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CONTENTS

	PAGE
LOOKING FORWARD	1
FAMINE RELIEF	8
MEDICINE AND THE HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY IN INDIA	18
THE REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA	37
HINDU-MOSLEM SOLIDARITY	76
ASPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM IN INDIA	80
INDIAN STATES AND THEIR PRINCES	110
THE NEEDS OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND THE LINES OF ADVANCE IN EDUCATION	115
SWADESHI AND WESTERN METHODS	155
IDEALS AND AIMS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS	166
ROMESH CHANDER DUTT—IN MEMORIAM	177
SANITATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS	182
THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR INDIA	200
CHANGES IN INDIAN SOCIAL IDEAS AND CUSTOMS	212
ON THE DIGNITY OF SERVICE	220
UNTOUCHABILITY	232
BREADTH OF LEARNING	246
TO THE MEMORY AND PRAISE OF FAMOUS MEN	257
CO-OPERATION	265
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA	274
FEDERAL INDIA	277

FOREWORD

THIS volume represents an attempt to bring together in a convenient form a selection from the speeches and addresses delivered on different occasions and on a variety of subjects by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar during a life and reign as long and eventful as it has been purposeful. The principal objective in making the selection has been to present a picture of His Highness—not of his physical lineaments but of those lines of his mind and intellect and his administrative and governing faculties which have given him and his State a position of undisputed prominence in India during the last half century.

There is a natural and consuming desire in man to glean all he can of the views and activities of those he looks upon with regard and reverence, and this yearning is all the greater when it becomes associated, as in the case of the ruler of Baroda, with the romance of his early history and the renown of his uncommon personality.

From 1875 when the twelve year old Gopalrao, as he was then known in his village home in Kav-lana, was adopted by the Maharani Jamnabai and installed on the *gadi* as Sayaji Rao III, the Maharaja Gaekwar has exercised a remarkable fascination over his contemporaries in India and abroad.

No species of romance attempting to link the realms of fancy and reality can compare with the romance of a boy born in peasant surroundings being called upon to occupy a throne. And this romance acquires added interest when the same youth, after he has been able to fuse successfully the training and culture imparted in his new condition and rank into the sturdy qualities of head and heart inherited from his race and tradition, reveals a personality calculated to leave its impress as much on the thoughts and aspirations of his countrymen outside Baroda as on the governance and people of his own State—a personality which early marked him out for one of the makers of modern India.

There is no dearth of biographical studies to unfold the career of this singular figure, one of the most remarkable Indians of our time—remarkable in his varied interests and achievements, in the depth and compass of his mind and in the steadfastness of his resolves—and to account for the place he occupies in the heart and imagination of his countrymen. But what biography can ever hope to compete in truth, fidelity and inwardness with a man's own exposition, in private and public speech, of the principles which have informed his purposes and influenced his attitude towards the various problems of life?

The speeches in this volume are intended to punctuate, as it were, the public career of the Maharaja as a ruler and a leader of men and to set forth the reforming zeal with which he strove to bring intelligent and energetic perception to bear on events and forces as they faced him in the government of

his people; and also to demonstrate how with a vision of wonderful clarity he envisaged the prospective problems, circumstances and relations that confronted India at large. What wonder then that for half a century his name should have become associated in the mind of the people of India with a record of arduous and fruitful legislation and with administrative innovations and improvements in his State, and with a capacity for inspiring thought, direction and earnestness in regard to the moral, educational, social and political problems of the country as a whole?

Sayaji Rao was called to the *gadi* in 1875; six years later, in 1881, he was invested with full powers of government. He was then eighteen. When he began his administration the world was travelling into a new era under the most favourable omens, very different from those which have burst into view during the last two decades. The speeches and addresses in this volume are the arches of the bridge which have spanned the half century between the beginning of his rule and today. As the arches were being built they were used as supports for the roadway over which were to pass the thoughts, purposes and activities that were to take their due share in the almost Herculean task of gradually clearing away the accumulated debris of inefficiency, corruption and injustice—a veritable *damnosa hereditas* of the previous reigns—and thereafter of uprearing the stately fabric of the Baroda administration which, because of the care and thought that he gave to its shaping and construction, has received and is receiving the unstinted admiration of those

who have had an opportunity of appraising its enduring worth and character.

Looking to the swiftness with which events have been moving during the later part of the period in question, one might be tempted to wonder whether the points of view expressed in many of the utterances in this book do not relate to events and topics too fugitive to be now worth recalling or to views and opinions far removed from those which raise the heat and dust of controversy in our day. One might without impertinence recall the old saying that to live is to outlive, implying thereby that these speeches, with the ideals, purposes and performances which they were intended to set forth or enshrine, have had their hour, and, not unlike the manna which fed the children of Israel in their journey through the desert but which lost its savour and power of nutriment on the morrow, fail to provide us today with sustenance or inspiration. Such an estimate would be far removed from the truth. Age has not staled their interest nor dulled their point. They derive their quickening power from the very nature of the topics and problems they set out to discuss, and many of these speeches, let it be frankly admitted, have even a more living interest today than when they were delivered.

The Revival of Industry in India, Hindu-Moslem Solidarity, Aspects of Social Reform in India, Swadeshi and Western Methods, Untouchability, The Co-operative Movement and its Importance for India, are the titles of some of the speeches in this selection; and if one did not know that they were

delivered a quarter of a century ago, one might easily mistake them for the pronouncements of an ardent patriot engrossed in a study of present-day problems. The interest of a large number of them is not bounded by the frontiers of his *Raj* but extends far beyond into that larger domain which is now throbbing with the hopes and beliefs of an agitated and expectant time. The reader will encounter passages in the aforesaid speeches which for the actuality of the situation they appear to delineate will fill him with delighted amazement. Here is one such: 'The progress of the whole country must depend on the advancement of all sections of the community, and therefore, the advancement of any one section must interest all. Division must lead to ruin, and union to strength. It is incumbent on us, leaders and persons of influence in society, to promote unity and not division. Hindus and Muslims must work hand in hand . . . You (Muslims) are a part and parcel—an inseparable part and parcel—of this vast country. In religion we may differ, but within the world, advancing in its knowledge of scientific truths and progressing materially, it is strange that we should depend only on religion for agreement or difference, when so many other points of contact are offered. Because we differ in religion, it does not follow that we must oppose one another from birth to death. We are destined to one and the same goal. As human beings gifted with the faculty of reasoning, we should be able to rise above petty prejudices. We are children of the same God and should live as brethren.'

One might be excused for mistaking this for an echo of similar sentiments expressed today and during the last few years, since the rising tide of nationalism has made it unmistakably plain to every patriot that the two major communities must arrive at closer political contact and understanding than has existed between them in the past. And His Highness emphasized this almost thirty years ago whilst briefly replying to an address from the Islamia College of Lahore.

Or consider that peculiarly penetrating observation he made when he delivered the inaugural address at the Eighteenth National Social Conference in December 1904: 'But Social Reform cannot stand alone. The social aspect of a society is closely connected with the economic and the political. The advance of one affects both the others. Therefore we cannot hope for general improvement in social conditions until we have conquered some of our economic difficulties and have realized more fully the opportunities which exist for the development of a sane political life.'

