. Military Administration

Up to the Mutiny, and even for a long time after that, the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras maintained separate armies under separate Commanders. Although the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal army became nominally the head of the military forces of India, the Governments of Bombay and Madras managed their own forces, and mainly recruited them locally. By an Act which was passed in 1893 and came into operation in 1895, the whole Army in India was placed under the single control of the Commander-in-Chief, and divided into four territorial units — those of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the Punjab — each under
a Lieutenant-General. In 1904 Lord Kitchener made a new organisation on different principles. The Indian military forces were organised into three army commands and nine divisions. The advantages of this system lay in the fact that it co-ordinated the organisation in time of peace with what would be necessary in time of war. In other words, the same generals would be in charge of the same units of the army both in peace and war.

Each Presidency army originally consisted of three elements, viz. (1) Indian troops, mostly locally recruited, (2) European units belonging to the Company and (3) Royal regiments. After 1858 the last two had of course to be amalgamated, but this provoked great discontent amongst the Company's troops and about 10,000 men claimed their discharge. This is known as the "White Mutiny". The discontent was, however, allayed by the offer of a bounty and other concessions. As a result of the Sepoy Mutiny several changes were introduced in the organisation of the army. First, the proportion of European troops was raised and that of Indian troops was reduced. In 1863 there were 65,000 European troops as against 140,000 Indians, and practically the same rate was maintained till the outbreak of the First World War. The artillery was exclusively controlled by European troops.

Secondly, there was a great change in the composition of Indian troops, especially those of Northern India. Formerly these Sepoys were recruited from the same region and belonged almost exclusively to the higher castes. The Mutiny showed the defects of this system. Henceforth recruitment was made on a mixed basis so that every company should include men of all races, castes and creeds.

A third change made itself felt only very gradually. It was the introduction of larger elements of fighting races like the Gurkhas, Pathans, and Sikhs. In course of time they replaced to a large extent the Hindustani forces of the Bengal army and the locally recruited Sepoys in Bombay and Madras. The most drastic changes were in the Madras army, which was gradually filled by Sikhs, Gurkhas and other Northerners, and ultimately the recruitment of Telugus ceased altogether.

From 1861 an army officer was appointed as a Military Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, through whom the Government supervised the administration of the Indian army. The position was rendered very anomalous by the fact that the Commander-in-Chief was also an extraordinary member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Although he was necessarily superior in rank to the Military Member, any proposal
presented by him had to be submitted to the latter for review and criticism. There might have been some justification for this curious anomaly when each Presidency maintained a separate army, but when all the Indian forces were brought under the single control of the Commander-in-Chief in 1895, the anomaly called for redress. Lord Kitchener took up this question in 1904 and proposed to remove the anomaly by making the Commander-in-Chief the sole adviser of the Government on military matters. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, strongly opposed this system, as he feared that it would remove to a large extent the ultimate control of the civil over the military authorities, and thereby affect the fundamental principles of the constitution. The Secretary of State, however, agreed with Lord Kitchener, and his decision was conveyed in such terms that Lord Curzon tendered his resignation in 1905. After 1907 the Commander-in-Chief became the only responsible authority, under the Government of India, for military administration.

6. Civil Administration

A very important change, with far-reaching consequences, took place in civil administration in 1905. Until then Bengal, Behar and Orissa had formed one province ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor. Lord Curzon thought that this territory, comprising 180,000 square miles, was too large a unit for efficient administration and decided to rearrange the provincial boundaries. It was ultimately decided to separate the divisions of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi from the province. These were joined to Assam, which was then under a Chief Commissioner, and a new province was constituted, called East Bengal and Assam, with Dacca as its capital. The proposal was carried into effect in 1905 in spite of strong protests from the public, and this Partition of Bengal caused a tremendous political agitation which stirred national feeling in India to its very depths, as will be described in a later chapter.
CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF NEW INDIA, 1858-1905

1. Education

The Despatch of 1854 continued to be the basis of educational policy for India even after it was transferred to the Crown, and was confirmed by the Secretary of State in 1859. The importance of primary education was particularly emphasised and the Secretary of State suggested the levy of a special rate on land to provide adequate means for its promotion. The result was a rapid growth in the number of schools and colleges. Some of these were entirely financed by the Government, while others were managed by private bodies with or without a Government grant-in-aid.

In 1882 a Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir William Hunter to review the progress of education under the new policy, and its report was approved by the Government in 1884. The policy of 1854 was fully endorsed, but emphasis was laid upon the fact that primary education had not made sufficient progress. The report drew attention to the special and urgent need for the extension and improvement of the elementary education of the masses, and recommended that the primary schools should be managed by the newly established Municipal and District Boards under the supervision and control of the Government.

The Committee observed that the system of grant-in-aid had proved very satisfactory and recommended the "progressive devolution of primary, secondary and collegiate education upon private enterprise and continuous withdrawal of Government from competition therewith". The result was a steady increase in the number of schools and colleges.

2. Social and Religious Reform

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a strong wave of reforming activities in religion and society, the path of which had been paved by Rājā Rāmmohan Roy. There was a general recognition of the existing evils and abuses in society and religion. But, as usual, the reforming zeal followed diverse
channels. Some were lured by the Western ideas to follow an extreme radical policy, and this naturally provoked a reaction which sought to strengthen the forces of orthodoxy. Between these two extremes were moderate reformers, who wanted to proceed forward more cautiously along the line of least resistance.

We are even now too close to the period to appraise correctly the value of the different forces that were at work and of the consequences that flowed from them. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves merely to a review of the chief movements. It would be convenient to study them under two heads. First, the movements resulting in the establishment of a group or order outside the pale of orthodox Hindu society, and secondly general changes in the belief, customs and practices of the Hindus as a whole.

 AVR. The Brāhma Samāj

Under the first head, the Brāhma Samāj demands our chief attention as it is the most striking product of a strong reform movement brought about by the impact of new ideas and beliefs that agitated men's minds early in the nineteenth century.

Reference has already been made to a theistic organisation founded by Rājā Rāmmohan Roy in 1828. It was called Brāhma Sabha and meant to be an assembly of all who believed in the unity of God and discarded the worship of images. A house was built and handed over to a body of Trustees. The Trust Deed which the Rājā executed on 8th January, 1830, directed that the building was to be used "as and for a place of public meeting of all sorts of descriptions of people, without distinction", for the worship of the one Great God, but that no image should be admitted or rituals permitted therein.

This arrangement for the non-sectarian worship of the one True God is looked upon nowadays as the foundation of the Brāhma Samāj. It must be remembered, however, that Rāmmohan Roy never regarded himself as anything but a Hindu, and stoutly denied, up to the last day of his life, the allegation that he was founding a different sect. The detailed programme of his weekly service in what was then called Brāhma Sabha included the recitation of the Vedas by orthodox Brāhmaṇas and no non-Brāhmaṇa was allowed in the room. The Rājā himself wore the sacred thread of the Brāhmaṇas up to his death.

The departure of Rājā Rāmmohan Roy for England and his subsequent death there led to a steady decline of his organisation till new life was infused into it by Devendranāth Tagore’s father
of Rabindranāth), who formally joined the new movement in 1843. He framed a covenant and introduced a formal ceremony of initiation, thus converting the somewhat loose organisation into a spiritual fraternity. Devendranāth began to propagate the new doctrine through his journal Tattvabodhini Patrikā, and also by the employment of a number of preachers. 1 It must be noted that the mode of initiation into the new faith was based on the Mahānirvāna Tantra, and the Tattvabodhini Patrikā, the official organ, openly declared the Vedas as a divine revelation and the sole foundation of the religious beliefs of the new Church.

But the younger section among the followers of the new movement, led by Akshaykumār Datta, gradually showed a critical attitude towards the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas and Devendranāth sympathized with them. He made a compilation of select passages from the Upanishads inculcating the idea of one God, and framed a new covenant for the Church embodying the principles of natural and universal theism in the place of the old Vedantic covenant (1860).

Encouraged by this success the younger section not only advocated far-reaching social reforms but also wanted to apply the dry test of reason even to the fundamental articles of religious belief. This party gained a notable recruit in Keshab Chandra Sen, who joined the new movement in 1857. Keshab Chandra's fervent devotion, passionate enthusiasm and wonderful eloquence popularised the movement and increased its members. At the same time he carried its rationalistic principles to a still further degree, and founded what may be called the new Brāhmānism. He infused the true spirit of repentance and prayer and introduced an element of strong emotion and devotional fervour into the cause of the new Church. A new missionary zeal characterised the followers of Keshab, some of whom gave up their secular affairs and devoted their whole time to the preaching of the new gospel all over Bengal. Keshab himself visited Bombay and Madras to propagate his views.

The results of these activities were very remarkable. Before the end of 1865 there were fifty-four Samājas (local branches), fifty in Bengal, two in the N.W.P. and one each in the Punjab and Madras.

At first Devendranāth warmly appreciated the services of Keshab Chandra and appointed him the minister of the Church and Secretary of the Samāj in defiance of the wishes of many older members. But the progressive ideas of Keshab and his party soon estranged them from the revered leader. They advocated and openly celebrated inter-caste marriage and widow-remarriage.
and insisted that Brāhmaṇa ministers, wearing sacred threads, should not be allowed to preach from the pulpits. Instead of allowing the Samaj to be drawn away from the old Hindu lines laid down by Rājā Rāmmohan Roy, Devendranāth, by virtue of his position as the sole trustee of the Samaj, dismissed Keshab and his followers from all offices and positions of trust and responsibility. Keshab took up the challenge and started a separate organisation which included most of the local branches. Thus by the year 1865 the Brāhma Samaj was divided into two camps, the conservatives and the progressives. The former included men who believed in one God and discarded the worship of images, but did not want to sever all connection with Hindu society, while the latter consisted of those who regarded popular Hinduism as too narrow and chafed at the use of Sanskrit texts and the performance of social practices which symbolised that religion.

After the great schism, the Adi Brāhma Samaj, the organisation of Devendranāth, quietly followed the pure monotheistic form of Hinduism, setting its face deliberately against social reform or propaganda of any kind. But it soon passed into obscurity. The period of reformation ushered in by Rājā Rāmmohan Roy was over and a revolution was now in progress.

The newly started "Brāhma Samaj of India" had a triumphant career under the guidance of Keshab Chandra Sen. The missionary exertions all over Bengal and even far outside its boundaries led to an increase in the number of local churches. The inclusion of women as members and the adoption of a moderate programme of social reform formed a new feature of the rejuvenated society. It was chiefly due to its efforts that the Government passed the Act III of 1872, which abolished early marriage of girls and polygamy, and sanctioned widow marriages and inter-caste marriages for those who did not profess any recognised faith such as Hinduism and Islam. Another striking feature was the adoption of the Sanākritan in the Vaishnava style for the purpose of propaganda. At first "Jesus was the inspirer and teacher of Keshab and now came Chaitanya. The two streams combined and made a confluence which soon produced novel and striking results". The passion of Bhakti (devotion) seized the members, and in true Vaishnava style many of them prostrated themselves at each other's feet and especially at the feet of Keshab. Reverence for the leader grew apace and he gradually came to be regarded by some as a prophet or a divine incarnation.

This practice of "man-worship" led to a fresh discord in the Brāhma Church. Progressives and rationalists strongly protested
against certain innovations and demanded that a definite constitution should be framed for the management of the churches. See, other points arose to widen the gulf between the two sections. Keshab held moderate views about female education and female emancipation, and he was not prepared to go to the extreme lengths proposed by the more advanced section. In his opinion higher University education would not be suitable for women, and for mingling of men and women, or the total abolition of the Purdah system, was fraught with grave danger to society. The advanced or progressive section was strongly agitated over these important points of difference with the great leader when the marriage of Keshab’s fourteen-year-old daughter with the Hindu Mahārāṇī of Cooch Bihār in March, 1878, led to the second schism in the Brāhma Church.

Those who differed seceded and on 15th May, 1878, formed a different organisation called the "Sādharan Brāhma Samaj". Subsequent events showed the great strength of this party. Keshab-Brāhma Church shared the same fate as that of Devendranāth and passed into comparative obscurity. The spirit of the Brāhma movement has now been focused mainly in the Sādharan Brāhma Samaj to which almost all the provincial Samajas are affiliated.

The new Samaj has consistently followed the path of constitutionalism and upheld an advanced programme of social reform. In respect of the position of women in society it has attained results of far-reaching importance by the removal of the Purdah system, introduction of widow-remarriage; abolition of polygamy and early marriage, and provision of higher education, and it is interesting to note that Hindu society has largely adopted these ideas. In the removal of caste-rigidity it has presented Hindu society with another reform which it is gradually accepting. The fact that legislation has been passed validating widow-remarriage and inter-caste marriages among the Hindus shows the great repercussion of the Brāhma movement upon Hindu society. Many far-reaching changes in Hindu social ideas have been and are still being brought about, steadily and silently, by the indirect influence of the Brāhma Samaj. Interdining among different castes at public and sometimes even social functions, and travel to foreign lands beyond the sea without loss of caste, may be quoted as examples. Curiously enough, the only point where it has failed to influence Hindu society, to any appreciable degree, is its emphasis on monothelism and the abolition of the worship of images, the first and fundamental idea with which the new movement started.
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B. The Prarthana Samaj

As has already been noted above, the Brâhma Samaj movement gradually spread outside Bengal, but nowhere did it take deep root except in Maharâshtra, where it led to the establishment of the Prarthana Samaj. Like the Brâhma Samaj, rational worship of one God and social reform formed its ideals. It has been truly remarked, however, that differences between the emotional character of the Bengalis and the practical shrewd common sense of the Marâthas are clearly reflected in the two institutions which sprang up under similar conditions.

The Brâhma Samaj made its influence felt in Maharâshtra as early as 1849 with the foundation of Paramahansa Sabhâ. But this did not live long or count for much. It was in 1867 that, under the enthusiastic guidance of Kesab Chandra Sen, the Prarthana Samaj came into existence. The difference in name was evidently deliberate, for unlike the followers of Brâhma Samaj in Bengal, the followers of Prarthana Samaj never "looked upon themselves as adherents of a new religion or of a new sect, outside and alongside of the general Hindu body, but simply as a movement within it". They were devoted theists, followers of the great religious tradition of Marâtha saints like Nâmdev, Tukârâm and Râmâdas. But instead of religious speculation they devoted their chief attention to social reform such as interdining and intermarriage among different castes, remarriage of widows and improvement of the lot of women and depressed classes. They established a Foundling Asylum and Orphanage at Pandharpur and founded night schools, a Widows' Home, a Depressed Classes Mission and other useful institutions of this kind. The Prarthana Samaj has been the centre of many activities for social reform in Western India. Its success is chiefly due to Justice Mahâdev Govinda Ranade. As C. F. Andrews observed, "the last and in many ways the most enduring aspect of the new reformation in India has had its rise in the Bombay Presidency and is linked most closely with the name of Justice Ranade". He devoted his whole life to the furtherance of the objects of the Prarthana Samaj. He was one of the founders of the Widow Marriage Association in 1861, and the famous Deccan Education Society owes its origin to his inspiration. His influence is visible in the foundation of the Indian National Congress, and he inaugurated the practice of holding a Social Conference along with the annual meeting of the Congress.

To Justice Ranade we owe the clear elucidation of two important
principles. First he emphasised the truth that "the reformer must attempt to deal with the whole man and not to carry out reform on one side only". "To Ranade religion was as inseparable from social reform as love to man is inseparable from love to God." His ideas of reform were thus very comprehensive. "You cannot, said he, "have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights; nor can you be fit to exercise political rights unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economical system, when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and grovelling you cannot succeed in social, economical and political spheres. This interdependence is not an accident but it is the law of our nature."

The second great principle which Ranade emphasised was that the social organism in India shows a growth which should not be ignored and cannot be forcibly suppressed. "There are those among us," said he, "who think that the work of the reformers is confined only to a brave resolve to break with the past, and do what his own individual reason suggests as proper and fitting. The power of long-formed habits and tendencies is ignored in this view of the matter." Ranade showed a truer grasp of things when he ventured to state: "The true reformer has not to write on a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half-written sentence."

Ranade's great message was a severe but timely warning to the excessive zeal of certain Indian reformers, and has helped a great deal in giving a new orientation to Indian reforms. This brief sketch of Ranade may be concluded with the eulogy of C. F. Andrews: "Ranade comes nearest to Rāja Rāmmohan Roy and Sir Syed Ahmad Khān among the reformers already mentioned in the largeness of his range of vision and the magnanimity of his character; but he was more advanced than either of them in the width of his constructive aim, his grasp of the principles underlying Western civilisation, and his application of them to Indian conditions."

The Brāhma Samāj and the Prārthnā Samāj were largely products of ideas associated with the West, and represent the Indian response to Western rationalism. Far different in character were two other reforming movements which took their inspiration from India's past and derived their basic principles from her ancient scriptures.
The first in order of time is the Ārya Samāj, founded by Śvāmi Dayānanda Saraswatī (1824–1883). He was a good Sanskrit scholar but had no English education. His motto was “Go back to the Vedas”. He wanted to shape society on the model of the Vedas by removing all later outgrowths. He not only disregarded the authority of the later scriptures like the Purāṇas, but had no hesitation in declaring them to be the writings of selfish, ignorant men. His basic standpoint was, therefore, exactly that of Rājā Rāmmohan Roy, and the detailed views of both were, to a great extent, similar. Like the Rājā, Dayānanda believed in one God and decried polytheism and the use of images. He also raised his voice against the restrictions of caste, child marriage and prohibition of sea-voyage; and encouraged female education and remarriage of widows. He also began the Saddhū movement, i.e. conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism—which has since become such an important feature of the Hindu reform movement. The Saddhū movement was undoubtedly meant “to realise the ideal of uniting India nationally, socially and religiously”. Like Rājā Rāmmohan, Dayānanda published his views through printed books, his most famous work being Satyārthī Prakāśī, “which expounded his doctrine and formulated it as a doctrine sui generis”. Unlike Rājā Rāmmohan, however, Dayānanda preached directly to the masses, and did not confine his teachings to an intellectual élite. As a result, his followers rapidly increased in number, and his teachings took deep root, especially in the Punjab and the United Provinces.

Although Dayānanda started from the same basic principle as Rājā Rāmmohan, he lacked the critical spirit of the latter. He claimed that “any scientific theory or principle which is thought to be of modern origin may be proved to be set forth in the Vedas”. On an ultimate analysis his general principle amounts to this, that “the Vedas, as interpreted by Dayānanda, contain all the truth”. The interpretation of Dayānanda, however, differs widely from the traditional Hindu as well as the modern Western exegesis. In spite of his obvious limitations, Dayānanda undoubtedly proved a dynamic force in Hindu society. His appeal to the masses, which was attended with splendid success, was an eye-opener to all reformers, social, religious and political, and the social and educational work done by him and his followers has achieved solid results. His work was continued after his death by his followers, chief among whom were Lālā Hansraj, Pandit Guru Dutt, Lālā Lajpat Rāi, and Śvāmi Śraddhānanda.
The Ārya Samāj has not, however, escaped the rationalism of the present age. Already there is a growing section among it which recognises the value of English education and is inclined to a more liberal programme. Its chief exponent is Lālā Hansraj and its visible symbol the Dayānanda Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore. As a counter-move to this we may point to the famous Gurukul of Hardwar founded in 1902, which seeks to revive the Vedic ideal in modern life.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that Dayānanda, at the beginning of his career, tried to come to terms with the Brāhma Samāj and a Conference was held in Calcutta in 1869 with that end in view. Nothing, however, came of it, and the Ārya Samāj ultimately overwhelmed and absorbed the Brāhma Samāj movement in the Punjab, where, in Lahore, a Brāhma Samāj had already been started in 1863.

**V. The Rāmakrishna Mission**

The synthesis of the two great forces, the ancient or Oriental and the modern or Western, marks the Rāmakrishna Mission, the last great religious and social movement which characterises the nineteenth century. Rāmakrishna Paramahansa (1836–1886), after whom the Mission is named, was a poor priest in a temple near Calcutta. He had scarcely any formal education, Eastern or Western, worthy the name, but led an intense spiritual life in his splendid isolation. He had a deep faith in the inherent truth of all religions and tested his belief by performing religious exercises in accordance with the practice and usages not only of different Hindu sects, but also of Islam and Christianity. His broad catholicity, mysticism, and spiritual fervour attracted a small number of occasional visitors, mostly from Calcutta. He lived and died as a secluded spiritual devotee, unknown except to a comparatively small group of people. To them he expounded his views in short pithy sayings and admirable parables. Some of these were collected and published before his death, and many other works about him and his sayings have been published since then.