Or read his survey of the conditions necessary for the growth of industries, which he made in opening an exhibition in Ahmedabad in 1902, or his views on the correlation between the revival of industries and *swadeshi* Banking. 'If industrialism is ever to obtain a strong footing in this country—and after all the first object for which every enlightened patriot of India is striving today is for the development of indigenous industries on a scale commensurate with the enormous demand of the country, and on a scientific basis sufficiently effective to ward

off foreign competition—if ever the languishing industries of India are to be revived, I say, a preliminary step, or at least a concomitant step, must be the reorganization of our methods of finance, so as to centralize the countless dribblets of capital into powerful reservoirs where its outlet can be controlled and directed into productive channels.'

Or ponder those grave words in which he describes what, according to him, should be the relations between a prince and his people: 'I hope the time will come when the Indian princes will show themselves more capable, more alive to their duties, more concerned to promote the interest and happiness of their people than has perhaps been the case up to now. I believe there is no surer way of reaching that ideal than by educating the princes thoroughly. And the need is not confined to the princes' education; a higher moral code must also be extended to the people, must be brought down to the lowest level of the population. If the princes show themselves reckless and neglect their duties and the care of their States, it is their own people who must come forward and compel them to discharge their duties and to conform to accepted standards.'

Or take note of his perspicacious and unerring insight into the subject of the education of the youth of the country: 'We sometimes hear it said that the progress of education is solely responsible for the feeling of political unrest. That there should be discontent is not necessarily an evil, for, as education broadens man's ideas, and as educated men will necessarily form high aspirations, which they will

strive to realize, there will be a discontent with present conditions. A consciousness of the possibility of improvement is the necessary prelude to any advance. In fact, the absence of all dissatisfaction is symptomatic of decay. If any of this unrest has shown itself in the form of sedition, anarchy and crime, it is due not to education but to its abuse; for, when a system of education leads to anarchy and crime, that system is unsound.'

Or listen to his trenchant reflections, in language of wrathful and patriotic indignation, on the evils of untouchability: 'It is a standing reproach against us that wherever the word "Brahmin" has been carried, the concomitant word "Pariah" has likewise been found. Nothing else has so alienated the sympathies of the world from Hinduism, so attractive to many on its esoteric side, as our own treatment of the depressed classes. We can hardly expect the voters of England, for example, to take the hearty interest in our aspirations which would otherwise be ours if our own house were in order. The same principles which impel us to ask for political justice for ourselves should actuate us to show social justice to those supposed to be untouchable amongst us. Those who seek equity must practise equity.'

Most of the passages quoted—and one could marshal a whole array of such—are from speeches and addresses that were delivered a quarter of a century and more ago, and provide evidence not only of His Highness's early discernment in reading the dispositions of the stars and constellations in the political and social firmament and their attendant omens, but also testify to the profound

thought and earnest effort he brought to bear on the problems of the country.

The three closing speeches in this volume on *Co-operation*, *The Reconstruction of India*, and *Federal India* were delivered within the last three years; they have reference to burning questions of the day and reveal the experienced sagacity of the ruler who knows how to adjust his vision to the changing perspective and to keep pace with the revolving forces of his day.

The speeches are set out in chronological sequence, for the dates and order of these utterances have a significance and interest of their own. The occasions for many of them were events in the normal administration of the State, such as the inauguration of a water supply, the launching of a famine relief programme or the opening of a conference, and little wonder that the opportunity has been taken for making periodical surveys of the administration of the State and for striking, so to say, a credit and debit balance, taking into account all that had been done and all that remained to be done in the realization of his plans. There is a subtle bond of kinship in these speeches as also in those others treating of educational construction and social reform. Repetition in them was inevitable, but to eliminate the overlapping passages would be to deprive them of their spontaneity and completeness, and we did not think it a gain worth considering at that cost.

There are three speeches in this book, *Changes in Indian Social Ideas and Customs* made at a dinner in the Sayaji Vihar Club, another at a meeting on the occasion of the death of Mr. Romesh

Chander Dutt, Dewan of Baroda, and the third *To the Memory and Praise of Famous Men* delivered when laying the foundation of the *Kirti Mandir* (Temple of Fame) which might be considered out of place in this volume, which aims at presenting a portraiture of His Highness, as one of the builders of modern India. It was however felt that that picture would lack in background, perspective and atmosphere if it were without those human touches and lines which attest his turn for engaging and kindly fellowship and his uncommon gift of 'thinking in fun and feeling in earnest'; which give proof of his warmth of feeling and affectionate sympathy for a departed friend and great public servant, and bespeak his disinterested desire to pay reverence and homage to all those who in their day and generation ruled and guided the destinies of his State—qualities which are as much characteristic of the man as are those others which betoken the thoughtful, far-seeing and beneficent ruler and reformer.

18 November 1932

A. X. SOARES

LOOKING FORWARD¹

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Though Mr. Lynn rightly places this scheme amongst the earliest I considered, I must allow that chronologically, it was my railways that first occupied my thoughts. I am right glad that I have already seen 118 miles of railway constructed and can look forward to further progress. It is not only that the public convenience has been consulted, but my scattered dominions are now linked together by the iron road, to the improvement of the administration of the headquarters of my *talukas*. These are now tied together—Patan, Sidhpur, Kheralu, Vadnagar, Visnagar, Mehsana, Kalol, Petlad, Baroda, Dabhoi, Sankheda, Karjan, Navsari, Gandevi, and in the near future, I hope, many other places will also be. But today I put the thought of my railways aside and joyfully confess that I look upon the Ajwa reservoir and this water scheme as the most important single public work brought to completion since my accession to power.

I am well content with your suggestion that the artificial lake should be called the 'Sayaji Sarovar', and so let it be. But in my mind I shall associate

¹ This speech was delivered on the 29th of March 1892, at the formal inauguration of the supply of water to the city of Baroda from the reservoir at Ajwa, the first sod in excavating which was turned with all due ceremony on the 8th of January 1885.

with this work the names of Mr. Playford Reynolds and Mr. Jagannath Sadashivji. The Laxmi Vilas Palace has, perhaps, cost more, but I cannot strictly place among works of public utility the construction of that richly chiselled pile and of the costly Makarpura Palace, now encircled by the tasteful gardens we owe to Mr. Goldring. No, it is this gift of pure filtered water that I am most pleased to have bestowed upon the capital. The great domed College, the Countess of Dufferin Hospital, the School whose tower we can discern from here on the bank of the reservoir which my predecessor gave to Baroda, the Chimnabai Market which will cover all the space on which we stand, the Museum in the Public Park, the vast public offices which are in contemplation, all these monuments of my friend Mr. Chisholm's skill are works of utility and adornment to Baroda and will be revealed to us as one harmonious whole, when, after solving our next great difficulty, the proper conservancy of the city, we shall rapidly widen and readjust our main streets and communications according to plans I have long since matured. But all these to my mind are nought, compared with this blessing of pure water, the first requisite of sanitary well-being: abundance of water, sanitary reform, these are the good things I wish to give my people in profusion.