The most famous among his disciples, and the one most beloved of the guru, was a young graduate of the Calcutta University named Narendra Nath Dutta, afterwards famous as Śvāmi Vivekānanda (1863–1902). It was he who carried the message of Rāmakrishna all over India. His learning, eloquence, spiritual fervour and wonderful personality gathered round him a band of followers which included both prince and peasant. With their help, and after untold sufferings, he attended in 1893 the famous "Parliament of Religions" at Chicago, and at once made his mark.
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His speeches at that august assembly brought him fame and friends, and from that day the teachings of Rāmakrishna, as interpreted by Śvāmi Vivekānanda, came to be recognised as a world-force. Rāmakrishna missions and monasteries came to be established in different centres in the United States, and after the return of the triumphant hero to his country they spread all over India.

The Rāmakrishna Mission stands for religious and social reform but takes its inspiration from the ancient culture of India. It holds up the pure Vedantic doctrine as its ideal, and aims at the development of the highest spirituality inherent in man, but at the same time it recognises the value and utility of later developments in Hinduism such as the worship of images. Rāmakrishna demonstrated in his own life not only the compatibility of the worship of the goddess Kāli with the highest spiritual life, but even something more than that, viz. that the worship of images may be utilised as an excellent means of developing the highest spiritual fervour in man. But he laid his finger on the real source of abuse in present-day Hinduism, viz. mistaking the external rituals for the essential spirit, the symbol for the real.

Another characteristic feature of the Mission, also practically demonstrated by Rāmakrishna, is a belief in the truth of all religions. "All the different religious views are but different ways leading to the same goal," was the characteristic expression of the Great Master. As different words in different languages denote the same substance, e.g. "water", so Allah, Hari, Christ, Krishna, etc., are but different names under which we worship the same great God. He is both one and many, with and without forms, and may be conceived either as a great universal spirit or through different symbols. This catholic and broad view is in striking contrast to the sectarian views which are dividing the modern world into so many hostile camps and making religion a symbol for hate and discord instead of love and brotherhood.

In addition to these two characteristic features, the success of the Mission in and outside India is due to several other causes. In the first place it has no aggressive proselytising zeal. It has no desire to develop into a separate sect like the Brāhma or the Ārya Samāj and chooses to remain as a purely monastic order, disseminating reforming ideas among the masses without violently uprooting them from their social or religious environments. Secondly, it has put in the forefront of its programme the idea of social service, not as a mere philanthropic work, but as an essential discipline for religious and spiritual life. The Mission has opened many schools and dispensaries, and has always rendered ungrudging
help to the people in times of distress caused by famine or flood or other calamity. In particular, the uplift of the dumb millions of India forms the chief plank of the Mission's platform. In Svāmī Vivekānanda the patriotic and spiritual impulses mingled in a supreme desire to uplift the manhood of India with a view to restoring her to her proper place among the nations of the world. He believed that the present warring world can be saved by spiritual teachings which India alone can impart, but before she can do this she must enjoy the respect of other nations by raising her own status. Thus Svāmī had thus both a national and universal outlook and this explains his popularity in India and America.

In addition, the Hindus of India have special reasons for venerating Svāmī Vivekānanda. For the first time in the modern age he boldly proclaimed before the world the superiority of Hindu culture and civilisation, the greatness of her past and the hope for her future. Instead of the tone of apology and a sense of inferiority which marked the Indian attitude towards European culture and civilisation, a refreshing boldness and consciousness of inherent strength marked the utterances of Svāmī Vivekānanda. This, combined with his patriotic zeal, made him an embodiment of the highest ideals of the renaissance Indian nation. He was, to quote the words of Sir Valentine Chiroli, "the Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilisation and for her new-born claim to nationhood."

The Theosophical Society

The Theosophical Society was founded by the "mysterious" Madame H. P. Blavatsky and Col. H. S. Olcott in the United States in 1875. They came to India in 1879 and in 1886 established their headquarters in Adyar, a suburb of Madras. The real success of the movement in India is, however, due to Mrs. Annie Besant, who joined the Society in 1889 and settled in India in 1893 at the age of forty-six.

The Theosophical Society from the very start allied itself to the Hindu revival movement. Mrs. Besant held that the present problems of India could be solved by the revival and re-introduction of her ancient ideals and institutions. In her autobiography (1893) she writes: "The Indian work is, first of all, the revival, strengthening and uplifting of the ancient religions. This has brought with it a new self-respect, a pride in the past, a belief in the future, and, as an inevitable result, a great wave of patriotic life, the beginning of the rebuilding of a nation."
She started the Central Hindu School in Benares as a chief means of achieving her object. She lavished her resources and energy on this institution, which gradually developed into a College and ultimately into the Hindu University in 1915.

The Theosophical Society, with its many branches all over India, has proved an important factor in social and religious reform especially in South India. But in its attempt to revert to the old, it supports some usages and beliefs which are considered by many to be retrograde in character, and its occult mysticism has alienated many who might have been its followers. Most of its importance in Indian life was due more to the personality of Mrs. Besant than to any inherent strength of the movement.

The general movements described above led to a great upheaval in Hindu society and stimulated the growth of individual and organised efforts for social reform. It is not possible to give a detailed account of them all in this chapter, and we shall therefore refer briefly to some of the more important among them, which might serve as representative types of this kind of activity in modern India, here and in a subsequent chapter. The Deccan Education Society was founded under Ranade’s inspiration in 1884. It started with the idea that the education of the young should be remodelled so as to fit them for the service of the country, a task which the existing system of education had failed to perform. The members of the Society undertook to serve for at least twenty years on a nominal salary (Rs. 75 to start with), and thus it was possible without large endowments or donations to start the famous Fergusson College in Poona, and the Willingdon College at Sangli, with a number of preparatory schools to feed them. The “life-workers of the Society included the famous Gopal Krishna Gokhale” (1866-1915).

The names of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Malabari stand foremost in connection with the uplifting of Indian women. Their hearts were touched by the miseries of women, and they carried on a life-long campaign to better their lot. As a result of unremitting labour and strenuous agitation, Vidyasagar succeeded in inducing the Government to pass a measure legalising the re-marriage of Hindu widows. Similarly Malabari’s efforts led to the Age of Consent Act, 1891.

\[\text{National Awakening—Indian National Congress}\]

The most important phenomenon in New India is the growth of a national consciousness which ultimately found active expression
in the formation of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim
League, and other bodies of the kind. Various factors contributed
to the development of this national awakening, which was based
upon two fundamental principles, viz. the unity of India as a whole
and the right of her people to rule themselves.

As with all great national movements, e.g. the French Revolution,
there was an intellectual background to this political regeneration.
In a previous chapter we have traced the growth of English
education in India. It is a matter of common knowledge that
a tremendous wave of liberalism was passing over English politics
and literature during the nineteenth century. By the study of
English literature and European history educated Indians imbied
the spirit of democracy and national patriotism which England
unequivocally declared to be her political ideals. Further, the
promotion of these sentiments was deliberately encouraged by the
liberal statesmanship which England at first displayed in her
policy towards India and other dominions.

From the very beginning the British Government publicly
declared its liberal policy towards India. The Charter Act of 1813
definitely laid it down that "it is the duty of this country to promote
the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British
dominions in India". This was not only corroborated but even
further elucidated by the Parliamentary Committee of 1833 when
it laid down "the indisputable principle that the interests of the
native subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of
Europeans whenever the two come in competition". Finally came
the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 in which she declared that
"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories
by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other
subjects".

The pronouncement of Queen Victoria acquired a special signif-
cance for Indians in view of the democratic constitution granted
to Canadian subjects during her reign, followed by similar measures
of self-government conceded to other colonies in subsequent times.

All these causes created new aspirations in the minds of educated
Indians. They had great faith in the liberal statesmen of Britain
and their sense of justice and fair play. They thought that as soon
as the Indians could make up a good case and present it well,
nothing would be wanting on the part of British liberals to meet
their reasonable demands.

The first concrete demand was naturally one for a larger admiss-
ion of Indians to the higher ranks of the Civil Service. The Civil
Service has ever been the "steel-frame" of British administration,
and Macaulay did not very much exaggerate the fact when he said in the House of Commons that "even the character of the Governor-General was less important than the character and spirit of the servants by whom the administration of India was carried on". It was obvious to educated Indians that the first step to secure a real and legitimate share in the management of the administration was to get into the higher ranks of the Civil Service in steadily increasing numbers.

A definite pledge was given by the Charter Act of 1833 that no Indian "shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any office or employment under the Company". This was reiterated in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861. In spite of these promises there was plainly visible a growing reluctance on the part of the British Government to admit Indians in large numbers to the Civil Service. The failure to fulfill the pledges so repeatedly given is admitted by British statesmen themselves. "Lord Houghton observed that the declaration which stated that the Government of India would be conducted without reference to differences of race, was magnificent but had hitherto been futile." That the Government did not choose to carry out this policy is admitted by no less an authority than Lord Lytton I, the Governor-General. In a confidential despatch on this subject, he stated that "all means were taken of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear".

It is easy to imagine the feelings of English-educated Indians, who had pinned their faith on the liberalism and the sense of justice of English statesmen. There was profound disappointment and a rude disillusionment, followed by feelings of bitter resentment. Soon incidents occurred which changed the passive discontent into an active agitation.

These incidents were connected with the appointment of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea to the I.C.S. Although he proved successful in the competitive examination, attempts were made to remove his name from the list. Ultimately the name was restored by a writ of Mandamus in the Queen's Bench, and Mr. Banerjea was appointed to the I.C.S., but he was soon dismissed from the Service on grounds which are now regarded as inadequate.

The man who was thus denied an opportunity to serve the British Government was destined to be the leader of the great national movement in India. He took to public life and in 1876 founded the Indian Association of Calcutta, which, to use the language of its founder, "was to be the centre of an All-India
movement" based on "the conception of a united India, derived from the inspiration of Mazzini". It was an organisation of the educated middle class with a view to creating public opinion by direct appeals to the people. Mr. Banerjea's great opportunity came when in 1877 the maximum age-limit for the Civil Service Examination was reduced from twenty-one to nineteen. This created a painful impression throughout India, and was regarded as a deliberate attempt to blate the prospects of Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The Indian Association organised a national protest against the reactionary measure. A big public meeting was held in Calcutta and Mr. Banerjea led a whirlwind campaign, holding similar meetings at Agra, Lahore, Amritsar, Meerut, Allahabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Aligarh and Benares. The nature and object of these meetings is thus described by Mr. Banerjea: "The agitation was the means; the raising of the maximum limit of age for the open competitive examination and the holding of simultaneous examinations were among the ends; but the underlying conception, and the true aim and purpose of the Civil Service Agitation, was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India."

The tour of Mr. Banerjea was a great success. Sir Henry Cotton wrote about it as follows in his book New India: "The idea of any Bengalee influence in the Punjab would have been a conception incredible to Lord Lawrence... yet it is the case that during the past year the tour of a Bengalee lecturer lecturing in English in Upper India, assumed the character of a triumphal procession, and at the present moment the name of Surendranath Banerjea excites as much enthusiasm among the rising generation of Multan as in Dacca."

The results of the national movement organised by the Indian Association with the help of Mr. Banerjea were indeed very great. To use the words of Mr. Banerjea: "For the first time under British rule, India, with its varied races and religions, had been brought upon the same platform for a common and united effort. Thus was it demonstrated, by an object-lesson of impressive significance, that, whatever might be our differences in respect of race and language, or social and religious institutions, the people of India could combine and unite for the attainment of their common political ends."

The Civil Service agitation thus taught important lessons which ultimately found expression in the Indian Congress. It also opened up another line along which progress might be made towards the political regeneration of the country. A memorial on the Civil Service
question was adopted at the Calcutta meeting and endorsed at the other public meetings. It contained a prayer to the House of Commons not to lower the limit of age for the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service and to hold simultaneous examinations in India and England. Instead of adopting the usual course of sending the memorial by post, Mr. Lälmohan Ghosh, a well-known Bengali barrister in Calcutta, was sent to England to present it in person as the representative of the Indian Association. Mr. Ghosh was an eloquent speaker and made a deep impression upon the British audience about the pressing grievance of India. Mr. S. N. Banerjea thus describes his campaign: "A great meeting was held under the Presidency of John Bright. Mr. Ghosh spoke with a power and eloquence that excited the admiration of all and evoked the warmest tribute from the President. The effect of that meeting was instantaneous. Within twenty-four hours of it, there were laid on the table of the House of Commons the Rules creating what was subsequently known as the Statutory Civil Service. . . . Thus the deputation of an Indian to England voicing India's grievance was attended with an unexpected measure of success and the experiment was in future years tried again and again."

The Civil Service agitation was soon followed up by similar agitations against the Aras Act and the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton, which sought to limit the possession of arms and control the Vernacular Press. All three measures were regarded as part of a policy to hamper the growth of a National India, and show the reactionary character of the regime of Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India. History teaches us that "reactionary rulers are often the creators of great public movements". So it proved in India. The agitation against these unpopular measures shaped the political life of India and made it conscious of its strength and potentialities. Soon it ceased to be a mere question of repealing these obnoxious measures. There was a steady development of national aspirations, and a higher ideal dazzled the vision of political India. It was not thought enough that Indians should have their full share of the higher offices. They must eventually bring the entire administration under popular control and therefore make a definite demand for representative institutions.

The new ideal called for an All-India organisation of a permanent character. This was considerably facilitated by the controversy over the Ilbert Bill. The Bill introduced in 1883 by Ilbert, the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, sought to withdraw the
privilege, hitherto enjoyed by European British subjects in the districts, of trial by a judge of their own race. The Anglo-Indian community carried on an agitation against this measure both in India and England. They started a Defence Association with branches all over India, and raised over a lakh and fifty thousand rupees. It provoked a counter-agitation by educated Indians. The Government ultimately withdrew the Bill and substituted for it a more moderate measure which vested the power of trying Europeans in Session Judges and District Magistrates who might be Indians. The success of the anti-Illber Bill agitation "left a rankling sense of humiliation in the mind of educated India", but it also demonstrated the value of combination and organisation. The lesson was not lost upon educated India. As before, Surendranath took the lead and within a year an All-India National Fund was created and the Indian National Conference, with representatives from all parts of India, met in Calcutta (1883).

During the same year a retired civilian, Allan Octavian Hume, addressed an open letter to the graduates of Calcutta University, urging them to organise an association for the mental, moral, social, and political regeneration of the people of India. He enlisted official favour in support of such an organisation. The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, told him "that he found the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the real wishes of the people and that it would be a public benefit if there existed some responsible organisation through which the Government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public opinion".

Mr. Hume, with the support of some prominent Indians, succeeded in giving effect to his plan, and the first Indian National Congress met in Bombay during the Christmas week of 1885 under the Presidency of a Bengali barrister, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. About the same time the second session of the Indian National Conference was held in Calcutta. It appears that the two movements were simultaneous and independent, and the organisers of neither knew about the other until on the eve of their sitting. Both the organisations were conceived on the same lines and adopted the same programme, and it was obviously undesirable that there should be two such associations working independently in two different parts of India. It is a striking testimony to the growth of a feeling of national unity that without any difficulty the Indian National Conference silently merged itself into the Indian National Congress.

The first Indian National Congress consisted only of seventy delegates, for, as noted above, some prominent leaders, including
Sunderanath, could not attend it on account of the simultaneous session of the Indian National Conference. Henceforth the Congress long years met every year, during Christmas week, in some important town of India, the second and third sessions being held respectively in Calcutta and Madras. Everywhere it evoked great enthusiasm among the local public, and attracted gradually increasing numbers of delegates from different parts of India. It admirably fulfilled the object which Hume had formulated in the following words in his opening manifesto—"directly, to enable all earnest labourers in the National cause to become personally known to each other, to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year, and indirectly, this Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament, and, if properly conducted, will in a few years constitute an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is unfit for any form of representative institutions."

Throughout the nineteenth century the Congress chiefly concerned itself with criticism of Government policy and demands for reforms. Its views were formulated in the shape of resolutions which were forwarded to the Government for their consideration.

It drew the attention of the Government to the appalling poverty of the country and asked for proper inquiry and redress. It criticised the Arms Act and various administrative measures, particularly the Excise and Salt tax.

As regards reforms, it laid special emphasis on the following specific measures:

(1) Development of self-government by means of representative councils both in the Central as well as in the Provincial Governments.
(2) Abolition of the India Council.
(3) Spread of education, both general and technical.
(4) Reduction of military expenditure, and military training of Indians.
(5) The separation of Judicial and Executive functions in the administration of criminal justice.
(6) Wider employment of Indians in the higher offices in the Public Service, especially by instituting I.C.S. examinations both in England and India.

In criticising Government policy the Congress always maintained great dignity and moderation. It professed unswerving loyalty to the Throne and cherished an unbounded faith in the
liberalism and sense of justice of British statesmen. Its whole
endeavour was directed towards rousing their consciousness to the
inherent justice of the Indian claims.

In the year 1896 an Industrial Exhibition was held in con-
nection with the Congress to give an impetus to Indian industry.
A Social Conference was also added in order to call public atten-
tion to, and devise means for the removal of, the acknowledged
social evils.

At the very beginning the Government looked upon the Congress
movement with favour, at least without any dislike. Government
officials not only attended the first meeting of the Congress but
even took part in its deliberations. Congress members were invited
to a garden party by the Governor-General (Lord Dufferin) in
Calcutta (1886), and the Governor in Madras (1887).

But the official world soon changed its view. Lord Dufferin,
on the eve of his retirement, expressed his disapproval of the policy
and methods of the Indian National Congress at the St. Andrew's
Dinner in Calcutta and described the educated community as a
"micronoptic minority". The high officials took their cue from
him, and gradually the Government officers kept aloof from the
Congress movement.

The official attitude to the Congress was based on the plea that
the educated community as an infinitesimal minority had no
right or claim to represent the views of India. The Congress
rejoinder to this argument formed the basis on which rested the sole
justification of its claim to a representative character. It was ably
summed up as follows by Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitra in his speech as
Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress held in
Calcutta in 1896:

"The educated community represented the brain and conscience
of the country, and were the legitimate spokesmen of the illiterate
masses, the natural custodians of their interests. To hold other-
wise would be to presuppose that a foreign administrator in the
service of the Government knows more about the wants of the
masses than their educated countrymen. It is true in all ages that
those who think must govern those who toil; and could it be that the
natural order of things was reversed in this unfortunate country?"

It is no wonder that the resolutions of the Congress evoked
but little response from the Government. As Hume declared:
"the National Congress had endeavoured to instruct the Govern-
ment, but the Government had refused to be instructed". Dis-
appointed with the Government attitude, the Congress decided to
bring pressure upon the Government by organising public opinion both in India and England. The method, popularly known as Constitutional Agitation, henceforth became the chief instrument of the Congress. Apart from organisation of meetings in India, a paid agency was established in London in 1888. It arranged lectures in different parts of England and distributed pamphlets to educate public opinion. Its place was soon taken by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress which published a weekly paper called India.

The agitation in England bore fruit. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., attended the fifth session of the Congress in Bombay in 1889, and in consultation with Indian leaders drafted a Bill for the reform and the expansion of the Legislative Councils. This he moved in the House of Commons in 1890. To counteract it the Government introduced a Bill of their own which was passed in 1892. The India Councils Act of 1892 (p. 853) is thus indirectly an achievement of the Congress.

As regards the other proposals of the Congress, little was done by the Government. Year after year the Congress passed nearly the same resolutions but without much effect on the Government. This brought about a feeling of despondency, and gradually a spirit of opposition against the Government gained ground. A section of the Congress even began to lose faith in the efficacy of the Congress programme. They ridiculed the idea of sending humble petitions year after year to the Government, only to be most ceremoniously rejected by them. They believed that reforms would not be secured by talk, but action. The leader of this section was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Maratha Brâhmana of the class to which belonged the famous Peshwâs.

Among the people of different parts of India the Marâthas, who had lost their independence so recently, had special reasons to join a movement for national regeneration. No wonder, therefore, that the Marâtha country proved a congenial soil for fostering the new spirit. Tilak tried to create a strong national feeling among the Indians by an appeal to their historic past. He led the opposition against official interference in social matters. He organised annual festivals in commemoration of Shivâji. Through his paper, Kesari, he preached his new political ideals of self-help and national revival among the masses. The speeches and articles of Tilak are generally held to have been responsible for the growth of a Radical section which soon became a powerful wing of the Congress.

All sections and communities of the Indian population did not at first show an equal enthusiasm for the Congress movement.
Some notable Muslim leaders took part in its annual deliberations and on a few occasions it had a Muslim President. Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that a strong section of the Muslims, from the very beginning, adopted an unsympathetic attitude towards the Congress, though Muslims in general were indifferent, rather than hostile to it. Mr. Sayani, who presided over the Congress in 1896, observed with truth: “It is imagined by some persons that all, or almost all, the Muslims of India are against the Congress movement; this is not true. Indeed by far the largest part do not know what the Congress movement is.”

There were deep-seated causes for this difference. The Muslims did not show the same zeal and fervour for Western education and culture as the Hindu community led by Rāmmohan Roy, Rājārnātha Bose, Haris Mukherji, Telang, Ramade, and others. They still showed a preference for the classical studies to which they had so long been accustomed. Their reaction to the British rule was also different. They still brooded over their erstwhile political dominance over the greater part of India, and felt a sullen resentment against the British. They therefore naturally supported, or felt sympathy for, the revolutionary Wahhābi movement and the Sepoy Mutiny. It is interesting to note that even at an early stage the British sought to take advantage of this position by means of the policy of “Divide and Rule”. “I cannot,” wrote Lord Ellenborough in 1843, “close my eyes to the belief that that race (Muslims) is fundamentally hostile to us, and our true policy is to reconcile the Hindus.” The policy was successfully followed for some time till the growth of national consciousness among the Hindus gradually alienated the British, and made them favourably disposed to the Muslims.

This change in the attitude of the British rulers synchronised with the rise of Sir Syed Ahmad as the leader of the Muslims, and the entirely new turn he gave to their policy and activities. He was deeply impressed by the fact that the Muslims were far behind the Hindus in respect of Western learning, and consequently the Hindus practically monopolised the higher offices of the state. He therefore devoted himself to the promotion of English education among the Muslims, and in 1875 founded a school which soon developed into the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aīgarh. His efforts were crowned with success. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that no single institution has done so much for any community as this college has done for the promotion of higher education and modern culture among the Muslims.

Sir Syed Ahmad was an ardent patriot and nationalist. He supported the Ilbert Bill and the agitation in favour of holding
simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service. He held that the Hindus and Muslims in India formed one nation. “They are,” he said, “two eyes of India. Injure the one and you injure the other. We should try to become one in heart and soul and act in unison: united, we can support each other, if not, the effect of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both.” He further expressed the view that “no nation can acquire honour and respect so long as it does not attain equality with the ruling race and does not participate in the government of its own country”. But in spite of these liberal views Sir Syed was definitely opposed to the Congress movement from the very beginning. He urged the Muslim community to keep aloof from it and denounced its objectives, including the simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service which he had once advocated. In 1886 he set up an Educational Congress as a rival organisation on the ground that the Muslims would not benefit by the discussion of political matters, and education was the only means of ensuring their progress. He also established two other Associations in order to oppose the Congress. The first, the United Indian Patriotic Association, founded in 1888, had both Hindu and Muslim members, but the second, founded in 1893 and known as the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India, confined its membership to Muslims and Englishmen.

There can scarcely be any doubt that the change in Sir Syed Ahmad’s attitude was partly due to the British policy of “Divide and Rule”, now applied against the Hindus. This policy found a great exponent in Mr. Beck, the Principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh from 1883 to 1899. Throughout this long period Mr. Beck worked with unceasing zeal and industry in order to wean Sir Syed Ahmad from the nationalist movement, and to induce the Muslims to keep aloof from the Hindus, and place themselves under the protecting wings of the British Government. But it is not necessary to suppose that Beck’s efforts, though highly successful, were solely responsible for Sir Syed Ahmad’s opposition to the Congress. It is quite likely that he had a sincere conviction that English education was the crying need of the community and it would be unwise to divert its energy to politics. It is also possible that he detected in the Congress demand for popular government something highly injurious to the Muslim cause. After all, the Muslims formed but one-fourth of the population of India, and Sir Syed Ahmad publicly expressed his fears that under a democratic system of government, which formed the ideal of the Congress leaders, “the larger community would fully override the interests of the smaller community”. This sentiment has been
shared by the Muslim leaders ever since, and has largely shaped their views and actions. Sir Syed Ahmad died in 1898, and Mr. Beck in 1899, but their policy survived and formed the background of Muslim politics in subsequent years. Though even then, as later some eminent Muslim leaders occasionally took more catholic views, adopted a nationalist policy, and even became ardent champions of the Congress, they could not carry the whole community with them, and in some notable cases they ultimately fell into line with the old policy. The dread of majority rule, first publicly expressed by Sir Syed, and widely spread by the propaganda of Beck and his successors, inspired, in the successive stages of evolution in Muslim politics, the demands for nomination for a separate electorate with weightage and lastly for Pakistan, as will be related in a subsequent chapter.

4. Trade and Industry

A. Trade

It has been already noted how the foreign trade of India passed into the hands of European nations, notably the English. Although the trading monopoly of the East India Company was abolished in 1813, and gradually all the European nations were placed on an equal footing in respect of trade in India, the British nation virtually possessed the monopoly of Indian trade until the closing years of the nineteenth century. This was due partly to the undoubted maritime supremacy of the British and partly to their political domination in India, while other historical causes operated in the same direction. Only during the last part of the nineteenth century did Germany and Japan begin to encroach upon the close preserve of British trade in India.

The volume of overseas trade began to increase enormously with the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1855–1860 the average annual value of Indian trade was about fifty-two lakhs of rupees. During the five years beginning with 1869, when the Suez Canal was opened, the average annual value of exports and imports amounted to nearly ninety crores of rupees. The average in 1900 exceeded two hundred crores, while in 1928–1929 it exceeded six hundred crores.

The nature of exports and imports also changed. Instead of the finished products of industry, India now exported jute, wheat, cotton, oilseeds, tea, etc., whereas she imported the goods of European manufacture to which reference will be made later.

The large volume of foreign trade presupposes a corresponding extension of inland trade. This was facilitated by the era of peace.
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introduced by British rule, the gradual abolition of the vexatious inland transit duties and the development of the means of transport and communication.

The transit duties were gradually abolished in the provinces between 1836 and 1844, and by 1848 inter-provincial trade was rendered free from them.

The development of communications by means of railways, steamships, canals, telegraphs, and cables, which revolutionised Indian trade, mostly took place after 1858. Up to the Mutiny railways were practically unknown in India, except for a few miles around Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. But the disasters of the Mutiny opened the eyes of the Government to the value of rapid means of communication. By 1871, a general system of railways was completed connecting the different provinces, and the hinterland of each province with its ports. The construction of telegraphs was begun in 1851 and a really effective postal system, with cheap postage rates, was introduced in 1854. The first steamships plied on the Ganges only a few years before the Mutiny. As regards the development of roads and canals, no appreciable work was done till the Public Works Department was organised in 1854–1855 by Lord Dalhousie. Lastly, it was in 1865 that the first telegraphic connection was established between India and Europe.

II. Industry

In a previous chapter we have traced the decline and decay of Indian trade and industry. The advent of new and cheap machine-made goods from the West gradually changed men’s tastes and habits. The old Indian products were almost completely ousted to make room for foreign imports, and a list of imports into India during the latter part of the nineteenth century is an interesting study both from the economic and social points of view. It consisted of articles of luxury such as silks and woollens, leather and leather goods, cabinet ware and furniture, clocks and watches, earthenware and porcelain, glass and glassware, paper, paste-board, stationery, toys and requisites for games, scents, cigarettes, carts and carriages, and more recently bicycles, motor-cycles and motor-cars. To this must be added articles which have almost become a necessity in every household, such as matches, sewing-machines, umbrellas, soap, cheap glass and chinaware, pens and nibs, aluminium and enamelled ironware, torches and kerosene oil. Neither list is exhaustive. But the imported articles indicate the growth of new habits and tastes, which have proved destructive.
to Indian industries, such as the manufacture of fine woos, silk, and cotton goods, bell-metalware, etc., which might otherwise have flourished even now.

Thus slowly but steadily the Indian markets were inundated with foreign manufactured goods and the old home-industries of India came to occupy almost a negligible place in the Indian economy.

Gradually India rose from the stupor in which she was cast by this sudden blow from the West. It was impossible that a highly civilised and intellectual race like the Indians should acquiesce for long in playing the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water in the industrial world. Slowly industries began to be organised on modern lines, and the effect was appreciably marked on the exports and imports of India during the seventies of the last century. Thus the proportion of manufactured exports to total exports of India rose from 8 per cent in 1879 to 16 per cent in 1892 and to 22 per cent in 1907-1908; while the proportion of manufactured imports to total imports fell from 65 per cent in 1879 to 57 per cent in 1892 and to 53 per cent in 1907.

Among the more important organised industries in India, on a large scale, may be mentioned cotton, jute, iron and steel, paper, tanning and leather. But up to the end of the nineteenth century they made very small advance, compared with the total volume of trade in those commodities. Still it was a good beginning and had immense possibilities. It is also to be noted that these big industries were not always managed by Indians, some of them being owned by Europeans.

The nature and extent of this new industrial awakening in India is well illustrated by the history of cotton mills. Apart from isolated instances, such as a mill erected in Calcutta in 1850, the industry was at first centred in Bombay where the first mill was started in 1854. After 1877 several cotton mills were started in cotton-producing areas like Nāgpur, Ahmadābād, Sholāpur, and some other places. The Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1905 gave a fillip to this industry, and since then large numbers of mills have been started, including several in Bengal.

But this nascent industry, like others, had to make its way against enormous odds. It had to fight for a place in the market securely held by the West and had to compete against the long and mature experience and unlimited capital of Western manufacturers. In this unequal contest it could not hope for any support from the Government. Rather, as events showed, it had at first to face its direct hostility. Lancashire manufacturers grew restive...
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at the success of Indian mills, and owing to their pressure the Government of India excluded the manufactured English cotton goods from the usual import duty which acted as a protection to Indian industry. When, on account of financial difficulties, the import duty had to be reimposed, the Lancashire interests had to be placated by the imposition of a countervailing excise duty on cotton manufactures in Bombay (p. 865). To the utter misfortune of India, her industry fell an equal victim to the protectionist policy of England in the eighteenth century and the free-trade policy of the nineteenth century, both the opposing principles operating favourably to British and unfavourably to Indian industry. These difficulties partially explain the very slow growth of Indian industry.
CHAPTER V

POLITICAL RELATIONS, 1906–1937

1. The North-West Frontier

The vexed problem of the North-West Frontier engaged the serious attention of Lord Curzon, who found on his arrival in India in January, 1899, that about 10,000 British troops had been quartered on the farther side of the British frontier. The new Viceroy followed in regard to the tribal tracts a course of policy which has been described as "one of withdrawal and concentration". He ably defended the retention of Chitral and the construction of the road from that town to Peshāwār, but in other respects differed from the policy of the "forward" school. Under his orders large numbers of British troops were gradually withdrawn from the Khyber Pass, the Kurram valley, Wāziristān, and the tribal area generally, but some posts were retained and fortified at Chakdara, Malakand and Dargai. The place of the British troops withdrawn was filled by tribal levies under British officers, or by military police. British forces were, however, concentrated within British lines, and strategic railways were constructed up to Dargai at the base of the Malakand, Jamrud at the entrance to the Khyber Pass, and Thal, at the mouth of the Kurram valley. At the same time Lord Curzon was careful to regulate and limit the importation of arms to tribesmen and also to encourage the important tribes to maintain peace and tranquillity and check crime by granting them allowances at regular intervals.

Another aspect of Lord Curzon's policy was the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 in the teeth of much opposition from the Punjab officials. Formerly the north-west frontier districts had been under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, subject only to the indirect control of the Government of India. The new Frontier Province, extending over an area of 40,000 square miles, included the political agencies of the Malakand, the Kurram, the Khyber, the Tochi and Wana, and all the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab, excepting the settled districts of Derā Ghāzi Khān which remained under the control of the Punjab.
Government. It was placed under a Chief Commissioner, directly responsible to the Government of India. The old North-Western Provinces were given the name of "the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh".

The civil and military reforms of Lord Curzon on the North-West Frontier gave comparative peace after a period of severe fighting and reduced to some extent the heavy expenditure caused by frontier wars. It was, of course, necessary to blockade the Mahsáds in 1900–1902, and deal with the risings of the Mohmáns and Zakka Khel in 1908–1909, but Lord Curzon claimed that during his seven years of office, he had spent only £248,000 on military activities on the North-West Frontier as against £4,584,000 in the years 1894–1898.

Lord Curzon did not, however, finally solve the Frontier problem. His system could not thoroughly check the spirit of restlessness so prominent among the local tribes, and administrative difficulties regarding justice and revenue continued to trouble both the settled districts and the tribal areas. The pillars of his system fell under the strain of general unrest engendered by the Great War of 1914–18. The changed conditions made the Government of India pursue a vigorous policy in the North-West Frontier, marked by the retention of commanding posts at important points, opening up the country by roads, entrusting the regular troops with the duties of the Militia for policing the tribal lines, and by attempts to introduce among the tribes the elements of a new civilisation. The influence of the Indian National Movement, and the attempts of the Government to introduce social and educational reforms, not to the liking of the tribes, have complicated the problem to a great extent. In fact, the Government of India had to resort to extensive military preparations in suppressing frontier outbreaks in recent times, such as the rising of the Wázírs in 1919, that of the Mahsáds in 1925, the serious rising of the Wázírs, Mohmáns and Afrídas in 1930–1931, the Mohmán outburst in 1933 and the Tori Khel rebellion of 1936–1937.

2. British Relations with Afghánistán and Persia

A. Afghánistán

The relations of the Government of India with Afghánistán were influenced considerably by the political, commercial and constructional activities of Russia in the Persian Gulf and Central Asia and also by the intrigues of the German, Austrian and Turkish
missions at Kābul during the war of 1914–18. On the death of the Amir, 'Abdūr Rāhmān, who had concluded a friendly treaty with the British Government, in September 1901, Lord Curzon had some trouble with his successor, Amir Hābibullāh, over the renewal of the treaty. Hābibullāh claimed that it was an agreement between the two countries and did not require renewing on the death of the Amir; but Lord Curzon argued that the treaty with the late Amir was a personal one and insisted on its renewal. For some years all communications with the Government of India were stopped by Amir Hābibullāh, who refrained from drawing his subsidy and claimed the title of "His Majesty". He was undoubtedly encouraged by the anti-English activities of Russia. But in November 1904, during Lord Curzon's absence from India, the acting Viceroy, Lord Ampthill, sent a mission to Kābul under Sir Louis Dane. A treaty was concluded in March, 1905, by which all the engagements between the British Government and 'Abdūr Rāhmān were renewed and Amir Hābibullāh's claim to the title of "His Majesty" conceded.

The tables were, however, turned two years later after the signature of the Anglo-Russian Convention in August, 1907. According to this Russia agreed to treat Afghānistān as outside her sphere of influence and equal commercial facilities were provided for England and Russia in that kingdom. The Amir, who "regarded the union of the two great neighbours with natural suspicion", refused to give his consent to the clauses of the Convention. But this counted for nothing, as Russia stood by the agreement. Henceforth Hābibullāh remained aloof, but during the First World War he rendered England valuable service by maintaining a policy of strict neutrality in spite of the incitement of hostile parties.

The combination of the European powers, and their attempts to introduce Western civilisation in Afghānistān, gave an impetus to Pan-Islamic forces in that country, which became formidable after the fall of the Tzarist Government in Russia in 1917 and the consequent disappearance of Anglo-Russian friendship. Amir Hābibullāh made himself unpopular with the orthodox and anti-British party in Afghānistān by his attempts to introduce European manners and customs into his land and was assassinated on the 20th February, 1919.

A short struggle for the throne ensued in which ʿAmānullāh, son of the murdered Amir, came out successful. Partly under the pressure of internal troubles, and partly under the influence of the war party, ʿAmānullāh decided to embark on a war with the English. Thus began the Third Anglo-Afghan War (April–May
1919). The use of aeroplanes, wireless, and high explosives enabled the British Indian army to defeat the Afghan army severely and bomb Jalalabad and Kabul within ten days. The Afghans asked for an armistice on the 14th May and a treaty of peace was signed at Rawalpindi on the 8th August, 1919, which was confirmed by another treaty concluded on the 22nd November, 1921. According to the terms of these treaties, the Afghans were prohibited from importing arms or munitions through India, and the arrears of the late Amir’s subsidy were confiscated by the British Government and no new grant was made to the new Amir, but the British Government expressed their desire to make no attempt to control any longer the foreign relations of Afghanistan, and both the parties agreed to respect each other’s independence. An accredited British minister was henceforth to reside at Kabul, and the Amir was to be represented by one of his own ministers residing in London. Since then Anglo-Afghan relations have continued to be cordial in spite of occasional minor disturbances and Bolshevik activities in Afghanistan.

But soon Afghanistan was convulsed by a civil war. On returning from his European tour in the summer of 1928, Amir Amanullah, full of reforming zeal, tried to introduce certain internal reforms, social, educational and legal, which were not liked by the conservative sections of the people of his kingdom. Their discontent found expression in a civil war and in May, 1929, Amanullah was compelled to abdicate the throne, which was usurped by Bacha-i-Saqquar, a daring adventurer. During the troubles caused by this upheaval, Kabul was cut off from communication with other countries, but the Royal Air Force succeeded in bringing away large numbers of British Indian subjects, many foreigners, and finally, on the 25th February, 1929, the Legation itself. While watching the course of the Afghan civil war with grave anxiety, the Government of India followed a policy of “serpulous non-intervention”. Order was eventually restored in Afghanistan by Muhammad Nadir Shah, a son of the old ruling house and an able officer of the expelled Amir, who became Amir by general choice. With considerable knowledge of the world, he took up again Amanullah’s mantle of reform, but proceeded with much caution and tact with his schemes of modernization. Relations between Afghanistan and India again became satisfactory. But this course of events was tragically interrupted by the assassination of King Nadir Shah on the 8th November, 1933, by a fanatic with a personal grudge. His son, Muhammad Zahir, however, peacefully ascended the throne and wisely continued the policy of his father.
AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA

B. Persia

Great Britain had vital interests in the Middle East, and especially in the Persian Gulf, for political as well as commercial reasons and she guarded these as jealously as possible. But other powers, like France, Russia, Germany and Turkey, challenged, during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the exclusive influence of Britain in the Persian Gulf and tried to establish their respective control over it. Russian penetration into Northern Persia was particularly a matter of grave anxiety for England. The Government of India vigorously resisted the claims of these powers and frustrated their efforts. Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Lords on the 5th May, 1903, "I say it without hesitation, that we should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified post in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resist it by all means at our disposal."

The first effective steps to counter these anti-British influences in the Persian Gulf were taken by Lord Curzon, who visited the Gulf in 1903 and tried to protect British interests there by several measures, such as the establishment of consulates in the ports and trading centres in the interior, the Seistan Mission of 1903–1905 which under Sir Henry MacMahon brought to a completion the work of boundary delimitation begun in 1872 by Sir Frederick Goldsmith, the projection of a railway from Quetta to Nushki, the construction of a road from Nushki to Robat Kila, a frontier post, the opening of a postal service along the route and the reorganisation of customs and tariffs.

Soon Persia became subject to grave internal disorders due to the conflict between the forces of constitutionalism, favoured by her people, and the forces of autocracy, represented by the ruling dynasty. England and Russia, however, decided to determine the sphere of their respective interests in Persian territory by a peaceful settlement, and thus signed the Anglo-Russian Convention on the 31st August, 1907. According to this, the two parties agreed to pay due regard to the integrity and political independence of Persia. A Russian sphere of influence was demarcated in Northern Persia and a British sphere in the south-eastern provinces. Each power agreed in regard to the other's sphere of influence "not to seek for herself or her own subjects or those of any other country any political or commercial concessions such as railway, banking, telegraph, roads, transport, or insurance", and not to prevent the other party from acquiring such concessions there.
POLITICAL RELATIONS, 1908-1937

There is no doubt that the Convention served to avert serious conflicts between England and Russia during the critical period, 1907-1910, when Persia was in a state of chaos which might have tempted any power to intervene in her affairs to further its designs. But it was not above criticism. As Sykes points out, it "gave grave offence to the Persians", who were not consulted in the least about the new settlement which vitally affected their destiny. There is much truth in the significant observation of Lovat Fraser, with reference to this agreement, that "there is something amazingly cynical in the spirit in which Western powers dispose of the heritage of other races". In the opinion of some, the Convention gave more advantages to Russia than to England. While the sphere of influence of the former extended over half the territory of Persia, that of the latter was rather too small. But there was one factor which England could not very well ignore. Russia had already penetrated far too deep into Northern Persia to be asked to retreat quietly, and so, in consideration of this, one has to agree with the statement of Sir J. D. Rees that Great Britain "had not so much given away advantages as accepted a position that had grown up".

During the War of 1914-18, Persia, herself in a miserable condition due to the continuance of internal troubles, declared strict neutrality. But Germany and also her ally Turkey, acting for herself or as the avanti-courier of Germany, tried to "embarrass Great Britain and Russia by creating disturbances in Persia, in Afganistán and on the frontiers of India, and to force Persia into the World War on their side". This stirred Great Britain to an unusual activity in the Persian Gulf. However, her relations with Persia continued on the whole to be friendly.

3. The North-Eastern Frontier

A. Tibet and the States on the Northern Frontier

Though nominally subject to the suzerainty of China, Tibet was for all practical purposes an independent theocracy under the two great Lāmās, the Dalāi Lāmā of Lhāssā and the Tsab Lāmā of the famous monastery of Tashilhunpo near Shigatse. Political power was centred in the hands of the Dalāi Lāmā or the council that ruled during his minority.