This water scheme is but the foremost instance of what I am doing or hope to do for all the 3,500 towns and villages of the State. Good wells are being provided for all villages which have not yet got them, few in number as such villages are. Except where water is quite close to the surface or

where a river flows past the village site, means have been provided, from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per 100 of population, for the drawing of water from the well morning and evening to supply the people and the village cattle. As for sanitation, a great army of scavengers will soon, I trust, be called into existence to be disciplined by special officers. Rs. 8 per 100 of population are to be devoted to the purposes in all villages, while in the market towns I have just doubled the conservancy funds, and I look to the *Panches*, my civil surgeons, and the newly created Sanitary Commissioner, to see that these funds are turned to good use under the clear and simple rules which I hope my people will study.

It is the co-operation of my people which I require to gain for them the advantages of physical health. Some simple book learning, therefore, I wish the masses to acquire that I may take them into my confidence and partnership. I am, as you know, all for publishing the laws, the regulations, the acts, the appointments of Government; but will the masses learn to avail themselves of the information? I entertain the hope that they will do so, however chimerical it may appear.

In this city and in most of the big towns there are now many schools, some of them advanced. Our Baroda College now teaches up to the second year B.A. and B.Sc.; institutions have been called into existence for the study of handicrafts, for that of agriculture, for that of law, and even for that of music. Books are being compiled and books are being translated. So we do not think of expansion alone. Our habit of occasionally sending a few

selected pupils to Europe, there to receive a generous teaching, proves that. But I will say that, after the multiplication of girls' schools, there is no measure I have more at heart than the dissemination of primary education among *bona fide* cultivators, and more especially, by gifts and other inducements, among the depressed classes of my subjects. I have lately promised to subsidize a schoolmaster and to aid the school with books, slates and other necessities for any village which will supply a regular attendance of at least sixteen pupils. Let my people take advantage of this offer of assistance. I note that within the last two months 128 villages have opened each its little school. The movement is in its infancy. Requests for schools are pouring in. I want and expect to see hundreds of villages develop themselves intelligently.

It is in order to encourage self-help that I have issued orders intended to give fresh life to the village community, headed by the *Patels*, assisted by the *Panch*. The salaries of the *Patels* throughout the State are being uniformly raised, and to the village police guard is now apportioned 4 per cent of the entire revenue paid by the village to Government. I trust that these and some other similar measures, such as the apportionment to each community of a *Devasthan* Fund, will lead to good government, security, and helpful activity. Remember that the Government aid cannot go very far, it depends mainly upon you to turn its assistance to good account.

Physical improvement, mental development, the independence of self-help, cannot, I am aware, be

expected so long as the State lays upon its subjects a crushing taxation. It has, therefore, been my task to reduce the aggregate Government demand while equalizing it as far as possible, spreading its burden over many shoulders, and at the same time simplifying the demand so that both Government and the tax-payer may know what each man pays and why. This is why I have reduced the tax on Government lands, by from 10 to 50 per cent and more, in the great majority of villages now surveyed and settled. This is why I have called on alienated lands to contribute a share of the revenue, granting at the same time to their landlords *sanads*, which make their position more secure than it has hitherto been. This is why I propose to regulate the dues of the non-agricultural community. This is why at one stroke of the pen I wrote off 23 lakhs of arrears due to the State by cultivators. This is why I have patiently heard and brought to a close, once and for all, the thousands of disputes which had been left to simmer for a quarter of a century between Government and my subjects, regarding the rates and tenures of certain lands.

We start afresh, my people and I. Each man will now be called on to pay in accordance with a simple demand, based on clear grounds, publicly set forth. Here let me put in a hearty word of thanks to Mr. Elliot for the assistance he has given me in these measures. I repeat that it is my desire to take my people into my confidence by publishing the acts of Government so that all who wish may read and criticize. I own that recent changes have produced a momentary sense of confusion and

disturbance which, I trust, will subside as the years go by, giving way to a feeling of general contentment. I own that in many directions Government is still groping for a way to rule wisely. Have patience. Let time show the real value of what is now being done. I assure you that all my energies are being devoted to free and enrich my people, and to improve the machinery of the administration.

You are aware how, within the last year, export dues have been almost swept away, and the range of import dues is shortly to be greatly restricted, and how many small imposts have been abolished. Some of you may also be aware of what I propose to do to relieve *Inamdars* and others of their burden of debt. The measure has been lately published. Others may have noticed the tentative efforts of the State Bank, and the freer hand with which *taccavi* advances are made. This and other measures are being undertaken to free you, while to enrich you I have caused, and am causing, great drainage works to be made. I am making an endeavour to conserve our forests, to push on agricultural experiments, to discover what riches, if any, the earth holds for us in her bosom; in short to utilize within the State the savings from my revenues.

As for the machinery of Government, I own that in some fear and trembling I am attempting to decentralize and at the same time to supervise. The new Small Cause Court system and the Bench system for civil and criminal cases; the separation of the judicial from the executive branch; and the *Panchayat* system are among the efforts I am making to improve and simplify our administration. We

stand at the very threshold of reform. The basis of a tolerable administration is the business-like keeping of accounts. We needed improvement in this respect, and perhaps we shall obtain it with Mr. Anna Bhivrao's help, especially as we have confessed our shortcomings to Rajaninath Roy, who has suggested remedies, for which I owe him acknowledgments. But to do better in future, we must aim high, very high. We must use more despatch, summon up more courage, enforce and submit to more discipline, cherish more public spirit. Then will the stream of our progress flow smoothly and pure, and reach all our homes, as does this water from Ajwa which cleanses our lips, fortifies our bodies, and bids our spirits rejoice.

FAMINE RELIEF¹

GENTLEMEN,—My first duty before opening this work today is a very pleasant one. It is to thank the officers to whose exertions and intelligence the institution of this work is mainly due. And first I have to thank Mr. Khaserao for his suggestion of the idea. The acuteness and intelligence which made him perceive the possibilities of the site deserve every praise. I have also to thank the engineers for the zeal and energy with which they have arranged the details of the scheme. Their professional ability has given a working shape to an excellent and highly practicable idea. Their example is worthy of imitation—both the mental activity and shrewdness that suggested and the professional talent and energy which worked out the scheme. I trust that its execution will be as sound and thorough as its development so far, and that I may again have occasion to thank them for completing ably what they have so ably initiated.

The relief work I am opening today is of some magnitude. Beneficial results beyond mere

¹ Delivered on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Orsang Irrigation Waterworks, one of the several measures undertaken for the relief of famine, from which the State of Baroda suffered in 1900.

temporary relief are expected from it. Such an undertaking is eminently suited to the needs and warnings of the terrible visitation under which the country is suffering. This present famine is one which falls with a lamentably heavy incidence on man, cattle and field. The drought has dried up the land like some terrific and all-pervading curse. It has destroyed not only the objects of agriculture, but also many of its living instruments. It threatens to impoverish the future even as it is devastating the present. Not only that: it is also of the nature of a divine warning. For it points with terrible emphasis to the disastrous economic condition of the people, on which all progress and Government ultimately rest. It warns both Government and people that this great problem must be speedily grappled with. If from indolence or ignorance they neglect it, it will be to their peril of stagnation, deterioration and decay.

When face to face with a calamity of this sort, the first pressing need a Government feels is to relieve the stricken population in whose welfare it feels its own involved. Taking this task by itself and excluding for a moment wider considerations, we have to notice that there are different methods of meeting the problem. The danger is that, in the first pressing impulse to do something, administrations may be led to adopt a programme which fits more or less adequately the immediate want but has no eye to the future. This they are especially likely to do if they are unprepared for a great calamity.