The earliest attempts to establish British relations with Tibet were made as early as the year 1774. Warren Hastings sent Bogle on a mission to the Tsab Lāmā of Shigatse. The object was mainly to obtain facilities for trade with that country. But in subsequent
times the Tibetans began to resent British intercourse with their country. In 1887 they made an "inexplicable invasion" into the protected State of Sikkim, but were driven out the next year by General Graham. The provisions of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890, relating to the Sikkim-Tibet boundary and some commercial facilities, made more definite in 1893, were coldly received by the Tibetans.

On his arrival in India, Lord Curzon found British relations with Tibet "at an absolute deadlock". The problem became more complicated at this time through two factors. On the one hand, the Dalai Lama having passed beyond his period of minority had overthrown the regency government by a coup d'état with the help of his tutor, Dorjieff, a Russian Buddhist, and had been trying to show himself a strong ruler. On the other hand, the Tibetans eager to throw off Chinese sovereignty, were willing to welcome Russian friendship as a counterpoise. Dorjieff led Tibetan missions to Russia in 1898, 1900, and 1901, and rumours spread that he had concluded a treaty with Russia virtually placing Tibet under the protectorate of Russia. The Russian Government officially contradicted this rumour and assured the British ambassador at St. Petersburg that the object of these missions was religious. But this could not remove England's suspicions about Russian designs. As a matter of fact, British policy in Tibet represented but one phase in the long-drawn-out rivalry between England and Russia in Central Asia.

To meet the situation, Lord Curzon proposed in 1903 to send a mission to Tibet, with an armed escort, which the Home Government sanctioned with much hesitation. A mission under Colonel Youngusband accordingly started for Tibet, and after several sharp encounters with the Tibetans reached Lhāsā on the 3rd August, 1904. Finally, a convention was signed, by which the Tibetans agreed to open trade marts in Gyantse, Gartok and Yatung, to pay an indemnity of twenty-five lakhs and to allow the English to occupy the Chumbi valley for three years as a temporary pledge. In June, 1906, England and China concluded a convention by which the former agreed neither to annex Tibetan territory nor to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet and the latter promised not to allow any other foreign power to interfere with the internal administration or territorial integrity of Tibet. Further, England was granted the power to open telegraph lines connecting the trading stations with India, and the provisions of the Convention of 1890, and the Trade Regulations of 1893, were declared to be in force. The indemnity was paid by
the Chinese Government in three years and the English evacuated the Chumbi valley.

The political results of the Youngusband mission were not very important. Its only direct result was the opening of three trade marts and the establishment of a British Trade Agent at Gyantse. Youngusband is given the credit of "unveiling Lhasā", but it should not be forgotten that in ancient and medieval times Bengal missionaries had penetrated into Tibet on religious missions, and also that, long before Youngusband, a famous scholar and explorer, Rai Bahādur Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., having no dread of the unknown, had entered the forbidden land of the Dalā Lāmā at the risk of his life.

By the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, both England and Russia agreed to carry on political relations with Tibet through China. The suzerainty of China over Tibet, hitherto a mere "constitutional fiction", was now explicitly reaffirmed and she tried to make it as real as possible, so much so that Chinese troops overran Tibet and the Dalā Lāmā took refuge in Darjeeling. The British Government, acting on the representations of the Government of India, strongly protested against this policy of the Chinese Government. This attitude of the Government of India, and the disorders in China due to an internal revolution, encouraged the Tibetans to resist Chinese attempts and finally to throw off the last vestige of Chinese suzerainty in 1918.

The changes in Russia after the revolution of 1917, and the growing confusion in China, relieved the Government of India of the menace of external forces affecting English interests in Tibet, and Britain and Tibet have since then remained on terms of cordiality with each other. A British Goodwill Mission, led by Mr. H. J. Gould, I.C.S., of the Political Department, visited Tibet during the winter of 1936-1937 and established or renewed friendly relations with the chief officials of the Tibetan Government and the people of Tibet.

Relations with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhūtān, with which India's northern frontiers are in contact, have been cordial. To resist Chinese activities in Tibet, the Government of India in 1910 strengthened their relations with Bhūtān by raising the amount of their subsidy from fifty thousand to a lakh of rupees a year and undertaking to guide Bhūtān in her foreign relations. The Government afterwards officially notified China that they would protect the rights and interests of Bhūtān and Sikkim.
B. Assam and Burma

On the partition of Bengal in 1905, the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was formed by the amalgamation of Assam and the Surnā valley with fifteen districts of the old Bengal province. But this arrangement being annulled in 1912, Assam was again made a separate administrative unit. Of the several Assam border tribes, such as the Dafas, the Miris, the Abors and the Mishmis, none gave much trouble to the British Government except the Abors. In 1911 the Minyong Abors murdered Mr. Williamson and Dr. Gregorson, whereupon the Government of India sent an expedition to the Dihang valley of the Abor country on the north-east frontier, to subdue the tribe. The expedition proved successful in its object, and friendly missions were sent to the Mirl and Mishmi countries. Owing to the rather undefined boundary of the Chinese province of Yunnan on the frontier of Burma, the British Government apprehended minor incursions into Burmese territory, and carefully guarded this frontier. Negotiations between China and Great Britain were carried on with a view to settling the frontier between Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan, and a Delimitation Commission, consisting of British and Chinese Commissioners, with the famous Swiss engineer, Colonel F. Iselin, as its neutral Chairman, conducted enquiries into this matter during 1935 and 1936 and submitted a unanimous report in the spring of 1937, which definitely fixed the frontier line between Burma and Yunnan.
CHAPTER VI
CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, 1906-1937

1. Whitehall and the Government of India

The control of the British Parliament over the Government of India exercised through the Secretary of State was firmly held, and even a strong personality like Lord Curzon was overruled by the Home Government. The power of superintendence and direction was vigorously asserted by Lord Morley as the Secretary of State for India, and he claimed a larger and more direct share in Indian administration than his predecessors had done. Mr. Lovat Fraser observed in the Edinburgh Review for January, 1918: "Lord Morley... whatever his virtues may have been, was certainly the most autocratic and the least constitutional Secretary of State ever seen in Whitehall." But the Governor-General being the man on the spot, his "old discretionary power" did not altogether disappear.

During the early years of the present century, some Indian politicians, including the late Mr. Gokhale, demanded certain changes in the Home Government, particularly the abolition of the India Council. In 1907 two Indian gentlemen were appointed members of Lord Morley's Council. A Committee, appointed in 1919, with Lord Crewe, an ex-Secretary of State for India, as chairman and Prof. A. B. Keith and Mr. B. N. Basu among others as members, to examine and report on the working of the Home Government, recommended the total abolition of the India Council. But the recommendation was not accepted by the Joint Committee of Parliament. The Committee advocated certain changes in details which were given effect to by the Act of 1919.¹ Vacancies in the Council were to be filled, as before, by the Secretary of State, but henceforth it was to consist of not less than eight and not more than twelve members, half of whom were to be qualified by not less than ten years' residence or service in India and must have left India only recently. Their term of office was reduced from seven to five years. The concurrence of a majority vote of the

¹ For the Acts of 1919 and 1935 referred to in this section, see Section 2.
Council was required only in cases of (i) the grant or appropriation of any portion of the revenues of India, (ii) the making of contracts, and (iii) the framing of rules to regulate matters relating to the Civil Service. The Council remained clearly subordinate to the Secretary of State, who retained his discretionary powers not only in relation to it but also in relation to the Government of India, particularly for Imperial or Military affairs, foreign relations, the rights of European British subjects, the law of naturalisation, the Public Debt, customs, currency and shipping. His control was restricted only over "transferred" subjects. Before 1919 the salary of the Secretary of State, and the expenses of his department, were paid from the Indian revenues. As a result Parliament could not criticise the Indian Budget in the same way as the Budget presented by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. With a view to bringing the Secretary of State under more effective criticism by Parliament, the Act of 1919 provided that "the salary of the Secretary of State shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and the salaries of his under-secretaries or any other expenses of his department may be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament". A Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed to consider Indian questions, rules and enactments, that were laid before the Houses. Thus indirectly the control of Parliament over British India was strengthened.

The Government of India Act 1935 changed the legal position of the Secretary of State. According to it, "all rights, authority or jurisdiction in or in relation to territories in India" were to rest with the British Crown. The Governor-General or Provincial Governor exercising executive authority on behalf of His Majesty was to be, while acting in his discretion, under the general control of the Secretary of State, who was a member of the British Cabinet and was responsible to Parliament in all matters relating to India. In substance the authority of the Secretary of State remained almost unchanged but for some relaxation due to the introduction of autonomy in certain provinces and partial responsibility at the Centre in case a Federation came into being. He continued to "stand at the top of the Indian administration as its guardian". As provided by the Act of 1935, the India Council was abolished from 1st April, 1937, and in its place the Secretary of State was given a body of advisers not less than three or more than six in number, of whom half at least must have served for ten years under the Crown in India and must have been appointed within two years of ceasing to work in India. The Secretary of State had full liberty in his discretion to consult his
advisers collectively or individually or to ignore them, and he might act or refuse to act according to their advice except in certain specified cases, such as the exercise of powers conferred on him in regard to the Services under the Crown, for which the concurrence of at least one half of the members present at the meeting was necessary.

To relieve the Secretary of State of agency work for the Central and Provincial Governments of India, the Act of 1919 provided for the office of High Commissioner, which was established by Order in Council of 13th August, 1920. He was to be appointed by the Government of India, to whom he remained primarily responsible, and his salary was to be paid from Indian revenues. His duties were to procure stores for Indian governments, to supply trade information, to promote the interests of Indian commerce to look after the education of Indian students in England, and to furnish information on India to enquirers. He also represented India as one of the delegates at International Conferences. Under the Act of 1935, the High Commissioner was to be controlled by the Governor-General in his "individual judgment", and he might act, if empowered by the Governor-General, for a province, a federated State, or Burma.

2. The Indian Government

The strong regime of Lord Curzon, instead of checking the forces of Indian nationalism, intensified the desire for political advance among the Indians, which manifested itself in some places in an extreme form. Besides taking some measures to assert the law, Government planned certain constitutional changes, which were embodied in the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. These reforms provided for the association of qualified Indians with Government to a greater extent in deciding public questions. Thus one seat on the Governor-General's Executive Council was, in actual practice, reserved for an Indian member. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (afterwards the first Lord Sinha of Raipur) was the first Indian to attain the honour of being appointed Law Member of the Governor-General's Council. The members of the Executive Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay were increased to four. An Executive Council was introduced in Bengal in 1909, and when Bihar and Orissa was created a separate province in 1912 it also was given an Executive Council in that year, though three years later such a proposal for the United Provinces was set aside. It should also be noted that, though the Act of 1909 did not specifically provide for the appointment of Indians on provincial
Executive Councils, the practice was begun of including such members in them, Rājā Kishori Lāl Goswāmī being appointed a member of the Executive Council of Bengal.

The most striking feature of the Act of 1909 was that it introduced important changes in the composition and functions of the Legislative Councils. The number of additional members of the Central Legislature was raised from sixteen to a maximum of sixty, of whom not more than twenty-eight were to be officials. The Governor-General had the power to nominate three non-officials to represent certain specified communities and had also at his disposal two other seats to be filled by nomination. The remaining twenty-seven seats were to be filled by non-official elected members, some of whom represented certain special constituencies such as the landowners in seven provinces, the Muhammadans in two provinces, and two Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta and Bombay, while thirteen others were to be elected by the non-official members of the nine provincial Legislative Councils. Thus a small official majority was retained in the Central Legislative Council. Lord Morley clearly laid down that the Governor-General's Council in its legislative as well as its executive character should continue to be so constituted as to ensure its constant and uninterrupted power to fulfil the constitutional obligations that it owes and must always owe to His Majesty's Government and to the Imperial Parliament”. In the provincial Legislative Councils, the number of additional members was raised to a maximum of fifty in the major provinces; and it was so arranged that a combination of official and nominated non-official members might have a small majority over the elected members, except in Bengal where there was a clear elected majority. The greater part of these additional non-official members were to be elected by groups of local bodies, landholders, trade associations and universities. By conceding the demand of the Muhammadan community for separate representation by members chosen by the votes of a Muslim electorate, the Reforms of 1909 introduced the principle of communal representation, which, as the Indian Statutory Commission observed in 1924, became “a cardinal problem and ground of controversy at every revision of the Indian electoral system”.

As regards the functions of the Legislatures, the Act of 1909 empowered them to discuss, and to move resolutions on, the Budget before it was finally settled, and also certain matters of general interest. Their resolutions were to be expressed and to be operative as recommendations to the Executive Government and any of them might be disallowed by the Head of the Government acting as
President of the Council at his discretion. No resolutions could
be moved in matters concerning the Army, Foreign Relations,
the Indian States and sundry other matters.

Though the Morley-Minto Reforms marked an important step in
the introduction of representative government, they did not give
Parliamentary Government to India. This was plainly admitted by
Lord Morley himself, when he said in the House of Lords on 17th
December, 1908: "If it could be said that this chapter of reforms
led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary
system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with
it". In fact, Indian administration still continued to be carried on
with absolute responsibility to Whitehall. The non-official members
could not act in a responsible manner, as nothing that they might
say could lead to any modification in the fundamental policy of the
Government. As the authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional
Reforms, 1918, observed, "the reforms of 1909 afforded no answer
and could afford no answer, to Indian political problems... . .
Responsibility is the savour of popular government, and that
savour the present councils wholly lack". Indirect election and
separate communal representation had also obvious disadvantages.

The Morley-Minto Reforms did not come up to the expectation
of the Indian people, whose discontent continued unabated. They
renewed their claims with emphasis during the First World War, which
broke out within five years of the introduction of these Reforms;
and two schemes were put forward, one by Mr. G. K. Gokhale
and the other jointly by the National Congress and the Muslim
League. To satisfy the widespread demands of the Indians for
constitutional reforms, and in recognition of their loyal services
to Great Britain during the war, Mr. Edwin Montagu, the Secretary
of State for India, made the famous announcement in the House
of Commons on the 20th August, 1917, that "the policy of His
Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in
complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in
every branch of the administration and the gradual development of
self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation
of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British
Empire". He came to India early in November, 1917, and having
ascertained public opinion in this country by an extensive tour;
published in April, 1918, the Report on Indian Constitutional
Reforms, commonly known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.1

1 The Report bore the joint signature of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford,
the Governor-General, but, as we know from Mr. Montagu's Indian Diary,
the Governor-General played a vacillating and insignificant part in the whole
transformation.
This Report formed the basis of the Government of India Act, 1919, which came into operation early in 1921.

This Act made a clear division, as far as possible, of the functions of the Central and Provincial Governments. The Centre was entrusted with duties regarding defence, political and external affairs, the principal railways and other strategic communications, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage, the Public Debt, commerce, civil and criminal law and procedure, ecclesiastical administration, the All-India Services, certain institutions of research and all other matters not mentioned as provincial subjects. The Provincial Governments were charged with duties in respect of internal law and order, administration of justice and jails, irrigation, forests, inspection of factories, supervision of labour questions, famine relief, land-revenue administration, local self-government, education, medical department, sanitation and public health, public works, agriculture, development of industries, excise and co-operative societies. The spheres of the Central and Provincial Governments with regard to the sources of income and the heads of revenue were also delimited.

We have already noted the effect of the Act of 1919 on the Home Government. We have now to study how it modified the Government of India. It did not introduce diarchy in the Central Government, and the Governor-General remained, as before, directly responsible to the Secretary of State and Parliament, and not to the Indian Legislature. The Executive Council was enlarged. Though it was not laid down in the Act, yet after 1921 the practice prevailed of choosing three of the members from among qualified Indians. Lord Sinha was succeeded by Sir Ḥāji Imām as Law Member, but the next Indian member, Sir Sankaran Nair, was given the portfolio of Education. After 1920 some eminent Indian lawyer invariably held the office of Law Member. The Finance Members were recruited from the British Treasury.

The Central Legislature was thoroughly remodelled and made bi-cameral, the two chambers being the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The members of the Executive Council could become members of one or the other house of the Legislature on nomination by the Governor-General. The Council of State or the Upper Chamber was mainly a revising body. It was to consist of not more than 60 members, 34 of whom were to be elected. Not more than 20 were to be officials. The Legislative Assembly or the lower and the more popular chamber, was to consist of 144 members. The number was later raised to 145 of whom 108 were elected, 26 were nominated officials and 14 nominated non-officials.
CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, 1906-1937

Elections to both the houses were direct and the franchise was based on a high property qualification, that for the Assembly being somewhat wider than that for the Council. The tenure of life of the Council of State was fixed at five years and that of the Assembly at three years. But the Governor-General had the power to dissolve either chamber or, in special circumstances, to extend its tenure. The powers of the two chambers were co-ordinate, but demands for grants were submitted to the lower house. In case of a deadlock between the two houses, the Governor-General might summon a joint session. The Council of State was to have a President, nominated by the Governor-General from among its members. The Assembly, too, was to have a President and a Deputy President of its own. The President was to be appointed for the first four years by the Governor-General and thereafter to be elected by the chamber itself.

The powers of the Central Legislature were made extensive in theory. In spite of delimitation of functions between the Central and Provincial Governments, the Central Legislature had the power to enact laws for the whole of British India, subject to the limitation that the previous consent of the Governor-General was necessary for the introduction of bills in certain matters. Further, if a bill, recommended by the Governor-General, was thrown out or unsatisfactorily amended by either house, the Governor-General had the power to certify the original bill as essential for the safety and tranquillity of British India. He was also empowered, in cases of emergency, to promulgate ordinances, which, though originally effective for a period of six months, could be subsequently embodied in law if necessary. Thus the Governor-General was "an important, if not the predominant, factor of the Indian Legislature". As regards finance, the Central Legislature was given some control over it with certain specific exceptions. Thus proposals for appropriation of money for purposes of interest and sinking fund charges on loans, for expenditure classified by the Governor-General as political, ecclesiastical and defence, and for the payment of the salaries or pensions of men appointed under the authority of His Majesty or the Secretary of State in Council, were not to be submitted to the vote of the Legislature;

1 A bill which had for its object the regulation of a Provincial subject or the repeal or amendment of any Act passed by the Provincial Legislature; a bill which sought to repeal or amend any Act or Ordinances passed by the Governor-General; measures affecting the Public Debt or public revenues of India, the religion of any class of British subjects, the discipline of any portion of His Majesty's Military, Naval and Air Forces and the relations of the Government of India with foreign powers or Indian States.
but for these an appropriation made by the Government was sufficient. Further, the Governor-General had the power, in cases of emergency, to certify any expenditure that he considered essential for the safety and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof. Thus both over legislation and finance the control of the Legislature was in fact greatly limited.

In considering the Provincial Government, we find that the Act of 1919 did away with the distinction between the Regulation Provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras and the Non-Regulation Provinces like the Punjab, Assam, etc. All the Provinces, ten in number, with the inclusion of Burma since 1923 and the North-West Frontier Province since 1932, became Governors' Provinces each having at its head a Governor, appointed by His Majesty. The Governor of a Province, with enormous powers and privileges, continued to remain as the real authority over it. The Act introduced diarchy or dual government in the Provincial Executive. The Governor with his Executive Council was invested with authority over "Reserved subjects"; for the administration of which he was responsible not to the Legislature but to the Governor General and Whitehall. The "Transferred subjects" were placed in charge of the Governor acting with his Ministers, who were to be appointed by him from the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council and whose numbers varied from province to province and in the same province at times. The ministers were to hold office during the pleasure of the Governor, as has been the case in theory in Great Britain and Canada though by convention and practice the principle of ministerial responsibility to the Legislature has been established in both these countries. The ministers were required to retain the confidence of the Legislature, but their responsibility to it tended to "demoralise it into an irremovable executive". Further, the Governor's powers of interference in Transferred subjects were extensive.

The different Provinces were given unicameral legislatures known as Legislative Councils. The membership of each Legislative Council was increased—139 (later on raised to 140) in Bengal, 127 (132) in Madras, 123 in U.P., 111 (114) in Bombay, 103 in Bihār and Orissa, 93 (94) in the Punjab, 70 (73) in the Central Provinces, and 50 (53) in Assam. At least 70 per cent of the members were to be elected, and of the nominated members not

1 Police, justice and prisons, irrigation, forests (except in Bombay and Burman), famine relief, land-revenue administration and inspection of factories.