Two things only can help us to avoid mistakes of this sort: experience well used, or an intelligent

and scientific spirit of administration. To us, experience of famine—that bitter teacher—has been wanting, at least famine on any large scale. Never before within the memory of more than a generation has the scourge fallen so heavily on this fertile province. And this is a deficiency on which we may congratulate ourselves.

But an administration so situated should be all the more careful to study the experience of less favoured regions. It should forecast wisely, though not dogmatically, the probable extent of the evil. It should suit its programme thereto, though always ready to modify or develop as circumstances demand. It should weigh carefully the different methods of relief open to it, use all skilfully and prudently, encouraging pre-eminently those which are most pregnant of future benefit.

The officers of the administration should avoid on the one hand the cast-iron routine, the tendency to which is dishearteningly oppressive; and on the other hand, the extreme of hasty superficial work should be equally avoided. They should ascertain and master the general lines of policy to be followed. They should guide themselves along them with an eye to testing them by practical facts, and they should always be ready to offer fruitful and well-considered suggestions. Mistakes in details, unsuccessful tentatives, will probably be inevitable at first. But a firm grasp of principles joined to a keen eye and an open mind will surely remove all defects. These qualities, aided by fuller experience, will ensure, we may fairly hope, as harmonious and perfect a system as is humanly possible.

Relief measures may, roughly speaking, be divided into three classes, according to their final results. The first consists of such measures as give relief merely and go no further. It is necessary to avail oneself of these to a limited extent, especially where they take the shape of poor-houses, doles, or advances, etc. Such measures are needed to save the lives of those who can do no work, whether from excessive suffering and emaciation, or from social position. The last is the case of *purdah* women and others whose positions or habits forbid them to seek relief even when perishing from hunger. Even if we disregard ordinary humane feelings altogether, the lives of the citizens, especially of the workers, are valuable assets of a community. But I need hardly say, that where there is no imperative need for, or no special advantage to be gained by, this sort of relief, measures more obviously productive should be preferred.

Measures of the second class are those which are productive in an indirect way, such as opening new means of communication. The most important of these are, of course, railways. Much doubt has been expressed whether, more especially from the point of view of famine, a net of railways is an un-mixed blessing. It is certain that they carry away the surplus produce which formerly there was a reasonable chance of storing in the country itself. It may be argued on the other side, that railways facilitate import as well as export. Weighing the question carefully, it may be fair to conclude that the area of famines when they occur is extended by

the existence of railways, though very possibly their effects may be mitigated.

But the advantages of a railway system to trade and commerce, especially if its construction is unfettered by artificial restrictions, are incalculable. They may therefore fairly be regarded as a means of famine relief, advantageous to the future prosperity of the country. Naturally, however, their full use cannot be realized until the country wakes from its lethargy and throws some energy into the creation of new industries.

Measures of the third class are those which are directly productive, and, therefore, not only a relief in the present, but a prevention of future famines. Means of communication help to circulate production, but cease for the time to be advantageous when there are no products to circulate. Irrigation works, on the other hand, sinking wells, making dams, cutting irrigation canals, directly increase production and guard, so far as they go, against famine. These, therefore, are the most suitable of all for famine relief work of this class. Giving *taccavi* for well-sinking is one of the most satisfactory, because it unites Government assistance with self-help in the cultivator. But there are others which are more momentous because larger in conception and more widespread in their effects. To this class the work which I am opening today belongs. There is also the work of making a great reservoir at Kadarapur in the Kadi division, and other large works of a similar kind are in contemplation. In parts where irrigation of this kind is not possible, but where it is practicable to sink wells, it is

intended that the latter method should be adopted, and for this purpose two lakhs of rupees annually have been set apart by the State, of which I hope the people will take advantage.

The State has grudged no means of relief to the afflicted population but has used all, I trust and believe, in their right places. It has liberally provided poor-houses in all affected districts. It has made ungrudging advances to those who are temporarily distressed but are precluded by their social position or other valid causes from going on relief works. It has attempted in various ways to restrict the mortality of the cattle. It has opened such works as road-making and repairs, tanks, etc., to meet immediate needs. It has been constructing the earthwork of new railways, which, though forming a small portion of the total cost of constructing railways, is almost all that can be done in this connexion by the people of my State. It has freely given *taccavi* to cultivators for well-sinking and other purposes. Today it is opening a work which will be of permanent agricultural benefit to whole districts.

In its methods, the Government has been actuated by an earnest desire to use the best. It has been actuated by a spirit of the most humane and open-minded consideration for the people, united with principles of good administration. If any errors of detail have been committed, they have been, or are being, corrected.

Relief measures on a large scale impress the imagination and excite deservedly the encomiums of the people for their noble humanity. But those in

authority should not be blinded by these praises. They should remember that these encomiums will be short-lived unless measures that go deeper—measures of lasting benefit and comprehensive wisdom—are undertaken.

So much for the means of meeting the immediate calamity. But surely we shall be blind and foolish if we stop here and neglect the broader lessons which this terrible experience of famine ought to impel us to learn. For, relief measures may merely palliate the evil, and not for a moment strike at its root. If the evil is allowed to grow, eventually the resources even of the richest Government will be baffled by it.

How is it that the people of this country have fallen into such a condition that they seem to be altogether wanting in stamina? The failure of rain for a single season has come with crushing force upon them. It has left them naked of resources. It has thrown more and more millions on the charity of Government relief. What are the reasons for this disastrous condition of things, and by what remedies can it be met? This is what should engage the earnest attention of those in authority.

Now though I cannot touch here all the minor causes and issues, yet the grand total to which they sum up is indisputable. It is the great poverty of the people. Improved communications have provided sufficient means of supply from outside when the harvest within the country fails. But of what use are these if there is no money to purchase such supplies? Poverty is the great fact in India. And to this, I fear, I must add many defects of character, of which perhaps poverty is partly a result and partly

a parent source—want of real thrift, want of energy and enterprise, of legitimate ambition, and a high ideal; passiveness, fatalism, and supineness in the face of calamity. Unless this state of things is removed, unless the people can be taught self-help, it seems inevitable that things should go from bad to worse. I have often mixed with people and talked with them. I have conversed with the people individually and collectively, known and unknown, at my palace and on the scenes of works during day and at night. Moreover, lest my position should exclude me from correct impressions, I have also ascertained their feelings through officials and non-officials and men of all grades. And I have been struck by the helplessness and passiveness of the people. Their spirits seem to be so cramped, dull and inelastic. The idea of energetic assertion of their difficulties, especially in the presence of adversity, seems to be foreign to their mental habits.

But behind this poverty, connected with this absence of self-help, is another great characteristic fact. The population of India depends almost entirely on two means of subsistence, the educated classes on Government service and the uneducated on agriculture. On the causes of this we need not at present touch; but the fact is there.