8 Local self-government, education (excepting European education), public health, sanitation and medical administration, public works, agriculture, excise, co-operative societies and development of industries.
more than 20 per cent were to be officials. Different groups like landowners, chambers of commerce and universities; and communities of Muhammadans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Sikhs in the Punjab were given separate representation through their own electorates. During the first four years the Governor of a Province appointed the President of the local Legislature, and on the expiry of that period the Legislative Councils were given the privilege of electing their own President. Each Legislative Council was given the privilege of entertaining a bill on any subject concerning the Province. No bill relating to any of the Transferred subjects could be passed without its consent; but a bill concerning any of the Reserved subjects might become an Act over its head and in spite of its refusal, if the Governor certified that it was necessary in view of his special responsibility for maintaining the safety and tranquility of the Province. Further, previous consent of the Governor-General was necessary for introducing certain bills. As regards finance, it was provided that a budget of the estimated income and expenditure, with the exception of certain items\(^1\), was to be placed before the Legislative Council in the form of a demand for grants. So far as the Transferred subjects were concerned, the Council could cut down or refuse any demand. But if in the case of Reserved subjects any demand was rejected or modified by the Council, the Governor had the right to certify the expenditure, as provided for in the original demand, as essential for the discharge of his responsibility. Thus both in matters of law-making and finance, the Council’s authority over Reserved subjects was strictly limited.

There is no doubt that the Government of India Act, 1919, gave real responsibility to the representatives of the people in only a very limited sphere of administration; and, judged from the standpoint of a truly democratic measure, it had certain defects with regard to both the Central and Provincial Governments. Nevertheless, it should be regarded as an important instalment of constitutional reform. For the first time the British Government officially laid down, as the goal of constitutional development in India, not only Dominion Status but also Responsible Government. The latter could only mean the parliamentary form of government of the British type which was repudiated by Lord

\(^1\) Provincial contributions to the Central Government; interest and sinking fund charges on loans; the salaries and pensions of officers appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or the Secretary of State in Council; expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by law.
Morley even as late as 1908 (see page 915). The introduction of direct
election, for the first time, on a comparatively wide franchise was
a significant concession. Further, the people were given a valuable
opportunity both for political training and for influencing the
actions of the Government. This Act also provided that after
the expiry of a decade of working of the new Constitution
a Commission of Enquiry should be constituted, with the approval
of Parliament, to report after due investigation whether responsible
government should be further extended or restricted.

The Reforms of 1919 did not satisfy the national aspirations of
the Indians, and their effect upon the national struggle for
independence is described in Chapter IX. The Indian demand
for political advance gradually grew more and more insistent.
So the Conservative Government of Mr. Baldwin, in which
the late Lord Birkenhead was the Secretary of State for India,
appointed a Statutory Commission, earlier than provided in the
Act of 1919, under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, to report
on the working of the reforms. As all the seven members of the
Commission were British, it was boycotted by the Congressites, the
Liberals and important sections of the Muslim community when it
landed in Bombay on 3rd February, 1928. There was also a wider
ground on which the Congressites took their stand. They held that
it did not accord with the principle of self-determination to have
constitutional changes effected on the recommendations of a Com-
mission appointed by an outside authority. In view of the difficult
situation in India, Sir John Simon wrote a letter to Mr. Ramsay
MacDonald, the Premier belonging to the Labour Party which had
come to power after the general election of 1929, on the 16th October,
1929, suggesting the advisability of inviting, after the publica-
tion of the Report of his Commission, the representatives of both
British India and the Indian States to a conference before final
decisions were made. This suggestion was accepted by the British
Cabinet, and on 31st October, 1929, the Governor-General, Lord
Irwin, made the momentous announcement that the natural issue
of India’s Constitutional progress . . . is the attainment of Dominion
Status” and that a Round Table Conference would be held in
London after the Simon Commission had reported.

The Report of the Simon Commission was published in May,
1930. Briefly speaking, it recommended complete Responsible
Government in the Provinces, even the control of police and
justice being transferred to the Ministers responsible to the
Legislatures. Legislatures were to be based on a wider franchise
and the official bloc was to go. In the Central Government, it
recommended the continuance of complete British authority and
control. It pointed out the importance of the growth of contact
with the Indian States and envisaged the scheme of an All-India
Federation, including the Princes, though its perfect realisation
was considered to be a distant possibility. But the recommenda-
tions of the Commission were repudiated outright by the Indian
nationalists. The British Government then summoned in London
a Round Table Conference, consisting of 16 representatives of the
three British political parties, 16 delegates from the Indian States
and 37 delegates from British India, including some prominent
Indians like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. C. Y.

COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY BUILDING, DELHI

Chintamoni, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sir Mohammad Shafi,
to consider the question of the Indian Constitution. The
first session of the Conference was held from 12th November,
1930, to 19th January, 1931, and the Princes declared their willing-
ness to join the proposed Federation provided that responsibility
was given to the Central Government. Though the Congress did not
at first participate in the Conference, Gandhiji attended the second
session (7th September to 1st December, 1931) as its sole repre-
sentative, but could not get what he wanted. The third session
of the Conference, attended by a far smaller number of representatives
than before, met from 17th November to 24th December, 1932.

As a result of the discussions at the Conferences, the British Govern-
ment drafted its proposals for the reform of the Indian Constitution,
which were embodied in the White Paper published in March, 1933.

The White Paper was examined by a Joint Committee of both the
Houses of Parliament, presided over by Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy
of India since 1936, with the help of Indian assessors. The com-
mittee approved of the proposals of the White Paper subject to
certain modifications and presented its report in October, 1934.
A Bill, prepared on the report of this Committee, known as the
Government of India Bill, 1935, was introduced in Parliament
and became an Act on 2nd August, 1935, with slight alterations.

The Act of 1935 embodied two main principles—(1) an All-India
Federation, comprising Governors' Provinces, Chief Commissioners'
Provinces, and the Federating Indian States, and (2) Provincial
Autonomy, with a Government responsible to an elected Legislate-
in every Governor's Province. All functions hitherto exercised by
the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the Provinces
were resumed by the Crown, which redistributed them between the
Central Government on the one hand and the Provinces on the other.

As regards the Indian States, the functions and powers of para-
mountcy were to be exercised henceforth not by the Government
of India but by "His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of
those functions of the Crown". Normally, though not necessarily,
this office was to be held by the Governor-General, but as His
Majesty's representative and not as the head of the Federal
Government. Further, certain important departments like foreign
affairs, ecclesiastical affairs and defence, being excluded from
the control of the Indian Legislature, were to be administered by
the Governor-General under the superintendence and direction of
Whitehall alone; and the Governor-General and the Governors of
Provinces were invested with special powers, in respect of functions
transferred to the control of Ministers, for which they had responsi-
bility to the British Parliament. Thus the constitutional status of
India, even under the new Act, was that of a dependency, though
it was "gradually gravitating towards that of a Dominion".

The States being "independent" entities could not be compelled
to enter the Federation. Each State willing to join it was required to
execute through its ruler an Instrument of Accession, which must be
accepted by the Crown before it became a member of the Federation.
The Federation was to be proclaimed by His Majesty when two con-
ditions were satisfied: (1) an address in that behalf must be presented
to the King by each House of Parliament, and (2) States which were
entitled to choose not less than fifty-two members in the upper house
of the Federal Legislature, and whose population was not less than
one-half of the total population of the States, must accede to it.
CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, 1906–1937

As this portion of the Act dealing with the Federation was never actually brought into operation, we need not discuss it in detail and will only briefly describe its provisions. The Act provided for a "Federal Executive" of a diarchal nature consisting of two parts. One of these, in charge of "transferred departments", was to be responsible to the Legislature; and the other, dealing with specifically reserved departments like Foreign Affairs, Defence, etc., was to remain under the sole charge of the Governor-General, who was in these matters responsible only to the British Parliament. Even in those subjects which were to be handed over to the Ministers, the Governor-General was given special powers and responsibilities, and discretion to act on his own authority.

The Federal Legislature was to be a bicameral body consisting of a "Lower Chamber", known as the House of Assembly or the Federal Assembly, and an "Upper Chamber", known as the Council of State. The Lower Chamber was to consist of 250 representatives of British India and not more than 125 of the Indian States. The members of the Federal Assembly were to be elected not by popular constituencies, but by the Legislative Assemblies of the Provinces. Even in this indirect form of election, the General (Hindu), Muslim and Sikh seats were to be filled by the representatives of these communities in the Provincial Assemblies, voting separately for a prescribed number of seats for each community. The Council of State, or the Upper Chamber, was to consist of 156 members for British India and not more than 104 for the federating States. The State members were to be appointed by their respective rulers. Of the members for British India, six were to be nominated by the Governor-General so as to secure the due representation of the minority communities, depressed classes, and women, and the rest were to be directly, in a few cases indirectly, elected on a high franchise by communal electorates. The tenure of life of the Federal Assembly was to be for five years, but the Governor-General could dissolve it earlier at his discretion. The Council of State was to be a permanent body not subject to dissolution. The term of each member was not to exceed nine years, and one-third of the total number of members were to retire every three years. Barring some minor details, both the Chambers were to have co-ordinate powers in almost all respects, even in financial matters.

The character and shape of the Provincial Government were changed considerably by the Act of 1935. It made provision for redistribution of the Provinces, and two new Provinces were created—Sind, separated from the Bombay Presidency, and Orissa, comprising a portion of the territory of the old Province
of Bihār and Orissa, part of the Central Provinces, and certain areas of the Madras Presidency, inhabited by the Orijās. Burma was separated from British India, and Aden also ceased to be a part of India. In all, there were now eleven Governors' Provinces and six Chief Commissioners' Provinces. The Chief Commissioners' Provinces were administered by the Governor-General through a Chief Commissioner appointed by him according to his discretion.

In the Governors' Provinces, diarchy was abolished and Provincial Autonomy introduced. The Act vested the executive authority of a Province in the Governor himself as the representative of the Crown. He was provided with a Council of Ministers to aid and advise him in the discharge of the functions conferred on him by the Act, in the entire sphere of provincial government except in certain matters like law and order, etc., for which he had special responsibilities and which were in his sole discretion. The Ministers were to be appointed by the Governor normally from amongst the members of the local Legislature and were to be responsible to it. In constituting the Ministry, the Governor was to pay due regard to the interests of minorities. The salaries of the Ministers would not vary during their term of office.

The Provincial Legislature consisted of the Governor as His Majesty's Representative, and one or two chambers. Madras-Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihār and Assam, had each two chambers known as the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly; the rest of the Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Berar, the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa and Sind, had each a single chamber known as the Legislative Assembly. The strength of the Legislative Assembly, or the lower chamber, varied from 50 to 250 members, all elected; and it was to sit for five years, though it might be dissolved earlier by the Governor. The electorate in every Province for choosing representatives of the Legislature was formed on the basis of communities and interests, according to the terms of the Communal Award of 4th August, 1932, modified by the Poona Pact of the 25th September, 1932. Besides representatives of special electorates, certain seats out of the general ones were reserved for the "scheduled castes", that is, the so-called depressed classes. About 10 per cent of the total population of India was enfranchised by this Act, and women were given a wider franchise than was provided by the Act of 1919 the Ministers were recruited from among the elected members of the Legislature. But according to the Act of 1935 a nominated member of the Upper Chamber of the Legislature might be appointed a Minister.
1919. The Legislative Council, or the upper chamber, was a permanent body not subject to dissolution, but as near as might be one-third of its members were to retire every third year. It was formed on the same communal basis as the Legislative Assembly. The powers of the two Chambers were co-ordinate, except in the matter of voting certain grants to the Government and introducing financial bills, which were within the purview of the Legislative Assembly. If there were a difference of opinion between the two Chambers in regard to a Bill, the Governor had the power to convokes a joint session of the two Chambers and to form a decision according to the opinion of the majority of members of the joint meeting.

The Governor was invested with some extraordinary powers. Under certain conditions, he could refuse his assent to bills passed by the Legislature. He had the power to promulgate ordinances if the Legislature was not in session, he thought that circumstances rendered it necessary for him to take immediate action, and also to issue ordinances at any time with regard to certain subjects. These ordinances had the same force and effect as an Act of the Provincial Legislature during the prescribed period. Further, under certain conditions, the Governor could issue permanent Acts, known as Governor's Acts, either forthwith or after consulting the Legislature if it so pleased him. Again, in case of the failure of the constitutional machinery, the Governor might by proclamation "declare that his functions shall, to such extent as may be specified in the Proclamation, be exercised by him in his discretion". The Governor exercised these powers under the direction and control of the Governor-General and the British Parliament. Thus though the Act of 1935 had given autonomy to the Provinces in a large sphere of public administration, the special powers of the Governor were regarded as limitations on real responsible government. The constitutional provisions regarding the Provincial Governments came into force on the 1st April, 1937. In July, 1937, the Congress formed Ministries in the majority of the Governors' Provinces and remained in office till the closing months of 1939.

3. The Indian States

The constitutional problem of India continued to be very much complicated by the existence of the States as an outstanding feature in Indian political life. British paramountcy over the States was clearly asserted by Lord Curzon, Lord Minto II and Lord Hardinge II, though in view of the disturbed political situation in India after the
Bengal Partition agitation and the difficulties of the 1914–18 War, respectively, Lord Minto II and Lord Hardinge II adopted a more conciliatory attitude towards the States and tried to secure greater co-operation from them. When investing the Maharajah of Jodhpur with ruling powers on the 26th February, 1916, Lord Hardinge II described the Indian princes as "helpers and colleagues in the great task of imperial rule".

Later this policy was manifested in two ways. One was the development of the Imperial Service Troops (maintained by the States and trained by British officers), which had their beginnings in the days of Lord Dufferin (1884–1888) and rendered valuable services to the cause of the British Empire, especially during the First World War. The other was the growth of a consultative body composed of representatives of different States. Attempts to constitute such a body had been made before by Lord Lytton, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto II and Lord Hardinge II, and its importance was further realised by Lord Chelmsford after the First World War. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report made a definite recommendation for such a body, and accordingly the Chamber of Princes was set up by the Crown by a Royal Proclamation on the 8th February, 1921. The Chamber of Princes was a consultative and not an executive body, consisting of representatives of different classes of States, with the Viceroy as its President and a Chancellor and a Pro-Chancellor elected annually from among the members. The Viceroy could consult its Standing Committee freely in matters relating to the territories of the Indian States generally on those problems which concerned British India and the States in common. The Chamber, however, could not deal with the internal affairs of Indian States or their rulers, or their relations with the Crown, or interfere in any way with the existing rights or engagements of the States or restrict their freedom of action.

At the same time, the growth of paramountcy and the right claimed to interfere in the internal affairs of the States were not to the liking of the rulers of the States, who became more touchy on this point owing to the gradual Indianisation of the Government of India. They also began to demand a share in the formulation of the tariff policy and the collection of the customs revenues. So in December, 1927, the Secretary of State appointed the Indian States Committee, popularly known as the Butler Committee, after the name of its Chairman, Sir Harcourt Butler, to investigate the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States.

1 Formerly Governor in succession of the United Provinces and of Burma and previously a member of the Governor-General's Council.
and to make recommendations for the adjustment of economic and financial relations between British India and the Indian States. The Committee reported early in 1929 and along with several recommendations recorded its strong opinion "that, in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in India responsible to an Indian legislature". The recommendations of the Committee were criticised on the ground that they were not in consonance with the spirit of the times and did not make the relations between the two halves of India "harmonious and satisfactory".

But sober opinion on both sides soon realised the necessity of a closer association between the Indian States and British India in a federation, as both were intimately interrelated in various ways. The Nehru Committee in 1928 and the Indian Statutory Commission emphasised this point. We have already noted how the Government of India Act, 1935, provided for the accession of the States to the proposed Federation.
CHAPTER VII

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION AND GENERAL CONDITION, 1906-10

1. General Review

The political agitation which followed upon the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon gradually assumed a revolutionary character. Apart from the growth of a radical section in the Congress, and the movement for boycotting foreign goods by way of protest against the Partition, secret societies grew up in various parts of India with the avowed object of collecting arms and manufacturing bombs to dislodge certain types of officials and, if possible, to organize an armed insurrection. There was a "general state of serious unrest, not only in Bengal but even in distant Provinces like the Punjab and Madras, and Government adopted strong measures. Laws were passed which put severe restrictions on popular movements as well as on the Press and public meetings. Some of the leading figures were deorted without trial. Others were hanged or transported for life, and a large number, including notable leaders like Tilak, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. But even these severe measures could not check the murders and outrages, and ultimately the Government decided to modify Lord Curzon's measure. The despatch of the Government of India on the subject, dated the 26th August, 1911, testified to the bitterness of feeling engendered by the Partition. It also frankly recognised the "substantial grievances" of the Bengalis "who found themselves outnumbered in the legislatures of both the Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal", and the "growing estrangement, which had assumed a very serious character in many parts of the country, between Moslems and Hindus."

The accession of King George V was followed by a Durbar held in Delhi held by the King and Queen in person in December, 1911. His Majesty made two famous announcements in the Durbar. One was the creation of the Presidency of Bengal under a Governor. Bihar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur were separated from it and formed into a Province under a Lieutenant-Governor, while Assam was restored as a Chief-Commissionership. (Both were subsequently placed under Governors.) The other was the transfer of the capital of India from
Calcutta to Delhi. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was severely criticized for recommending these measures, but time to a large extent justified his policy. Although terrorist outrages were not stamped out altogether, there was a considerable improvement in the racial situation, and feelings against the British grew much less bitter.

This was abundantly demonstrated in less than three years prior to the outbreak of the World War in 1914 put the loyalty of India to a stern test, and she acquitted herself in a way which won her the gratitude of Britain and the admiration of the world. Her people... Princes ungrudgingly placed their resources at the disposal of the Government, and Indian soldiers fought with bravery and distinction in various theatres of war in Europe, Africa and Western Asia. Even in the first few months of the war nearly 300,000 were sent overseas to fight on different fronts, and India supplied England with "70,000,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, 60,000 rifles of the latest type, and more than 550 guns." During the course of the war more than 800,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatants were recruited on a voluntary basis. India's contribution in material was also almost equally important. Apart from munitions, like cotton, jute, iron, steel, wolfram, manganese, mica, saltpetre, rubber, skins, petroleum, tea and wheat, were of great help to the Allies. India also made financial contributions to her utmost capacity. Although her troops were employed outside her borders, she paid the normal expenditure for their maintenance, which varied between 20 and 30 million pounds sterling per annum. She also paid the cost of an additional force of 300,000 men and made a free gift of £100,000,000 sterling to the British Government. These heavy payments involved India in currency difficulties of a serious nature for many years.

England fully recognised the generous services of India. Apart from the constitutional changes of 1919, described above, India was admitted to the War Cabinet and the Imperial Conference. Mr. S. P. Sinha was made a peer and appointed Under-Secretary of State for India. Indians were admitted to King's Commissions in the army. A Territorial Force and a University Training Corps were organised. When the League of Nations was established Indians became one of its foundation members.

2. Local Self-Government

Whatever might have been the intentions of Lord Ripon, the reforms in the sphere of local self-government did not make it free from official control, and, as the Indian Statutory Commission
observed in 1929, "no real attempt was made to inaugurate a system amenable to the will of the local inhabitants". These defects were clearly recognised by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and Lord Chelmsford's Government issued a Resolution on the 16th May, 1918, declaring the "policy of the gradual removal of unnecessary Government control and of differentiating the spheres of action appropriate for Government and for local bodies respectively". It was proposed to make these bodies as representative as possible, to remove unnecessary restrictions regarding taxation, the budget and the sanction of works, to bring the franchise as low as possible and to replace nominated Chairmen by elected non-officials. This Resolution also emphasised the importance of developing the corporate life of the village.

In 1921 local self-government became a transferred subject in charge of Ministers. The Municipalities and Local Boards were vested with enhanced powers and functions, were freed comparatively from official control, became responsible to an enlarged electorate, and came to have elected Chairmen except under extraordinary conditions when expert guidance became necessary. The Provincial Governments began to evince great zeal and interest for the progress of local institutions, and passed several Acts modifying their nature in the cities and the villages to suit modern conditions. It is of course true that the local bodies have not worked satisfactorily in all cases. But this is not because the people are incapable of self-government, but is, as the Central Committee rightly pointed out, "the inevitable result of the suddenness with which the transition from official tutelage to complete freedom was made".

One notable feature of local self-government in modern times is the institution of Improvement Trusts in important cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Rangoon, which have undertaken important activities to improve local sanitation.

3. The Public Services

During the early years of the twentieth century Indians continued to agitate for a greater share in the Public Services. In September, 1912, a Royal Commission on the Public Services in India was appointed, with Lord Islington as Chairman. Among the members of the Commission were the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Lord Ronaldshay (later Lord Zetland), Sir Valentine Chirol, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Herbert Fisher, later Warden of New College, Oxford, and Sir 'Abdur Rahim. Owing to the outbreak
of the First World War, the publication of this Commission's report was deferred till 1917. It recommended that besides the recruitment of Indians to the I.C.S. through the London examination, 25 per cent of the posts in the Superior Civil Service should be filled from among Indians partly by direct recruitment and partly by promotion from the lower service. To make the working of this scheme possible, it also recommended the holding of an examination in India for the recruitment of civilians, thus conceding to the Indians in a changed form what they had been demanding for more than half a century.

The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report took a more liberal and sympathetic view than the Islington Commission on the question of Indianising the Indian Civil Service. They proposed that (1) "33 per cent of the superior posts should be recruited for in India, and that this percentage should be increased by 1 per cent annually" until the situation was revised by a Commission; (2) that all racial distinctions in the matter of appointments should be abolished; and (3) that "for all the Public Services, for which there is recruitment in England open to Europeans and Indians alike, there must be a system of appointment in India." For about four years, the principle laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was followed in the matter of recruiting Indians. But the members of the Superior Services became rather perturbed at the growing Indianisation of the Services. Accordingly, pursuant to the recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Secretary of State in Council introduced a scheme under which All-India officers, selected for appointment before 1st January, 1920, and not permanently employed under the Government of India, were allowed to retire, before the completion of the normal period of service, on a pension proportionate to their length of service.

But certain difficulties regarding the Services continued, for the solution of which a Royal Commission was appointed in June 1923, with Lord Lee of Fareham as its Chairman. The Lee Commission submitted its report in 1924 and most of its recommendations were accepted and put into force by the Government. The Commission recommended that All-India officers of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Irrigation Branch of the Service of Engineers and the Indian Forest Service should continue to be appointed and controlled by the Secretary of State in Council, while the services in the Transferred departments should be controlled by Provincial Governments, excepting the Indian Medical Service, for which each Province was to appoint in its civil medical department a certain number of officers lent by the
Medical Department of the Army in India. As regards Indianisation of Services which were still to be controlled by the Secretary of State, the Commission recommended that 20 per cent of the officers should be recruited by promotion from Provincial Civil Services, and of the remaining 80 per cent half should be British and half Indian. It calculated that by following this principle there would be in 1939 equal numbers of Europeans and Indians in the Superior Civil Service posts. But this calculation was wrong, and the Simon Commission pointed out that the number of Indians in Superior Civil Service posts was likely to be 643 as against 715 Europeans on the 1st January, 1939. As provided by the Government of India Act, 1919, the Lee Commission recommended the immediate establishment of a Public Service Commission. Such a Commission, composed of five whole-time members, was appointed in 1925. Further, after 1922 certain officers in the Indian Civil Service were recruited on the result of a competitive examination held every year in India.

Part X of the Government of India Act, 1935, defined the rights and status of the civil and military officers in the Provinces and the proposed Federation and guaranteed their existing privileges regarding pay, promotion, leave, pension, etc. It also provided for the establishment of a Federal Public Service Commission and Provincial Public Service Commissions; but two or more Provinces might “agree that one Commission shall serve a group or that all the Provinces shall use one Commission”. The functions of the Commissions were purely advisory. They could only recommend names, which the Ministers, at least in some cases, might accept or reject.

4. The Judiciary

The year 1861 saw the establishment of High Courts in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, in which were amalgamated the previously existing Supreme Courts and Sudder Courts. At least one-third of the judges of the High Courts were to be recruited from Her Majesty’s Civil Service in India, another one-third from among barristers of England or advocates of Scotland, and the rest might be recruited from among the pleaders of the High Courts or the officers of the subordinate judiciary. The Chief Justices of the High Courts were to be appointed from among the barristers of England or advocates of Scotland. On the strength of the Indian High Courts Act of 1911, High Courts were established at Patna, Lahore and Rangoon. The elimination of the Civilian element from the bench had been demanded by Indian
public opinion. But the arrangement provided by the Government of India Act, 1935, did not satisfy this demand. It abolished the old proportional arrangement and laid down that judges would be appointed, according to convenience, from these three classes but "not necessarily in the old proportion" and thus held an greater advantage in this respect for members of the Indian Civil Service than what existed before. Further, the old rule of appointing the Chief Justices exclusively from among barristers or advocates was modified to the extent that they now might be recruited either from among the pleaders of High Courts or among the officers of the Indian Civil Service.

Another change in the Judiciary was necessitated by the proposed Federation. Sections 200 and 203 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provided for the creation of a Federal Court, which was normally to be located at Delhi and was to consist of a Chief Justice and not more than six puisne judges. The judges were to be appointed by the Crown and were to hold office till the age of sixty-five. The Federal Court was to have original jurisdiction in cases of constitutional disputes between one Province and another, between a Province and a federated State, and between a Province and the Federal authorities. It would also hear appeals from the High Courts. The latter certified that the cases related to a fundamental question of law regarding the interpretation of the Government of India Act or any Order in Council made under it.

The Federal Court was constituted on October 1, 1937.

5. Police and Jails

The Police system established by the Police Act of 1861 revealed grave defects in actual working, chiefly because the responsibility of maintaining law and order was entrusted to rather untrained and consequently irresponsible persons. A Police Commission was appointed in 1902 to investigate the state of police administration. The Commission made comprehensive recommendations regarding different aspects of police organisation, which were accepted in the main by the Government with some minor modifications in matters of detail. This Commission created specialised police agencies, known as Criminal Investigation Departments, in each Province for the investigation of "specialist and professional crimes. Also a Central Intelligence Bureau under the Home Department of the Government of India was formed to collect information from all provincial Criminal Investigation Departments, and to work for inter-provincial liaison.
ADMINISTRATION AND CONDITION, 1906-1938

Strictly speaking, no Indian or All-India police was created. The police established by the Act of 1861 became an essentially provincial organisation, administered by the Local Government concerned, and not subject to the general control of the Central Government. At the head of the police organisation in each Province was placed an Inspector-General of Police with general control over it. Deputy Inspector-Generals were given subordinate charges of portions of the Province. At the head of each district was appointed a District Superintendent of Police, having under him Inspectors of Police, Sub-Inspectors and Constables in subordinate charges called sub-divisions and thānās. In villages provision was made for chowkidārs or watchmen, who were not to get stipends but were to receive perquisites from the residents of the village, or rent-free lands, or small sums of money from the Government. In the Presidency towns like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, was stationed a unified police force under the Police Commissioner, acting not under the provincial Inspector-General but dealing directly with the Government and responsible for law and order and for departmental training and efficiency.

There is no doubt that the police organisation still requires thorough-going reforms. One thing essentially needed is that the "morale and intelligence" of the police officers shall be improved so that they may exercise their authority with more discretion. The recruitment of a number of literate police constables, during recent years, and employment of Home Guards for local watch and ward, are encouraging features.

Jail administration in India came to be regulated in modern times by the Indian Prisons Act of 1894 and by rules issued under it by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. Three types of jails were established,---Central, District and Subsidiary. In each Province the Jail Department was placed under the control of an Inspector-General of Prisons, who was generally to be a member of the Indian Medical Service with jail experience. The Central Jails were under Superintendents, who also came to be recruited from the same Service and to be assisted in large Central Jails by Deputy Superintendents. A District Jail came under the charge of a Civil Surgeon, with subordinate staff composed of jailors, deputy and assistant jailors, and warders. Many big cities were provided with Reformatory Schools, administered since 1899 by the Education Department.

The Government of India appointed a Jails Committee in 1919 with a view to reforming jail administration. This Committee made a comprehensive survey of Indian prison administration and
emphasised "the necessity of improving and increasing existing jail accommodation; of recruiting a better class of warders or providing education for prisoners; and of developing prison industries so as to meet the needs of the consuming Departments of Governments". It also recommended the separation of Civil from Criminal offenders and the creation of Children's Courts, and drew particular attention to the reformatory side of the system. The Provincial Governments have tried to carry out these recommendations more or less.

Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the maintenance of prisons fell within the sphere of Provincial Governments, subject however, to all-India legislation. With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy from the 1st April, 1937, jail administration became a Provincial subject and the power of legislation in this respect was vested in the Provincial Governments, the Central Government exercising only concurrent law-making powers with the Provincial Governments as regards the transfer of prisoners and criminals from one unit to another.

6. The Military System and Defence

During the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, a significant change took place in the Army administration. Till then the Commander-in-Chief was an Extraordinary Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. But there was also on this body a Military Member as the "constitutional adviser of the Viceroy on all questions relating to the Army". The Commander-in-Chief had to introduce his proposals and schemes before the Council through the Military Member, who was an officer of lower rank than himself. Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of India since November, 1902, condemned this system as a "military solecism involving, moreover, great expense and delay". He advocated the abolition of the Military Member, and sought to make the Commander-in-Chief the sole military adviser to the Government of India. But Lord Curzon opposed it on the ground that the military must be held subordinate to the civil power. This controversy led to the resignation of the Viceroy in August, 1905. The British Cabinet decided in favour of Lord Kitchener and made a compromise which, however, proved unworkable within a short period and was consequently abrogated. After 1909 the Commander-in-Chief was the sole military adviser of the Government of India, but in the opinion of many publicists Lord Curzon's standpoint was reasonable and just. The next higher authority, above the Commander-in-Chief, in military
administration was the Governor-General-in-Council, who had to pay due regard to all orders received from the Secretary of State in regard to the Defence Administration in India. The Secretary of State, as one of His Majesty’s Ministers, had special responsibility and authority in this matter.

The problem of Indian defence has been one of the burning topics of modern Indian politics. With the progress of the Nationalist Movement in India, her people demanded a definite control over the defence administration, and political leaders insistently complained against the heavy Army expenditure, which, in their opinion, should be diverted to "nation-building" activities. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, after praising the brilliant and faithful services of the Indian Army during the First World War, emphasised "the necessity of grappling with the problem" of Indianising it further. The Nehru Report advocated the transfer of control over the Indian Army to the Ministers. The Skeen Committee, appointed in June, 1925, with Major-General (afterwards General) Sir Andrew Skeen, the then Chief-of-Staff of the Army in India, as Chairman, and commonly known as the "Indian Sandhurst Committee", recommended the abolition of the "eight units scheme", which had been announced in 1923 by Lord Rawlinson, the then Commander-in-Chief in India, and the establishment of an Indian "Sandhurst" by 1933. These recommendations were not fully carried out. The Indian Statutory Commission considered the "cardinal problem" of national defence from different points of view, and insisted on the presence of the British element in the Indian Army on three considerations—frontier defence, internal security and obligations to the Indian States. It observed that "the control of an Army including a British element cannot be made over to an Indian Legislature" and that "the evolution of an entirely Indian military force capable of undertaking unaided the tasks now discharged by the Army in India, must be a very slow process indeed". No "substantial change" was made in the matter of India's defence by the Government of India Act, 1935.

As regards the organisation of the Army, we may note that the Command system introduced by Lord Kitchener in 1904 was abolished by him in 1907, when the Indian Army was divided into two sections, the Northern and the Southern. The war of 1914-18, during which Indian troops of all descriptions rendered valuable services, showed the defects of this system, and it was reorganised after the war was over. The Indian territory was divided into four commands, subdivided into fourteen districts, each district containing a certain
number of brigade commands. One of these, the Western Command, was abolished on the 1st November, 1938.

The defence forces of India consisted in 1939 of the Regular Army, including units from the British Army; the Auxiliary Force, the membership of which was limited to European British subjects; the Territorial Force, composed of three main categories, provincial battalions, urban units and the University Training Corps Units; the Royal Air Force from October, 1932; and the Royal Indian Marine, designated as the Royal Indian Navy from October, 1934. There were also the Indian State Forces, formerly known as the Imperial Service Troops, raised and maintained by the rulers of States at their own cost and for State service.

There were two main categories of officers in the Indian Army, those holding the King’s Commission and those holding the Viceroy’s Commission. The latter were all Indians having a limited status and power of command. As for the King’s Commission, Indians had been eligible for it since 1918 in three ways (a) by qualifying themselves as cadets at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun (opened in October, 1932), (b) by the selection of efficient Indian officers or promotion of non-commissioned officers of regiments from the ranks, and (c) by the award of honorary King’s Commissions to officers who cannot qualify themselves for these on account of their advanced age or lack of education. In 1932 the Government announced its intention of Indianising a Division of all Arms and a Cavalry Brigade. Another important stage in the Indianisation of the Indian Army was marked by the passing of the Indian Army (Amendment) Act by the Central Legislature during its autumn session of 1934. According to this measure, officers commissioned from the Indian Military Academy would enjoy legal status and would be designated as “Indian Commissioned officers”.

Important steps were taken during succeeding years to bring the equipment and organisation of the defence forces of India into line with modern conditions. In September, 1939, the recommendations of the Chatfield Committee were published. Provision was made for a gift of thirty-three and a half crores of the United Kingdom for bringing about the desired reforms, and a loan of eleven and three-quarter crores free of interest was also provided for. The establishment of British troops was to be reduced by about 25 per cent. The Army was to be distributed on the following basis, namely, frontier defence, internal security, coast defence and general reserve. Provision was also made for light tanks and armoured cars and for motor transport. Artillery regiment
were to be mechanised and better equipped with guns. The Air Force was to be provided with bomber squadrons, flights for coast defence and for co-operation with the army. The Royal Indian Navy was to be strengthened by vessels of the newest type. Ordnance factories were to be reconstructed and expanded.

7. Financial Administration

To Lord Mayo's Government belongs the credit for taking the first important step towards financial decentralisation in India by giving to each Provincial Government a fixed grant for the maintenance of certain definite services, such as police, jails, education and the medical services, with powers, under certain financial rules, to allocate the revenues assigned to them at their discretion and to provide for extra expenditure by economising, or, if necessary, by raising local taxes. The next significant step in this direction was taken in 1877 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, when, as we have already noted, certain important heads of revenue were provincialised, while the responsibility of Provinces as regards expenditure was extended to the departments of land revenue, general administration, and law and justice. Settlements on these lines were made in 1882 and 1897 with, however, no change of principle in any case.

A departure was made in 1904 with the introduction of "the system of quasi-permanent settlements" under which assignments of revenues made to Provincial Governments were definitely fixed and were not subject to change by the Central Government except under extraordinary circumstances. Something more was gained by the Provinces a little later by the introduction of the famine insurance scheme, according to which a fixed amount was placed by the Government of India to the credit of each Provincial Government, which the latter could utilise in case of famine without touching its normal resources. In 1917 the famine relief expenditure was made a divided head, the expenses being borne by the Central and Provincial Governments in the proportion of three to one.

No radical change in financial relations between the Centre and the Provinces was proposed by the Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India appointed in 1908. But in 1912 Lord Hardinge's Government made the financial settlements permanent, reduced the fixed provincial assignments and increased the share of the Provinces in the growing revenues. The restrictions on the financial powers of the Provincial Governments were still very stringent. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report pointed out bow
seriously the existing financial arrangements operated "as an obstacle to provincial enfranchisement" and suggested a wider degree of financial devolution. Accordingly a Committee, known as the Financial Relations Committee, was appointed, with Lord Meston, who had been Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces and the Finance Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, as Chairman. The scheme set up according to the recommendations of this Committee, with slight modifications made by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, is known as the Meston Award. It avoided, as far as possible, divided heads of revenue. To make the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments clear and definite, certain sources of income, such as Land Revenue, Excise, Irrigation, Forests, Judicial Stamps, and Registration Fees and Minerals, were made Provincial, while sources like Customs Duty, Income Tax, Railway Revenues, Posts and Telegraphs, Salt and Opium were reserved for the Central Government. Total abolition of the divided heads was not possible, and it was laid down that the Provinces should receive some share in the increase of revenue from income tax. The contributions to be made by the Provincial Governments to meet the Central deficit, varying in amount, were also fixed, their total being a little less than ten crores of rupees. The Province of Bihar and Orissa was not required to make any contribution at all. The Provinces protested against these contributions, which, being consequently reduced in amount in successive stages, finally disappeared from the Budget in 1928–1929.

With the beginning of attempts for the introduction of the proposed Federal Constitution, the important question of the distribution of revenues between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments was considered by the India Statutory Commission (Layton Report), by a sub-committee of the Federal Structure Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Peel, and by a Federal Finance Committee with Lord Eustace Percy as Chairman. The Government of India Act, 1935, provided a composite financial arrangement, based on the findings of the above-mentioned bodies. A classification was made of the sources of revenue as Federal and Provincial in separate lists. The following taxes were to be levied and collected by the Federal Government: (i) Duties in respect of succession to property other than agricultural land, (ii) Stamp duties in respect of bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes, bills of lading, letters of credit, policies of insurance, proxies and receipts, (iii) Terminal taxes on goods or passengers carried by railway and air, (iv) Taxes on railway fares
and freights, (v) Taxes on income, excluding corporation taxes (that is, a tax on the profits of companies), (vi) Salt excise and export duties.

The net proceeds of some of these duties and taxes, such as the income tax, duties on jute export, etc., were to be distributed, under certain conditions, among the Provinces and the Federal States within which these had been collected. The Federal Legislature was, however, competent to levy a surcharge on these duties and taxes and to appropriate the proceeds for Federal purposes. The Secretary of State appointed a financial expert, Sir Otto Niemeyer, to determine the terms of the financial settlement between the Central and Provincial Governments. His report, published in April, 1936, was accepted and its main recommendations were: (i) To enable all the Provinces to possess adequate financial resources on the inauguration of the new Constitution on 1st April, 1937, certain Provinces to be given cash subventions, (ii) some Provinces should be granted relief in the form of cancellation of debts incurred prior to 1st April, 1936, (iii) twelve and a half per cent of the jute tax should be distributed among the jute-growing Provinces, and (iv) subject to certain conditions, half of the income tax should be assigned to the Provinces beginning from five years after the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy. This scheme did not satisfactorily solve the fundamental problem of Indian finance by giving adequate funds to the Provinces for their relief or added strength. In order to secure financial stability, the Reserve Bank Act was passed in 1934 and the Bank began operations in 1935.

Land revenue is the main source of revenue of the Provinces. It is partly in the nature of a rent and partly a tax. In recent times attempts had been made to bring it under the effective control of the Legislature, and with the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy the new Legislatures in the Provinces paid much attention towards revising land revenue administration. The Socialists demanded the abolition of the Zamindari system, and some new Governments in the Provinces also want to enforce it.

8. Communications and Public Works

A. Railways

Under the new Guarantee System (1870-1900), most of the railways were acquired or purchased by the State on the expiry of the respective periods of contract with the companies concerned.
But the management was left to the companies, subject to government control, exercised through the Railway Board, which was created in 1905. The fourteen years before the First World War were marked by a rapid extension of railways and a beginning of railway profits. But during the period 1914–1921, there was a setback partly due to wartime pressure on them and partly due to the decrease of the annual programme of capital expenditure.

After the introduction of the reforms of 1919, a Committee was appointed, with the late Sir William Acworth as its Chairman to investigate into the working of the railways and recommend a suitable policy for their further development. The Committee recommended an expenditure of 150 crores of rupees every two years on improving the railways; and its majority report definitely favoured State management of the railways and construction of new lines by State agency. The Committee also recommended the creation of a new department of communications, reorganisation of railway boards, establishment of a Railway Rates Tribunal and separation of the railway budget from the general budget. It should be noted that Indian public opinion has always been opposed to company management of railways, not only because their profits thereby went out of India but also because the companies were considered to be unsympathetic towards Indian national interests. Though the Government of India did not definitely accept the recommendation of the majority report regarding the ending of company management, yet under the pressure of Indian opinion it ultimately took under its direct management the East Indian Railway (1st January, 1925), the Great Indian Peninsular Railway (30th June, 1925), the Burma Railways (1st January, 1929) and the Southern Punjab Railway (1st January, 1930). The Government began to undertake all new construction of railways. The Railway Board was also reorganised. As constituted in 1936, it had the Chief Commissioner as President, the Financial Commissioner and three other members. The Railway Advisory Committee was created in 1926, and the Central Publicity Bureau of the Railway Board was started on the 1st April, 1927. In accordance with the recommendation of the Acworth Committee, railway finance was separated from the general budget from 1927.

B. Roads

Progressive decentralisation, and the growth of local self-government, have afforded considerable stimulus to road development. More attention has also been recently paid to the need
C. Water Transport

The importance of Water Transport has decreased in modern times, owing to the construction of railways. The water transport of India falls into two divisions: Inland water transport, facilitated by the river systems of Northern India, and Marine transport along India's extensive coastline. In 1918 the Industrial Commission emphasised the need of co-ordinating railway and waterway administrations in order to relieve railway congestion and meet the requirements of small-scale transport. For several reasons, the position of India's shipping and ship-building industries had become unsatisfactory. The need of developing an Indian Mercantile Marine was keenly felt, and, on the recommendation of the Marine Mercantile Committee (1923), the Government provided a training ship, the I.M.M. T. S. Pufferin, for Indian cadets.

D. Irrigation

Irrigation works have a special importance in an agricultural country like India, where the rainfall is unequally distributed throughout the seasons and is liable to failure or serious deficiency. The famines of 1896 and 1901 clearly showed the need and importance of protective irrigation works. Lord Curzon appointed a Commission on Irrigation in 1901, which submitted its report in 1903. A new chapter in the irrigation policy of the Government was opened by the recommendations of this Commission. Among other things, it specially recommended the possible extension of the scope of productive, especially protective irrigation works for the Deccan districts of Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces and Bundelkhand. It sketched out a rough programme of irrigation works for the next twenty years, adding 64 million acres to the irrigated area at an estimated cost of £30,000,000.
There are three classes of irrigation works in India: (i) Wells, (ii) Tanks, and (iii) Canals. The canals are of three kinds: Perennial canals, (b) Inundation canals, and (c) Storage works. Since 1921 irrigation works have been classified under two main heads: (i) Productive, and (ii) Unproductive, with a third class covering areas irrigated by non-capital works.