Now, it is indisputable that countries, like Russia and India, having large populations depending almost entirely on agriculture, can never be safe against famine. The secret of European prosperity is the prevalence of manufacturing industries in those countries. If we look at England, we find whole districts like Lancashire and the Midlands almost

entirely given up to industries. We find great cities devoted mainly to some particular manufacture; as Manchester to cotton, Sheffield to cutlery, Glasgow to ship-building, Birmingham to arms, machinery and other iron works. And it is these districts and cities which are the basis of England's prosperity. With their wealth she is able to buy her food from abroad and disregard rains and droughts, good season or bad season.

It is not possible, even if it were desirable, for India to become such a predominately manufacturing country as England. But some righting of the fatal monopoly of its energies by agriculture is absolutely necessary for self-preservation. The example of Germany and Japan, which have been so successfully raising themselves from poor countries to the rank of great manufacturing countries, ought to be a spur and an encouragement to us.

It will be for us, as far as in us lies, to take the lesson of the famine to heart and set ourselves to encourage the growth of trades and industries. It may be done in various ways. We may give all reasonable facilities to enterprises; we may provide for and encourage education in such directions. Finally, where possible and advisable, initial measures of protection and bounty may be adopted. It should surely not be unwise for infant industries, which have developed and powerful competition to face, to receive some protection in the beginning. This need only be continued until they have reached a stage where they are sure not to be smothered in their birth. The theory and practice of all undeveloped countries may be safely followed to this limited

extent in India, which the competition of machinery has thrown back into the rank of undeveloped countries. Lastly, I would also encourage and promote emigration either within or without the country.

But, whatever encouragement and help the Government may give, it can do nothing unless there is self-help on the part of the people. Education, by instruction and example, is the great begetter of self-help. But it is the misfortune of India that its educated sons choose to be as helpless and unenterprising as the ignorant. For they allow their horizon to be limited by the alluring prospects of Government service. The educated class must break through the bonds of apathy and dependence. They must begin to forge new careers for themselves in the spirit of manliness and self-reliance. Then only can any improvement take place. When educated enterprise and self-help backed by the assistance and encouragement of States and Governments unite, then will begin an era which will speedily make such lamentable experience as the present year's a thing unknown and impossible.



MEDICINE AND THE HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY IN INDIA¹

DR. HATCH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel constrained, as I rise, to express first of all my high sense of the honour that has been done in asking me to preside on this occasion to distribute the prizes and deliver an Address. It is, indeed, a privilege to address an audience in which I see before me the dignitaries, senators, and members of a great university, the authorities and the students of a famous college, and a large number of well-trained, cultured and ardent young men now ready to face the difficult struggle of life, stirred with youthful hope and aspiration. When I consider the noble and useful career of well-doing and beneficence for which they have so strenuously prepared themselves, I feel the quality of that privilege heightened and enhanced.

Most of all I feel the compliment conveyed through myself to the State whose destinies have been committed to my hands, whose interests are to me as my own, and whose people I have faithfully laboured to guide and encourage in the paths of education and progress. To those who come before me today to receive the prizes their arduous and honourable

toil has well merited, or who have gained the degrees which are the badges of success and the reward that sweetens toil, I offer my cordial congratulations. The consciousness of work well done and rewards well earned must be speaking within you more inspiring congratulations than any others can offer. And I should like also to say a few words to those who have been less fortunate. I would ask them not to be discouraged, nor to regard the result of the examinations as a final verdict either on their capacities or on their chances. Life itself is one long examination, and it has happened, and may yet happen, that in it the first shall be last and the last first. It is the one great principle of life, in success never to be too much exalted and in defeat never to despair, but through good and bad fortune to work on steadily, hopefully and persistently.

You are now going into the world to use the education which the university has given you. I will, therefore, ask you to consider what was the essential purpose and aim of that education. The essence of higher education and university training is, I take it, to learn how to learn. We must first know the phenomena of life, but afterwards we must learn how to interpret them; we must know how to shape our conduct and action in accordance with the inexorable decrees of Nature; we must know how to apply the learning we have stored up. Over the gates of a university which is among the most famous for medicine there is inscribed a sentence which goes to the heart of the matter: 'Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom, and with all thy getting get understanding.' These are true

¹ Address delivered on the 29th of March 1901 at the Grant Medical College, Bombay, on the occasion of the annual distribution of prizes at which His Highness presided.

and noble words. Now wisdom, which is the principal thing, that is to say, the essence of good education, does not consist in cramming the mind with mere dry facts. It is the balanced mind, the educated view, that perceives the relations of all things, that is reverent to what is great and unaffected by what is small.

Wisdom is to be found in the mental habit and must not be confused with quantity of information. Herbert Spencer has expressed this truth very forcibly. He says: 'It is not the knowledge stored up as intellectual fat which is of value, but that which has been converted into intellectual muscle.' Information, the bare knowledge of facts, is the inert material for intellectual activity to work upon; if not governed and vivified by wisdom, it may be of little use; its excess may even hamper the mind. Most of us have felt that our minds have sometimes been so overburdened with details as to be unable to disengage the main principles definitely, or to handle and arrange the diverse facts systematically. To know is not the thing, but, if I may adopt a pregnant expression of Bacon's, to know usefully.

Let me hasten to add that wisdom also implies a certain moral condition. It implies an enlightened conscience, a straightforward spirit of candour. Let us not use our education as men even of brilliant parts have sometimes done, merely in the dexterous employment of words. The logic-splitting of old mediaeval schoolmen has been often cited as an instance of this; but in our country the minute reasoning and discussion of our *śāstris* and *moulvis* gives us an instance nearer home of this misapplication of

ingenious intellect. Words are only symbols wherewith to express ideas; and they are only valuable in so far as they express sound and fruitful ideas. Let me commend to your notice the rule which Descartes formulated as the rule of his life: 'Never to receive anything for truth which I do not clearly know to be true; that is, carefully to avoid haste and prejudice and to include in my judgment nothing which does not present itself so clearly, so distinctly, to my mind as to take away all occasion of doubt.'

At the same time we should not be too much afraid of making mistakes; the sensible man learns often as much from his errors and failures as from his successes. Still less should we fear to acknowledge mistakes, for the manly confession of error is one of the best attributes of a true gentleman. Courage to meet difficulties, determination to overcome them, thoroughness in all things, the conscientious following of truth as our guiding light in our every thought and every action—these are the moral habits which wisdom implies.

And on habit let us hear Bacon: 'Since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years.' Your education should have formed in your young years those perfect customs leading in after-life to that 'Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control' which—as the poet tells us—'alone lead men to sovereign power'.

I would now say a few words on your own particular departments of Science and Medicine. Science has now established itself as the main fact of the

nineteenth century and the main promise of the twentieth; and it is slowly but persistently compelling for itself an adequate recognition in education and training. And yet, for a very long time, the sciences were regarded by many, and, I believe, are still regarded by a few, as dry subjects merely for the specialist and of no value in forming or liberalizing the mind. Formerly, the science side of public schools was used, and perhaps even now in some schools is used, chiefly as a refuge for pupils who had shown themselves unfit for anything else, a sort of intellectual hospital-ward for incapables.