After the reforms of 1919, irrigation became a Provincial subject. The Provincial Governments have shown much activity regarding irrigation works, and the important measures that have been undertaken in this direction, are: (i) The Sutlej Valley project in the Punjab completed in 1933, (ii) the Sukkur Barrage in Sind completed in 1932, (iii) the Kaveri Reservoir and Mettur project completed in 1934, (iv) the Nizam Sugar project, completed in 1934, (v) the Sarda-Oudh canals in the United Provinces, and (vi) the Lloyd Dam in Bombay, completed in 1926, which is one of the largest masses of masonry in the world.

9. Agriculture, Rural Indebtedness and Rural Reconstruction, and the Co-operative Movement

A. Agriculture

As a result of the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1880, agricultural departments were started in the various Provinces. In 1901 an Inspector-General of Agriculture was appointed to advise the Imperial and Provincial Governments. This post was abolished in 1912, and its duties were transferred to the Director of the Agricultural Research Institute at Poona, who was until 1929 Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India. The present Departments of Agriculture, however, owe their existence to Lord Curzon, whose famous despatch of 1903 marked the beginning of a reorganisation in 1905. The Poona Institute was started in 1903, together with a college to provide for advanced agricultural training. An All-India Board of Agriculture was established in 1905 with a view to bringing the Provincial Governments more in touch with one another and making suitable recommendations to the Government of India. The Imperial Agricultural Service was constituted in 1906. An agricultural college was founded at Poona in 1908 and similar colleges were started in subsequent years at Cawnpore, Nagpur, Lyally, Coimbatore, and Mandalay.

With the introduction of the reforms of 1919, agriculture became a Transferred subject under a Minister, though the Government
of India retained responsibility for central research institutions and for certain affairs relating to the diseases and pests of plants and animals. The Royal Commission on Agriculture (Lindley Commission) authoritatively reviewed the position of agriculture in India and reported in 1928. Having duly recognised the work done by the agricultural departments, the Commission stressed the enormous possibilities for future work and made comprehensive recommendations regarding the different problems of agriculture. On its recommendation, an important step was taken in July, 1929, by the establishment of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, whose primary function was to promote, guide and co-ordinate agricultural, including veterinary, research in India and to extend help in these matters to the Provincial departments of agriculture. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee (1931) recommended that a Provincial Board of Economic Enquiry should be established in each Province to supply the Government with the information it requires to be able to pursue a constructive agricultural policy. Sir John Russell and R. Wright, who subsequently reviewed the progress of agricultural research work in India, made, in their report, important recommendations to bridge the gulf between the research worker and the cultivator. These were examined by a special Sub-Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The Government of India declared their intention to extend further help to the agriculturists by providing better facilities for credit and for the marketing of agricultural produce. A central marketing section was started under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. It worked in collaboration with the marketing staff in the different Provinces.

B. Rural Indebtedness and Rural Reconstruction

Closely connected with agriculture is the serious problem of heavy rural indebtedness in modern India. As the Central Banking Enquiry Committee reported in 1931, the total agricultural indebtedness of the Provinces in British India was about 900 crores of rupees. The greater part of the rural debt, contracted at exorbitant rates of interest, is unproductive. The Government adopted certain measures, from time to time, to deal with this problem. The Usurious Loans Act, consolidated and amended in 1918, tried to determine the legal maximum amount of interest recoverable. The Royal Commission on Agriculture recommended the regulation of money-lending, and some of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees recommended licensing of money-lenders.
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Land Alienation Acts were passed in order to restrict the transfer of land. For example, the Punjab Land Alienation Act (1900) prohibited non-agricultural classes from buying land from agriculturists or taking land on mortgage for more than twenty years.

In recent times rural reconstruction claimed an increasing amount of attention both from the Government and the Congress. Mr. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S., tried, as Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction, an important experiment in rural uplift in the Gurgaon District of the Punjab. A similar appointment was made in Bengal. In the Central Provinces and Berar the local government carried on similar work from November, 1929. During the latter part of 1933 His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, the then Governor of Bombay, initiated a comprehensive scheme of village reconstruction, the work of which was carried on by District Committees under the guidance of the District Collectors. The Government of India also took an interest in the work of rural reconstruction and granted in 1935-1936 over two crores of rupees for this purpose. The Co-operative Movement in India also aims at solving the problem of rural indebtedness.

C. The Co-operative Movement

Frederick Nicholson, a Madras civilian, first suggested in his Report (1892) to the Madras Government the introduction of co-operative credit societies in India. In 1901 the Government of India appointed a Committee to consider the question of the establishment of agricultural banks in India, and after the Committee submitted its report, the Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in 1904. It provided for the starting of rural as well as urban credit societies. Thus the Co-operative Movement was inaugurated in India on the 24th March, 1904. The movement showed remarkable progress in every Province within a few years. It received a fresh impetus by the Amending Act of 1912, which granted recognition to non-credit societies, central financing societies, and unions. The Macalagan Committee (1914-1915) made some valuable recommendations for the organisation of co-operative finance. After the reforms of 1919, co-operation became a Provincial subject and the local governments were left free to adapt the Act of 1912 to their own requirements. There are three parts in the financial structure of the Co-operative Movement: (i) The Agricultural Credit Society, (ii) Central Financing Agencies, and (iii) Provincial Co-operative
Banks. The question of the relief of old debts of agriculturists, through long-term credit, led to the establishment of a special type of bank, known as the Land Mortgage Bank, in some Provinces.

But the Co-operative Movement passed through a very critical stage during recent years, owing partly to the fall of agricultural prices and general economic decline and partly to some defects in its working. In spite of all that has been done, the poverty and indebtedness of the Indian masses are still appalling problems in Indian economic life, like the problem of unemployment among the middle classes (into which investigations were carried on by specially appointed committees, the most important being the Sapru Committee which submitted its report in 1933) in some Provinces like Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, U.P. and Bihār, and in some of the Indian States. The solution of these problems is vitally necessary, though the stupendous and perplexing character of the task cannot be denied.

10. Famine Relief

Important recommendations about the principles of famine relief in India were made by the Famine Commission of 1880, which had as its Chairman Sir Richard Strachey. A terrible famine broke out in 1899–1900, affecting 475,000 square miles with a population of 59,500,000. Another Famine Commission was, therefore, appointed with Sir Antony MacDonnell as its President. The Commission, which reported in 1901, stressed the need for "moral strategy" or "putting heart into the people", that is, helping the people with loans and other means, as soon as there is any sign of danger, by timely and liberal grants of āṭkārī loans, by the suspension of land revenue, by being watchful about the signs of approaching calamity, by organising private charity and by enlisting non-official support. The present famine relief policy is shaped in the light of its recommendations. Side by side with the growth of the machinery for famine relief has developed the policy of famine prevention through railway and irrigation works and improvement of agriculture and industries. Under the financial decentralisation rules of the Government of India Act, 1919, each Provincial Government (except Burma, which is now separated from India, and Assam) was required to contribute every year, out of its resources, a definite sum for expenditure on famine. These annual assignments from the revenues of the Provinces were to be spent on relief of famine only, the term "Famine" covering famines caused by drought or other natural calamities; but the sum not required for this purpose was devoted...
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To building up a Famine Relief Fund. Under the 1935 Constitution, famine relief expenditure became entirely a Provincial charge, though the annual contributions of the Provinces to the Famine Relief Fund continued as before.

II. Trade, Industry, Fiscal Changes, and Labour

A. Trade

We have already observed how after 1869, when the Suez Canal was thrown open for navigation, India's foreign trade began to expand rapidly with the growth of peace and order, improvements in means of communication, the adoption of the policy of free trade, and disappearance of internal customs barriers and transit duties in India. Great Britain for a long time held the predominant position in the Indian market. But after the end of the nineteenth century, other countries, like Germany, the United States of America and Japan, appeared as her competitors in Indian trade, and the volume of it, as a whole, consequently increased. The War of 1914–18 first caused a temporary reduction in the volume of this trade, particularly the import trade. But owing to some favourable factors on the termination of the war, there was a trade boom in India as in other countries, which again was followed by a trade depression. After a temporary recovery, trade received a severe setback due to general economic depression throughout the world. In 1932–1933 the export trade declined in value to Rs.136 crores, and the import trade reached the lowest level, that is, Rs.117 crores, in 1933–1934. Soon there was a partial recovery. During 1934–1935 the value of the export trade rose to Rs.155 crores and of the import trade to 135 crores. The report of the Economic Adviser to the Government of India for 1939 stated that India "witnessed the culmination of a period of recovery in world trade, world production and international price level in 1937–1938". But "the turnover of India's overseas trade in merchandise for the year 1938–39 suffered a substantial reduction as compared with 1937–38".

Important changes have taken place in recent times in the distribution of India's trade. Before the War of 1914–18, there was a distinct tendency on the part of India's foreign trade to divert itself from the United Kingdom to the other European countries. During the war the United Kingdom recovered to a large extent her share in the export trade, though it afterwards decreased as far as the import trade was concerned, owing
to the active competition of the United States of America, Japan and the Central European countries. The United Kingdom’s share in the import trade was 40.6 per cent in 1934-1935 as compared with 64 per cent in 1913-1914. Subsequently there was some recovery in her share, and the Ottawa preferences on imports from the United Kingdom were meant to benefit her. Besides India’s external trade, her internal trade includes the coasting trade and inland trade. The coasting trade with Burma is of special importance.

The matter of commercial intelligence began to attract increasing attention. Besides the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics (functioning since 1922), there were Indian Trade Commissioners in London and Hamburg. Non-official bodies like the European and Indian Chambers of Commerce also took much interest in the development of trade.

**B. Industry**

The Famine Commission of 1880 and 1901 emphasised the need of industrialising India as one of the means of combating the problem of famine. A change from the indifferent attitude of the Government towards industries seems to have commenced in the time of Lord Curzon, at whose instance a separate Imperial Department of Commerce and Industries was created in 1905. The Swadeshi Movement also gave rise to considerable enthusiasm for the industrial regeneration of India. But the Government again reverted to the old laissez-faire policy, when in 1910 Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, who was suspicious of creating a Provincial Department of Industries, sent a despatch to the Government of India discouraging attempts at the development of industries.

The war of 1914–18 strikingly revealed India’s industrial poverty and made the Government realise clearly the importance of industrialisation not only from the economic but also from the military point of view. After the Government of India had issued Rises for the Defence of the country which authorised the Executive to control supplies of all kinds and to organise the resources of India, a Munitions Board was established in February, 1917. Although the primary functions of this Board were to control the purchase and manufacture of Government stores and munitions of war, it indirectly gave a great stimulus to industrial development in India by supplying information and advice, by placing orders with Indian firms and in some other ways.
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In response to Indian public demand, the Government appointed an Industrial Commission in 1918 to examine the possibilities of industrial development, to find out new openings for Indian capital in trade and industries and to recommend means of Government encouragement to industries. The Industrial Commission presented its report in 1918 and recommended to the Government the initiation of "a policy of energetic intervention in industrial affairs", the establishment of Imperial and Provincial Departments of Industry, the organisation of scientific and technical services, the provision of greater facilities for industrial and technical education, a change in the policy of purchasing stores, the grant of technical and financial aid to industries, the encouragement of industrial co-operation, and the improvement of transport and freight facilities. Government accepted these recommendations and tried, to some extent, to carry them out in practice. After the reforms, "industries" became a transferred subject. The fate of Indian industries is closely linked with the tariff policy of the Government, which we will now try to review briefly.

"Fiscal Changes"

The stimulus to industries during 1914-18 was temporary. Soon after its termination, foreign competition appeared again and the need of protection for Indian industries was felt. As a matter of fact, Indian public opinion had demanded a revision of tariff policy for about half a century before the war, and this demand revived under post-war conditions. Although this subject was excluded from the deliberations of the Industrial Commission, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report supported India's claim to determine her own tariff policy. The Joint Select Committee on the India Bill recommended the grant of fiscal autonomy to India. In response to a resolution for full fiscal autonomy, moved in the Council of State in 1921, the Secretary of State sent a despatch, dated 30th June, 1921, accepting this principle. A Fiscal Commission was appointed in the same year to determine the nature of this policy. This Commission recommended the adoption of a policy of "discriminate protection", the claims of the respective industries to protection being determined by a Tariff Board. The Government accepted this recommendation and a Tariff Board was appointed in July, 1923. Acting under the instructions of the Government, the Board examined the claims of many industries, and protection was extended to the iron and steel, cotton, paper, sugar, salt, match and other industries. Certain important changes in the tariff were afterwards introduced by several Acts, the most important of these...
being the Indian Tariff (Ottawa Trade Agreement) Amendment Act 1932, which gave effect to the tariff changes necessitated by the Trade Agreement made between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom at the Imperial Economic Conference held at Ottawa during July–August, 1932. These agreements, which came into force from the 1st January, 1933, provided for certain margins of preference on a number of goods on importation into India from the United Kingdom or from a British Colony. According to some Indian politicians and commercialists, they benefited British trade with India at the cost of India's 'wider interests', as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru puts it in his Autobiography.

D. Labour

The modern conditions of life have made the regulation of labour an almost indispensable duty of the State in India. The agitation carried on by Lancashire and Dundee trade interests led to the appointment of a Factory Commission in 1908, which after carefully investigating conditions in factories of different kinds recommended certain important changes. These were accepted in the main by the Government and were finally embodied in the Factory Act of 1911. The Act limited the working hours of children and women to seven and eleven respectively and provided for a compulsory recess for half an hour in the midday in all factories. The old limits (nine to fourteen) for the age of the children were retained, but arrangements were provided to get their age properly certified. Particularly in the case of textile industries, the working hours of children were limited to six and of adult males to twelve. Certain new provisions were introduced about the health and safety of the industrial workers. The ferment in the labour world after 1919 made further changes in the conditions of labour in India necessary, and the incentive for these came this time also mainly from outside. The Draft Conventions and the Draft Recommendations of the International Labour Conference at Washington (1919) were introduced into the reformed Indian Legislature and became law in 1922. This new Act widened the definition of factories, abolished the old distinction between textile and non-textile factories; raised the minimum age for a child employee from nine to twelve, and the maximum age from fourteen to fifteen; provided that the children should not be employed for more than six hours a day, and fixed compulsory rest intervals; restricted the work of all adults to eleven hours a day and sixty hours a week, with a rest interval of one hour after six hours' work.
and a regular weekly holiday, and made regulations regarding payment for overtime work. But the provisions of this Act applied only to factories and not to all industrial workers. It underwent slight amendments in 1923 and 1926 to ensure better working. A Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in 1923 providing compensation for certain kinds of injury, or death, of industrial workers of various classes.

But the working of these Acts for a few years revealed some defects in them, and, at the same time, industrial unrest, the influence of the labour movement, and the co-operation of India, as an original member of the League of Nations, in the International Labour Organisation at Geneva, stimulated proposals for further reform. In the middle of the year 1929 the Government of India announced the appointment, by His Majesty the King-Emperor, of a Royal Commission on Indian Labour, with the late Rt. Hon. J. H. Whitley as its Chairman, "to enquire into and report on the existing conditions of labour in industrial undertakings and plantations in British India; on the health, efficiency and standard of living of the workers, and on the relations between the employers and the employed, and to make recommendations". The Royal Commission exhaustively reviewed the existing labour legislation and labour conditions in India, and made a series of recommendations in its Report which was published in July, 1931. It is not possible to attempt here even a brief summary of these recommendations, on some of which action was taken by the Central and Provincial Governments. The most important measures of such labour legislation were the Amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1933, which further expanded the scope of the Act of 1923, the Indian Factories Act of 1934, which extended the provisions of the previous Factories Acts regarding the hours of work and sanitary and other conditions of industrial labourers; the Payment of Wages Act of 1936, which sought to regulate the payment of wages to the workers; and the C.P. Unregulated Factories Act of 1937, which regulated the labour of women and children and made provision for the welfare of labour in the factories to which the Factories Act of 1934 did not apply. The hours of work were limited to ten a day or fifty a week in all "perennial" factories. Each Province appointed Factory Inspectors to secure the observance of the Factories Acts. Efforts were made to improve the conditions of labourers through welfare work, organised occasionally by institutions like the Y.M.C.A., the Social Service Leagues, and the Depressed Classes Mission Society. Under the reformed Constitution, Congress
Ministries attempted to improve the conditions of labour in various ways, and appointed Committees, such as the Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee (appointed in October, 1937), the Cawnporé Labour Inquiry Committee (appointed in November, 1937), the Central Provinces Textile Labour Inquiry Committee (appointed in February, 1938), and the Bihar Labour Inquiry Committee (appointed in March, 1938), to inquire into the conditions of labour prevailing in the industrial centres and to make recommendations for their improvement. The question of representation of labour in the Central and Provincial Legislatures assumed a special importance and was considered by some committees. The Indian Delimitation Committee, which was set up in 1935 with Sir Lawrie Hammond as Chairman and published its report in February, 1936, proposed the formation of certain constituencies for the return of representatives of labour to the Federal Assembly and to the Provincial Legislative Assemblies on the basis of registered trade unions.

Besides State legislation and philanthropic activities for the benefit of labour, we should note the influence of the labour movement itself in Modern India. This movement owed its origin to the general awakening following the First World War, combined with the high prices of the bare necessities of life and the fixed wages which were mainly responsible for the deplorable conditions of living. The Madras Labour Union, formed by Mr. B. P. Wadia in 1918, may be regarded as the first trade union in the proper sense of the term. The labourers soon realised the value of organisation and the efficacy of strikes. In 1920 Mr. Narayan Malhar Joshi created the first All-India Trade Union Congress. Trade Unions sprang up in most of the industrial centres and strikes broke out frequently. Trade Union activities were to a certain extent legalised by the Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926. The Royal Commission recommended a reconsideration of this Act, especially regarding the limitations imposed on the activities of Trade Unions and their officers. The Trade Union Movement continued to expand, though its progress was much hampered by illiteracy among workers, lack of efficient leadership, the agricultural outlook of Indian labour and its heterogeneous character. In 1929 there was a split among its leaders due to the attempts of the Communists to capture the Trade Union Congress. Moderate Trade Unionists under the leadership of Mr. N. M. Joshi seceded from the Congress and started a new organisation called the Indian Trades Union Federation. A further split occurred in 1931. Attempts were made to bring about unity in the ranks of Indian labour by amalgamating
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The bodies into one central organisation, but without success. In 1938 the combined Trade Union Congress had a total membership of about 354,500 with 191 affiliated Unions.

12. Social and Religious Reforms

The cultural renaissance which marked the advent of a new age in India was in full vigour during the first half of the twentieth century.

We have reviewed the activities of the Brâhma Samaj, the Prârthanâ Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Deccan Education Society, the Theosophical Society and the Râmakrishna Mission during the second half of the nineteenth century. The twentieth century saw a continuation of these efforts for popular uplift.

After completing his twenty years' service with the Deccan Education Society, Gokhale founded in 1905 the still more famous organisation known as the Servants of India Society. The object of the Society was to train "national missionaries for the service of India, and to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people". Its members should be such as were "prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit". It was not a Society founded for any specific activity, political, educational, economic, or social, but merely a group of men who were trained and equipped for some form of service to the motherland.

"Whether such members in future were to run schools or papers or legislatures or co-operative societies or slum work or what not—that was not of prime importance, but what was to be the distinctive feature, the indispensable characteristic of any such work, was to be the fact that it was to be undertaken for its own sake, as a good work which is its own end, not for the furtherance of a party or a class or a corporation or least of all—for personal self-aggrandisement."

Both Gokhale and Srinivasa Sastri, who succeeded him as President of the Society on his death in 1915, devoted themselves mainly to politics and attained unique distinction in that line. Some other members devoted themselves to work of other kinds and developed independent organisations. We will refer to the activities of three of them.

(i) One such member, Narayan Malhar Joshi, founded in 1911 the Social Service League in Bombay, its aim being "to secure for the masses of the people better and reasonable conditions of life and work". "Within fifteen years they had come to run 17 night-
schools for 760 adults, 3 free day schools for half-timers in the mills, 11 libraries and reading rooms with a daily average of 260 readers, and 2 day nurseries. They had organised over a hundred co-operative societies; they did Police Court Agents' work, gave legal advice and wrote petitions for the illiterate; they arranged fresh-air excursions for slum children and provided six gymnasium and three theatrical stages for the recreation of the working classes; they did sanitary work, gave medical relief in three dispensaries to nearly 20,000 outdoor patients per annum and had started Boys' Clubs and Scout corps."

In 1920 Mr. Joshi founded the All-India Trade Union Congress and became recognised as the foremost representative of the Labour Movement in India. He served the Labour Movement ably until 1926 when a resolution was passed at the annual meeting of the Trade Union Congress to affiliate the All-Indian Federation (founded by Mr. Joshi) to Moscow, and this leaning towards Communism forced Joshi and his adherents to leave the meeting.

(ii) Hriday Nâth Kunzru, another member of the Servants of India Society, founded in 1914 the Sevâ Samiti at Allahâbâd. In addition to the promotion of education, sanitation, physical culture, etc., it organises social service during fairs, famines, floods, epidemics, and especially on the occasion of religious festivals like the Kumbha Mela.

(iii) Shri Râm Bâjpai organised the Sevâ Samiti Boy Scouts' Association. It was founded in 1914 on the line of the world-wide Baden-Powell organisation, which at that time refused to allow Indians to join it. Although Lord Baden-Powell, as a result of his personal visit to India, raised the colour bar, Bâjpai's organisation decided to preserve its separate existence, as its aim was the complete Indianisation of the Boy Scout Movement in India.

The activities of the five illustrious members of the Servants of India Society (Gokhale, Sâstri, Joshi, Kunzru and Bâjpai) will suffice to indicate clearly its role in moulding the national life of India.

The Servants of India Society conducted three papers—The Servant of India, an English weekly edited by Mr. S. G. Vaze; the Dnyan Prabha, the oldest Marathi daily, edited by Mr. Limaye; and the Hikawat, a weekly.

The minority communities in India, like the Parsis and the Sikhs, were also profoundly influenced by the wave of reformation. The Parsi community owes a great deal to its famous reformer, Behramji M. Malabari, for his brilliant services in the
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cause of Indian women, children, education, and journalism. The Zoroastrian Conference, inaugurated in 1910 at the instance of a Parsi priest named Dhala who had visited America and studied in Columbia University under the renowned Zoroastrian scholar, Professor Jackson, has rendered beneficial services to the community. The Chief Khâlásâ Diwân, with its headquarters at Amritsar and branches in different parts of the country, advocating liberal reforms in society and culture, and the Khâlásâ College at Amritsar, gave eloquent proofs of Sikh awakening.

Largely through the 'Aligarh Movement, the history of which has been already traced, Islam in India was roused to a new life. The chief exponents of this "New Islam" were Maulavi Chirâgh 'Áli, the Rt. Hon. Syed Amir 'Áli, Sir Shaikh Muhammad Iqâbî, Prof. S. Khudâbakhsh and Prof. A. M. Maulavi. A number of anjumana or societies, and a powerful Muslim press, sprang up for the service of the Muslim community. The Ahmadiyyâ Movement, started by Mirzâ Ghulâm Ahmad of Qadian in the Gurdâspur district of the Punjab for the restoration of the "true and unpolluted faith of Islam to the followers of the Prophet", also gained a number of followers in different parts of the world.

Under the influence of the general awakening of the country, a spirit of reform permeated various classes of Indian society and profoundly modified their ideas, habits and customs. The most striking change in Indian social life of to-day is in the position of women. Women are not only coming out of their parsahe and receiving education, but are also taking active interest in social and political matters and are claiming their rights as citizens. As a matter of fact, the women's movement in India, which started largely under the inspiration of Ramâbâi Ranade, has "succeeded with a swiftness and to a degree that would have seemed fantastic even a few years earlier".

Attempts have been made by the State and reformers to do away with legislation with the evil of early marriage. In 1901 the Gâlikwâr of Barodâ passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act, which fixed the minimum marriageable age in the State, for girls at twelve and for boys at sixteen. The Age of Consent Committee met at Simla in June, 1928, to enquire into the question of marriage reforms. After its report appeared, Râî Sâheb Harbilâs Sârdâ's Child Marriage Bill was passed in 1930. The Act evoked much opposition among the conservative sections of the people and did not prove very effectual in actual working. The Widow-Romarriage Movement, which had many notable Indian social reformers as its advocates, has also made some progress, though widow-
remarriage is still so uncommon as to attract attention in the papers whenever it takes place. Laudable attempts to improve the lot of the widows have been made by the Mahārāni’s School at Mysore, the Ārya Samāj and the Purity Society in the Punjab and the Hindu Widow Reform League of Lucknow.

The women themselves have been zealous in making attempts to improve their lot in all possible ways. In 1923 a Women’s Indian Association, with many branches, was started and opened a Children’s Home in Madras. In 1924 a Birth Control League was founded in Bombay, and the journal Navayuga (The New Age) offered its services to the cause of this movement. Of the members of the Indian National Conference, held at Belgaum in December, 1924, 1,000 were women. In December, 1925, the talented Indian poetess, Sarojini Naidu (née Chatterjee), became President of the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress. The Women’s Indian Association, started in Madras, has rendered valuable services to the cause of the uplift of women in a variety of ways. It opened, on the 21st March, 1934, a Rescue Home to facilitate the working of the Rescue section of the Immoral Traffic Act, enforced by the Government. Muslim ladies also were affected by the spirit of reform, as is clear from the sessions of the All-India Muslim Ladies Conference since 1914. In 1919 the All-India Muslim Ladies Conference, at its Lahore session, pronounced against polygamy. Her Highness the Dowager Begum of Bhopal presided over the annual session of the All-India Women’s Conference in 1928 and she introduced many social and educational reforms for women in her State. Since 1926, the All-India Women’s Conference has expressed, in its annual sessions, the legitimate demands of the women for better facilities regarding education, and abolition of social abuses.

The growth of political consciousness among women is strikingly illustrated by the success of the Women’s Suffrage Movement on the day when the historic All-India Women’s Deputation waited upon Mr. Montagu in Madras on the 18th December, 1917. Ms. Annie Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Haribai Poonja gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, in support of the extension of the franchise to Indian women. Representatives of Indian womanhood took part in the Round Table Conferences in London. The Government of India Act, 1935, gave political rights to Indian women for advance of those enjoyed by them before. They were allotted 6 seats out of a total of 156 reserved for British India in the Federal Council of State and 9 out of a total of 250 so reserved in the
Federal Assembly. So far as Provincial Assemblies were concerned, women had reserved to them 8 seats in Madras, 6 in Bombay, 5 in Bengal, 6 in the United Provinces, 4 in the Punjab, 4 in Bihar, 3 in the Central Provinces and Berar, 1 in Assam, 2 in Orissa and 2 in Sind. The franchise qualifications affecting them were liberalised, so that more than 6 million women (against 315,000) under the Act of 1919 received the right to vote, compared with 29 million men.

With the spread of education among women, efforts have been made to train Indian sisters ministrant to serve the poor, the sick and the distressed. The Poona Sevā Sadan, started in 1909 by the late Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, the late Mr. G. K. Devadhar, and a few other ladies and gentlemen, and its branches in different parts of the country, have done much valuable work "with special reference to the training of nurses and midwives, the promotion of maternity and child welfare, and the finding of employment for widows". Similar work has been done by another organisation also known as the Sevā Sadan Society, started in July, 1908, by the late Mr. B. M. Malabari and Mr. Dayārān Gudumal. Important institutions to serve the same end were inaugurated by the wives of several Viceroy's. The National Association for Supplying Medical Aid by Women to the Women of India, started by the Countess of Dufferin in 1885 and having subsequently twelve provincial branches and numerous local committees, had for its object "the training of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives, as well as the provision of dispensaries, wards and hospitals". As a part of this Association, a special Women's Medical Service for India was constituted in 1914. The Victoria Memorial Scholarships Fund was organised by Lady Curzon in 1903 with a view to training midwives. The Lady Hardinge Medical College at Delhi, opened by Lord Hardinge on the 17th February, 1916, trains Indian women in medical science. The Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau, working in connection with the Indian Red Cross Society, has rendered useful services in training women for ministering work. The hospital known as the Chittaranjan Sevā Sadan in Calcutta has done much valuable work in this respect.

A very important feature in the social history of modern India is the gradual change in the condition of the so-called Depressed Classes, who, like the women of India, are "waking from age-long slumber to a new consciousness". Valuable philanthropic work has been done in this respect by the various Christian Societies, the Ramkrishna Mission and particularly the Ārya Samāj, through the means of Sudhī, that is re-Hinduising people who had been
converted to other religions, or Hinduising non-Hindus. The
Depressed Classes Mission Society, started in Bombay in 1906
with the object of improving "the social as well as the spiritual
conditions of the Depressed Classes", has been sincerely devoted
to its mission. The Bhil Sevā Mandal, founded in 1922 by Mr.
Amritlāl Vithaldās Thakkar to elevate the condition of the
Bhil and other aboriginals of India, has done a great deal of useful
work. The influence of the "Harijan" movement, started by
Mahātmā Gāndhi, is potent in this sphere of social service. As a
matter of fact, Indian youths of to-day are keenly alive to social
service, as is manifest in their activities as members of the Boy
Scout Associations, the Junior Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance
Associations, the Sevā Samiti Boy Scouts Association, and the
Bratachārī Association, started under the guidance of Mr. Gurusanad
Datta, I.C.S.

13. Progress of Education and Cultural Renaissance

The general awakening of Modern India would not have been
possible without significant changes in the educational ideas and
institutions of the country. Much in the sphere of education was
tried and achieved in India during the nineteenth century, and
still more has been accomplished in the present century. Lord
Curzon's viceroyalty marks in this respect, as in several other
matters, a turning-point. In January, 1902, he appointed a Universi-
ties Commission to investigate the conditions and prospects of
the Indian Universities and to recommend measures to improve
their constitution and working and standard of teaching. The
Commission was presided over by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas
Raleigh, Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and
included among its members two distinguished Indians, Mr. Syed
Hussain Bilgrāmi, then Director of Public Instruction in the Nizām's
Dominions, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gurudās Banerjee, a judge of
the Calcutta High Court. Its report came out in June, 1904, and
its recommendations were embodied in the Universities Act of
1904. This Act was intended to tighten Government control over
the educational institutions of the country by limiting the number
of senators and syndics and creating a majority of nominated
members in the Senate. It assigned territorial limits to each
University, laid down stringent conditions for the affiliation of new
colleges, and prescribed a systematic inspection of colleges by the
University. Such a "comprehensive scheme of officialisation"
evoked protests from different quarters. But at the same time,
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the Act recognised the higher functions of the Universities including instruction of students, appointment of Professors and Lecturers, and equipment of laboratories and museums. Thus, though the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, opposed its illiberal provisions, it was utilised by him to open the teaching section of the University of Calcutta, which has done much useful work for the cause of higher education, not only in Bengal, but also in other parts of the country.

In 1910 a Department of Education was established in the Government of India. It came to have an office of its own and a Member to represent it in the Executive Council. Sir Harcourt Butler was the first Member. The Resolution, dated 21st February, 1913, of the Government of India advocated certain measures for the advance of education and recommended the establishment of teaching and residential Universities. But the educational improvements foreshadowed in it were in most cases delayed by the War of 1914–18 and other causes. The growth of communal consciousness and provincial patriotism greatly helped the establishment of new Universities during the period under review in various places, such as Patna, Lucknow, Aligarh, Benares, Agra, Delhi, Nagpur, Waltair, Impeva, Mysore, Hyderabad, Chidambaram, Trivandrum and Rangoon. The Indian Women's University at Poona was started in 1916 by Dhondo Kesav Karve, with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as its first Chancellor. The Vishwabharati (1921) founded by Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan, Bolpur, is a unique educational institution, famous for its cosmopolitan outlook. It represents a happy blending of the East and the West, and of Old and New India.

The progress of education continued to be reviewed by different Commissions and Committees, some of whose recommendations were put into practice by the Government. These bodies were the Calcutta University Commission with Dr. (afterwards Sir) Michael Sadler as its Chairman and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as a leading member, whose report was published in August, 1919; the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog, which published its Report in 1929; the Lindsay Commission, appointed in 1929 by the International Missionary Council, with Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, as Chairman, which visited India in 1930–1931 and whose report was published in 1931; and the Unemployment Committee, United Provinces, popularly known as the Sapru Committee after the name of its President, the Rt.
Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, which was appointed by the Government of the United Provinces in 1934 and whose report was published in 1936.

There were three important bodies to look after the progress of education in general and to consider changes, if necessary. The Central Advisory Board of Education, created first in 1926 under the Chairmanship of the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India, but abolished in 1923 as a measure of economy; the recommendation of the Indian Retrenchment Committee, presided over by Lord Incheape, was revived in 1935. Since then it has made many suggestions regarding the reform of the present system of education in all stages, higher, secondary or primary, and of all types, literary or vocational. According to the recommendation of the Universities Conference at Simla, summoned by the Government of India in May, 1924, an Inter-University Board for India came into existence during 1925, and has since then been discharging useful functions by collecting information and stimulating thought about present-day University problems.

The Bureau of Education in India, abolished in 1923 as a measure of retrenchment, was revived by the Government of India in 1937 “for dealing specially with the collection and dissemination of literature relating to educational problems in the various Provinces”.

The Reform of 1919, supplemented by those of 1935, placed education in the Provinces under the control of their Ministers of Education. The numerical strength of the students in the secondary and primary schools undoubtedly increased. During the year 1935-1936, 51 per cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls of school-going age were on the school rolls. But at the same time it is true that there has been much “stagnation” and “wastage” in secondary and primary education. The state of literacy in India, as compared with that of other countries, has been unsatisfactory. The introduction of compulsory and free primary education is one of the important problems of India to-day. As early as 1917 the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale introduced a Bill for this purpose in the Imperial Legislative Council. In later years the question assumed greater and greater importance. Indian leaders of all shades of opinion constantly urged upon the Government the supreme need of the measure. Some attempts were made to drive away illiteracy. Thus eight Provincial Legislatures passed Primary Education Acts “authorising the introduction of compulsory education by local option”; and the Education Minister of one Province inaugurated an Adult Education campaign to make
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adults able to read and write. Plans to give secondary education a vocational bias were also considered.

The question of the medium of instruction in educational institutions attracted serious attention under the pressure of national awakening. A representative Conference, which met at Simla in 1917 under the Chairmanship of Sir Sankaran Nair, the then Education Member, discussed the position of English as a foreign language and as a medium of instruction in public schools. Its decisions were not conclusive. But the use of the modern Provincial languages as the medium of instruction and examination in schools and in some places in colleges gradually increased. Some educationists also thought of evolving a common script for the whole of India. Good pioneer work in this direction was done by Mr. A. Latif, I.C.S., by the introduction of the Romanised Urdu Script.

It is interesting to note that education of women, attempts for the spread of which began in the nineteenth century, has progressed greatly during the present century through State efforts and the activities of various reformed Samaj's and Societies, like the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Servants of India Society. Colleges specially meant for girls were established, and in some Provinces co-education made good progress; for example, in Madras and Assam more girls studied in boys' institutions than in those for girls. Co-education is, however, itself a delicate problem, which requires tactful handling. The Indian Women's University, started at Poona in 1916 by Professor Karve and transferred to Bombay in 1936, has done much valuable work. Customs and prejudices which had so long been detrimental to the growth of education of women are fast disappearing, and a strong public opinion has grown up in its favour, though there are differences of opinion amongst educationists and other thinkers about the nature of education suitable for our womenfolk. Very valuable work on Educational Reform is being done by the All-India Women's Conference, which holds its meetings annually and has constituent conferences in different parts of the country. An All-India Women's Educational Fund Association has been started in connection with this Conference.

In 1930 a special Committee was appointed by this Association to determine the feasibility of establishing a central Teachers' Training College. The recommendation of the Committee for the establishment of a college, "on absolutely new lines which would synthesise the work of existing provincial colleges by psychological research", was accepted by the Association, and accordingly the Lady Irwin College was established in New Delhi. This College provides a three years' Teachers' course for those
who intend to qualify themselves as High School teachers or Home Science; others may take the Home course of two years.

Several factors, such as growing contact with the outside world, eager yearning for the revival of the cultural treasures of the past, the desire to reform all aspects of life, and speculations about the problems of common weal and common woe, have profoundly stimulated Indian thought and have caused a comprehensive cultural renaissance, the influence of which is visible in modern Indian Literature as well as Art. Indeed, we have a new age for the Indian regional literatures, Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, each of which presents a harmonious blending of Eastern ideas with those of the West. High-class works have been produced during the last hundred years in different branches of literature, fiction, drama, poetry and essay. In modern Bengali literature, the contributions of Iswaran Gupta, Madhusudan Dutt, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore have been unique. Shreya Sarat Chandra Chatterjee’s contributions in the sphere of Bengali literature are also of profound significance. His novels present an interesting picture of the Bengali society of modern times—its merits and demerits, its sorrows and joys—and thus supply sufficient food for reflection to those who seek to reform our social life. The drama has been enriched by the writings of Madhusudan Dutt, Dinabandhu Mitra, Girish Chandra Ghosh, D. L. Roy, Amrita Basu, and others. This period has further witnessed the production of outstanding biographies and autobiographies, and some notable attempts have been made to reconstruct the history of Bengali literature, largely through the encouragement of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The Vangiya Sahitya Parishad has been doing much to revive the lost treasures of Bengali literature. Some Indians have to their credit important compositions in English; the names of Toru Dutta, and of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu deserve special mention in this respect.

Urdu, Hindi and Oriya literatures are showing signs of advancement. The writings of Sir Muhammad Iqbal of the Punjab has given birth to a new age in the history of Urdu literature. A great movement is now on foot for the development of Hindi literature.

One very striking feature of Indian cultural renaissance is the spirit of research which animates the study of the past, history and antiquities of this country. Since the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, a large number of European as well as Indian scholars have devoted themselves earnestly to this branch of study, and their labours have produced marvellous results. The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.
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passed during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, for the protection of historic monuments and relics, and also for State control over the excavation of ancient sites and traffic in antiquities, gave an immense impetus to the cause of research. Under the guidance of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, and a few other institutions, valuable scientific excavations, which have considerably modified many of the old views about the ancient history of India, have been made on historic sites. Those at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, Harappa and Taxila in the Punjab, Pataliputra and Nalanda in Bihār, Ellāpur, Mahāśāhī and Bāngad in Bengal, Sānchi in the Bhopal State, Sārnāth near Benares and Nāgārjunikondā in the Madras Presidency deserve special mention. Much attention has also been paid to the establishment and development of museums, in different places, as centres of research and education. Further, the epigraphical materials disclosed by official as well as non-official efforts have supplied us with valuable details about the history and chronology of various dynasties of India. Some of the Indian Universities, notably the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, Benares and Madras, and organisations like the All-India Oriental Conference, the Indian History Congress, the Bhāndārkar Oriental Research Institute and the Īthārat Samsodhaka Mandala at Poona, the Indian Historical
Records Commission and the Vangiya Sāhitya Parishad, are giving considerable impetus to the scientific study of Indian history and antiquities.

Indians have also made in the present century remarkable progress in the study of science, philosophy and politics. Valuable discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman and Dr. Meghnād Sāhā, and the painstaking as well as fruitful anthropological studies of Rāi Bahādur S. C. Roy of Chotanāgpur, have earned them a wide reputation. The use of scientific research in India is being furthered by surveys, like the Zoological Survey of India, the Botanical Survey of India and the Geological Survey of India, and by the action of the Indian Science Congress, which meets each year in January. Attention has also been devoted to philosophical studies, through the inspiration of teachers like Sir B. N. Seal, Sir S. Rādāhaṅkaṇanda and others. The Indian Universities have become keenly interested in the study of Political Science, and much useful work has been done by the Indian Institute of Political and Social Science, started on the 30th March, 1917, "to promote a systematic study of political and social science in general and Indian political and social problems in particular in all their aspects..."

The spirit of renaissance has also produced a finer appreciation and cultivation of the Fine Arts such as painting and music. Prabandranāth Tagore has taught and inspired a group of artists; other famous artists of the period are Nandalal Bose of Bengal, 'Abdūr Rahmān Chaghātaī of the Punjab, and some members of the Ukil family. The Bombay School of Art has tried to develop a style by the application of Western technique and methods to suit Indian conditions. The artistic renaissance of India owes a good deal to Mr. E. B. Havell, who was for some years Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta and left India in 1913 and to Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmy, who did much to preserve the majesty and glory of Indian art. As with painting, there has also been a revival of sculpture. Modern Indian architecture divides itself sharply into two classes: (i) that of indigenous Indian "Master-builder", to be found chiefly in Indian States, particularly in Rājputāna, and (ii) that based on an imitation of Western models. During recent years, there has been a tendency to revive old architectural styles. A similar spirit in the cultivation of music is evident in our country. Efforts of some members of the Tagore family are largely responsible for a finer appreciation of music; and new schools for the scientific study and practice of Indian music, vocal as well as...
instrumental, have sprung up in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Baroda and several other places. Earnest efforts are being made to revive indigenous types of dances and drama. The Princhen Kamarūpi Natya Sangha of Assam is trying to train boys and girls in the characteristic dances of that Province. In South India efforts are being made for the revival and development of Kathakali. Good work is being done in this field by Rabindranāth Tagore's Vishwabharati, the Travancore University and the Kerala Kalamandalam.