Such a view seems very strange to us now, when Science is everywhere triumphing and asserting itself. For, apart from their force and utility, what an essential beauty and even glamour there is in many of the sciences. I will not speak here of the grandeurs of Astronomy, and how it has for the first time given the world in general a true sense of infinity. Within the limits of your own studies let us take the instance of Botany. Flowers and plants formerly satisfied the aesthetic sense and were the province of the poet or the ornament of an hour. Botany, while still leaving their former owners in possession, has brought in the intellect also to share in the enjoyment. The ordinary man has seldom cultivated the power of observation; the objects he sees daily have no permanent meaning or suggestion for his mind; his daily walk, if he takes one, is a more or less mechanical and unseeing performance. He passes a flowering tree and for a fleeting moment enjoys the sense of colour or perfume, which in five minutes may be forgotten. But to the botanist

each flower is a world of interest; he knows intimately its life and nature; he sees in it the marvels of law, the secrets and subtleties of organic beauty. And there is the all-important science of Physiology which so marvellously clears and bases firmly a man's knowledge of himself, and brings him nearer to the fountain-head of the mystery of his own being.

In forming and liberalizing the mind, Science, instead of being deficient, has a real and considerable advantage. It has unbounded largeness and scope of vision. It is superior to all other forms of human effort in the certainty and permanency of its results and the universality of its benefits. It encourages and forms the scientific habit of mind, that great staff and guide to the journey of life, which has been well defined by Lord Derby: 'You cannot know more', he says, 'than a fraction of what has been done and thought—whether that fraction is a little larger or smaller, matters not much; what is essential is to have mastered thoroughly what you do take on hand; to have acquired habit and method of thought; and in that I include accuracy of investigation, clearness of conception, and the conviction that under all phenomena, however confused the appearance they present, there is a regulating law, whether you can detect it or not.'

This is one aspect of the greatness of Science, as it appeals to our reason; but I have often felt that it also appeals to another side of us, the spiritual. It seems to me that Science may be regarded as the great mediator between man and his Creator. I have spoken earlier of the beauty of Science, the

wonders revealed to the botanist, the infinite suggestions that are concealed in a single flower. Now, in every religion flowers enter into the worship of God, and they are accompanied with prayer, with communion, with praise, with hopes of salvation. Yet the patient study of His creation seems to me a deeper and more reverent prayer; the perception of the marvels and subtleties of His workings, a more intimate and delightful communion; the confession of the grandeur of His laws, more understanding praise; and obedience to them, the true and best salvation.

I think that in India more than in any other country the proper recognition of scientific education is a crying need of the day. And certainly this country more than any other calls for energetic pursuit of the science which it will be your privilege to apply for the relief of human suffering. The study and treatment of disease is with us an urgent need. The century has indeed been a century of great discoveries. This is not the place to speak in detail of such fruitful and pregnant discoveries as the Roentgen Rays, the Cell Theory and the Recapitulation Theory in Embryology, the Theory of Zymotic Disease, the Discovery of the Nature and Function of the White Blood-Corpuscles.

The skill of medical men is still baffled by a number of maladies; but the discoveries made even in my lifetime have been prodigious; and if the same rate of advance is maintained in future years, we should be able to know the causes of most morbid affections within the next few generations. The French chemist Pasteur was the inaugurator of this

new epoch in medical science. He proved that certain diseases were caused by the presence in the blood of minute organisms of microscopic dimensions belonging to the vegetable class 'Fungi'. This single discovery opened up a long vista of applications. The curtain was raised on the innermost secret of disease for the first time in the annals of this science. We may say that an unknown and unimagined world was opened up by this great explorer. Pasteur was not a medical man, but a pure scientist. But note how the sparks struck out by the theorist gave light to the fire of the practising physician.

At the same time a surgeon, named Lister, was devoting himself in England to the treatment of wounds. His noble humanity was grievously troubled by the frightful number of deaths from blood poisoning then occurring in the hospitals of Great Britain. He was applying his erudite mind to elucidate the causes of the phenomenon, when Pasteur's discovery opened the door at which he might otherwise have knocked in vain. The cause of blood poisoning was the existence of germs in the wound which set up putrefaction, and so caused a poisoning of the whole system by absorption. Lister then argued, 'if I can find some substance, destructive to the germs but inoffensive to the vitality of the tissues in the wound, it would prevent and stop blood poisoning'. After various experiments he succeeded in solving this problem with the chemical, carbolic acid. He thus laid the foundation of the famous 'antiseptic method' now adopted by the medical profession throughout the civilized

world. This method has revolutionized surgery, and in the profession of medicine generally its application is far-reaching. Not only is the mortality from blood poisoning practically reduced to zero, but operations formerly never dreamt of can now be performed with comparative impunity and gratifying success. It is an undisputed fact that Lord Lister has been instrumental in saving many thousands of lives.

In India itself, cholera, enteric fever, dysentery, plague—the great scourges of the land—seem to have been hunted down in the light of Pasteur's discovery. They are all due to specific germs, whose life-history is well understood. In the case of plague, which is of recent appearance, the exact manner of its access to the body has so far eluded investigation. The others seem to be chiefly conveyed by water. I may, perhaps, illustrate practically the connexion of water with cholera by the example of Baroda. Since the water supply by pipe lines had been provided for in that town cholera had immensely decreased; last year it recurred with great virulence; and it is impossible not to connect the recrudescence with diminished and vitiated water supply. From the discovery of the cause to the discovery of the remedy is but one step, though not always an easy one, and we may fairly hope that with improved sanitation these great scourges will be only a name to future generations. There is another curse, less startling in its manifestations than plague, which is sapping the vitality of the people in a more thorough and insidious manner. I allude to the malady of malaria. After

years of patient research and investigation this, too, has yielded up its secret. It is now known beyond the shadow of a doubt that malarial fever is due to the presence in the blood of a minute organism which feeds on the red blood-corpuscles.

Scientific education is, however, not only needed for the study and treatment of disease, which is after all the business of specialists, but in the shape of hygiene it is imperatively needed in the homes and daily life of our people. An intelligent care of health is unknown in India. Consider how many valuable lives have been lost to us which might have been saved by timely measures. It is not long since we were mourning for one of the greatest, the most useful of them all, who passed away in your own city before his work had been done, when his great capacities had not even begun to be exhausted. Health is our most precious possession, because it is the first condition of prolonged usefulness. We should try to preserve it by care and rest and timely remedies, so that we may have a longer time to do our duty to ourselves and those near to us, and, if it in us lies, to our country. At the same time we must recognize that there are certain rare occasions when all considerations of health must be subordinated to some great and imperative duty.

We make great show and spend much money in caste festivities and *Śrāddhās*, but to my mind the truer *Śrāddhā* is the reverence shown to the living by surrounding them with comfort, guarding their health and prolonging their lives. It would be a mistake to think that Indians have less wish to

live than Europeans. I believe they are as much in love with life, and if they do not take as much care to preserve it, it is partly owing to poverty, but still more to their ignorance of the laws of health. This ignorance alone accounts for the prevalence of disease and insanitary conditions in our country. Not that these things are peculiar to India; for I have noticed somewhat the same insanitary conditions in houses and villages in Italy, Germany, Spain and Egypt. But the bad example of other countries can be no excuse for laxity in ourselves. We must push forward whoever else lags behind.

Our ignorance shows itself in a thousand ways, of which I will indicate only one or two. It shows itself, for example, in the increase of those minor ailments which, without being immediately fatal, are full of annoyance, trouble and pain, which impair the joy of life and the power of work, and in the end, some sooner, some later, wear down the system. Dyspepsia, diabetes, hysteria and nervous disorders, organic weakness or disturbance which often shows itself in minor signs such as the rapid decay of teeth: the growth of these and a host of such maladies is extremely marked. And in many, organic defect or predisposition to disease is transmitted to offspring, thus punishing the children for the ignorance and neglect of their parents. All these ailments are preventable by a little knowledge and care. Every one of you must have heard of the unusual prevalence and growth of dyspepsia and diabetes among Indians, especially educated Indians. This is solely due to our ignorance of the right proportions of brain work and physical exercise; ignorance of the

fundamental principles of diet; ignorance of what the stomach will bear and what it will not. Certainly few people, if they knew how to keep the digestive power unimpaired, would spare themselves the little care which would save them daily misery and the sapping of their energies.

Again, the mortality of women and of children might be much less than it is. Many things help to increase the list: ignorance of the care of women in child-birth; the dark, dingy, and unventilated rooms with artificial heat and light; the evil effects of a sedentary existence behind the *purdah*; the false dignity that will not condescend to healthy labour. The same ignorance shows itself in some at least of our social customs, as for instance early marriage, the rigid prohibition of widow-remarriage; ill-assorted alliances between very old men and very young girls. A knowledge of the laws of Nature and conformity with their inexorable conditions rather than insistence on our prejudices and impossible ideals might lead us to modify these in a salutary direction. Our prejudices help to increase child mortality and the mortality of women. They stunt the physique and weaken the health of future generations. They debilitate the nation, restrict the people's energy and power of work, and relax their moral fibre. They undermine their force, fortitude and endurance, and leave them too weak to resist the inroads of disease, or to prevent their own material downfall and ruin. We may adhere within the limits of reason to our ancient *Śāstrās*, and yet try to bring ourselves into line with physical laws, which are, after all, of paramount importance.

Instead then of cramming the minds of students with information of no practical utility, such as the more useless parts of geography, we might give them a fair knowledge of the first principles of health and sanitation. Such instruction would be by far the most effective agent for promoting both hygienic and other reforms. It would also make the difficult problem of sanitation in India easy to solve. The great stumbling-block of sanitation in India, even more than poverty, is the passive unwillingness of the people, and the root of that unwillingness is ignorance. To force sanitation on an unwilling people is beyond the power of rulers and beyond the power of men. The strength of accumulated inertia must in the end baffle the most actively benevolent government, for against ignorance the gods themselves fight in vain. Some knowledge of Science would go a great way to remove the difficulty. It is not enough to tell people that sanitation is good; they must be conscious of it as a part of their own knowledge.

There is one subject of considerable importance which, from time to time, seems to attract attention: the desirability, after due investigation, of encouraging the systems of Indian Medicine. This is a subject in which I have myself taken interest. In Medicine, as in other branches, it has always been my desire that our people should know what progress our ancestors had made, and test it in the light of modern knowledge. It is always a pity to see old customs and arts abandoned, not after reasoned consideration, but because it appears fashionable to abandon them. At the same time it

would be a great folly to cling to the past when it is in conflict with science and utility, merely because it is the past. Medicine is a department in which life and health are at stake, and the physician should feel the ground firm beneath him, not following where his fancy leads, but resorting to such remedies as are accepted as the best. Whatever is good in our old systems we should try to preserve, not from tradition and sentiment, but because of the support of reason and science.

It therefore seems to me that the wisest expedient for the preservation of the Indian system is to give scholarships for its study to those who have studied and taken degrees in Western Medicine, so that they may be able to compare and use what is good in both systems. To do this would be better than merely to encourage men who are not in a position to examine the soundness of the Indian system by scientific tests.

In the domain of pharmacology a great deal more should be done towards finding out the qualities of Indian drugs and ascertaining how far they can be utilized. I once offered a Chair to this college with this object, but nothing much came of it. If the use of these drugs were once based on competent scientific knowledge, with an eye on our climate and constitution, the preparation of them on a large scale might then open up a new industry.

Some of you will soon be practising as physicians. To these I would address a few words of advice. In the relations, the almost fiduciary relations between a doctor and his clients, the gifts which have always

helped to secure and keep a large practice are sympathy and engaging manners. The old Indian doctors used to recite *mantras* when administering a medicine. Now that the ignorance and spirit of faith to which this simple method of commanding confidence addressed itself is dying out, sympathy and good manners must be your *mantras*. Cultivate, therefore, a spirit of sympathy; let your manners please and command confidence. Yet, though tact and consideration are so important, they must not be given importance at the cost of injury to the patient. Popularity with the patient must be subordinated to his real welfare. A physician must above all have firmness and the courage of his convictions. He should not be swayed by vague and baseless considerations which have nothing to do with the application of his science. If he is, he is acting in a manner derogatory to his profession.

An Indian doctor ought also to pay special attention to the food of invalids. He should know the diet of all the classes of patients he is likely to come across. Ignorance in this particular sometimes leads to improper directions being given. But nursing and food are such large and important questions that I cannot dwell on them here. I will only say that doctors might exact a great deal more attention than they do from those in attendance on the sick. For those who attend on the sick are usually so ignorant that their well-meant kindness often proves no kindness at all, but rather poison to the patient. Neglect in some trifles also often leads to serious results. The profession you will embrace is a great, benevolent and worthy one, and I trust

you will embrace it worthily and pursue it thoroughly. We cannot, as in Europe, have specialists and separate hospitals for different diseases; still it is the duty of every one to try to mitigate human suffering; and a great deal can be done in this direction both by private individuals and by public bodies.

There are instances in earlier Indian history of kings and emperors providing dispensaries and other medical assistance for their subjects. But I doubt whether anyone can point out any prince in ancient India who had systematically provided dispensaries, hospitals, and other methods of bringing medical aid within the reach of a large part of the population of towns and cities. It is in Europe that this has first been done, mainly by the humane enterprise of private charity. Let us gratefully remember that the British Government has been the first Government to introduce medical relief on a wide scale into India, and again, the first Government which has recognized the provision of medical aid as a duty of the State. And let us hope that it will establish a yet further claim to the gratitude of the country by continuing to develop this wise and benevolent policy in the increase of medical aid and sanitation in the villages and in the larger supply of doctors, trained nurses, and midwives. Let me also suggest the establishment of an institution for imparting a fair knowledge of the Western science of medicine, in addition to their own, to *vaidyas*, *hakims*, and similar classes, who are often the only sort of medical practitioners within the reach of the poorer people.

Although we cannot expect from these the same knowledge as from university graduates, they should have at least some acquaintance with the English language, whereby they may be able to add to their knowledge by studying the most recent developments in their profession. Practitioners so instructed in a State institution, and commanding confidence by the possession of State certificates or diplomas, would honourably fill up a large field now in the charge of unscientific practitioners.

The native Indian States have followed the example set them, often to an extent not realized outside. In Baroda, for instance, it has been introduced with a yet further modification. Municipal taxation has not been imposed as yet, and let us hope circumstances will allow us long to continue that happy exemption; yet almost every town of a population of 7,000 and more is provided with a dispensary, the total number already reaching fifty-one. There is also a system of town and village sanitation, in the former case with carefully worked out rules and regulations and with elected members in control thereof. These may admit of improvement in increased effectiveness of working; but the means have been provided and a beginning made. Nor have I any doubt that other States have also made some such advance.

The organization of such a system makes it necessary to employ more and more graduates educated in colleges such as yours. The welfare of the Grant Medical College is, therefore, a matter of interest to us all. Let us hope that it will go on flourishing, will steadily increase its register of students and increase

its staff without finding it necessary or expedient to restrict its numbers as has been the case in Poona. This is a case which I cannot let pass without a word of regret, for of such colleges we have much need in India. At the same time the cry for technical education may be pushed too far. This country has stood and will long continue to stand for the cultivation of the mind. We have not progressed so far that we can afford to follow the example of France which is now tending to assign a predominant place to technical and industrial education. We should rather follow America, a great and growing commercial nation, which yet combines the two branches of study, while still assigning a large place to the older. To perfect and extend the mental training of the nation through compulsory universal education is the prior and more urgent need. And I must add, though it may sound irrelevant here, a still more urgent and primal need is that of more and better food which goes to build up the tissues and parts of our body.

To return from this digression, you must not imagine that it is merely from selfish motives that I take interest in this College. However we may be divided by geographical circumstances or administrative divisions, yet our customs, traditions, aspirations, and the forces that mould our character and fortune are really the same. Above all, whatever occasional mists such as trifling racial jealousies may obscure it, the clear view that our future material progress is so interwoven as to be all of one piece renders these divisions of little importance. Whatever tends to the improvement or advantage of

one part of the community must profoundly affect and therefore interest another. Through this nobler sympathy the education bestowed by this College on my own countrymen must interest me in its favour quite apart from any advantage to myself as the ruler of my State.

In expressing my good wishes for the College and compliments to the Principal and Staff on its excellent management, I feel I am not expressing my own feelings alone. That Doctor Hatch and his assistants have deserved well of the public by conscientious painstaking energy and ability beyond the ordinary is the universal opinion which any mention of them elicits in all well-informed quarters. And I mention this because I feel that there is no greater reward or more inspiring encouragement to a public servant than to find his labours appreciated by those for whom he works.

I should have liked to add a few observations on the influences of Government on health and longevity which are very considerable, as well as on a few other points; but I have already exceeded due measure in the length of my remarks, and I will not tax your attention further. If I have said so much it was from a strong desire to suggest to you what opportunities lie before you. By labour, both theoretical and practical, in your own department and profession you can add fame to our university, improve your country, and ennoble yourselves. You can in your own lives justify the dictum of the poet :

'The path of duty is the way to glory.'

THE REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA¹

GENTLEMEN,—If I hesitated to accept your invitation to preside at the opening of this Exhibition, the importance of the occasion must be my excuse. You called me to step into the breach, to face publicly the most tremendous question of our times and to give you my solution of a problem on which no two people agree, except that it is urgent.

But I do not think that we realize how urgent it is. Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease, all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another and a larger aspect of the matter, and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. It is our last chance. Fail there and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker, more dependent on foreign help; we must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction, and drag out a miserable existence as the hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master. That problem solved, we have a great future before us, the future of a great people, worthy of our ancestors and of our old position among the nations.

¹ Delivered at the Opening of an Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad on the 15th of December 1902.

Two years ago I stood looking at the wonders of that great Exhibition at Paris which summed up in so striking a manner the progress of a century in civilization, industry and commerce. If I were asked what struck me most in that noble and artistic effort of a great nation, I should answer : the magnificent proportions and excellent management of the undertaking, so vast in conception and admirable in execution; the efficiency of the orderly and illuminating arrangement and careful accuracy of detail; and after that, the extraordinary ingenuity displayed in the educational section in methods and appliances; and not only the ingenuity but the thoroughness of these methods, especially in the exhibits of Germany and America. But besides these two special exhibits, that which struck me most profoundly was the enormous difference between India and Europe today. Those vast halls crowded with shining steel work, the fruits of the combined industry and genius of a dozen nations; the amazing richness of texture and delicacy of design in the products of those machines; the vigorous life and aspiration which glowed in the Art, as well as the clear precision of knowledge reflected in the Science; all this impressed me more than I can say.

But beyond all this triumph of Man over Nature and her powers, one fact struck me with a curious emphasis—the enormous gulf which separates the European and the native of India in their ideas of comfort. There rose up before me the interior of a typical Indian home, and as I contrasted it with the truly surprising inventions around me, all devoted to that one object, refinement, our much-boasted

simplicity seemed bare and meagre beyond description. I contrasted those empty rooms—without even a chair or a table—with the luxury, the conveniences, which are the necessities of a European cottage. My mind went back to the bazaar in my own city of Baroda, the craftsmen working at their old isolated trades with the methods which have sufficed them for centuries without a change, their low irregular houses and their dreamy life, and then contrasted it all with this keen and merciless tide which was sweeping and eddying around me, drawing its needs from a thousand machines and gathering its comforts from the four quarters of the globe. And with the contrast I had a vivid sense of the enormous gulf which we have to bridge over before India can be said to be on the same plane as the European nations.

And yet, I thought, there is a change coming over India. The appearance of our houses is being altered by the revolution which is being made in their furniture. It is slow, for there are many who deplore it and speak of it in tones of regret as a process of denationalization and a fall from simplicity to a burdensome and costly luxury. But the change is rather in the direction in which the money is spent. Our fathers made up for the poverty of convenience by opulence of material. The futility of such regrets is shown by the fact that most of these eulogists of the past show in their own houses, even if only in a slight degree, the effects of the tendency which they deplore. I do not mean that we should dispense with simplicity; but let it be a wise moderation in the midst of plenty, not the

fatalistic acceptance of poverty as a virtue in itself. And there can be no doubt that this tendency, which is now in its initial stage, will grow in strength with the course of years, until with the necessary differences due to climate and other environments it brings us approximately near to the Western mode of living.

But this mode is a rich and costly mode; to maintain it requires easy circumstances and a large diffusion of wealth. A poor country cannot meet its demands. A country without flourishing manufactures must always be a poor country. The future, therefore, imperatively claims this from us, that we shall cease to be a purely agricultural country and secure for ourselves some place at least among commercial and manufacturing nations. Otherwise we shall only establish for ourselves the unhappiness of unsatisfied cravings and the benumbing effects of an ideal to which we can make no approach. The cravings must be there, they are inevitable and essential to progress. To attempt to discourage them for political reasons or from social or religious conservatism is unjust and unwise and must eventually prove futile. The true policy is to provide that the cravings shall find means of encouragement. In other words we have to encourage and assist the commercial development of the country and so put it on the only possible road to progress, opulence, and prosperity.

There is a theory which affects to regard the races inhabiting the tropical and subtropical regions of the earth as disinherited by some mysterious law of Nature from all hope of originality, enterprise and

leadership. These things belong to the temperate regions; the tropics are to be for ever no more than the field for the energies of the superior races, to whom alone belong empire, civilization, trade and manufacture. We are to be restricted to a humble subordination, a servile imitation, and to the production of raw materials for their markets. At first sight there seems to be some justification for this theory in existing facts. Our trade is in European hands, our industries are for the most part not our own, our railways are built, owned and managed, by European energy and capital. The Government is European and all that we imitate and call civilization comes to us from Europe. Our immobile and disorganized society compares ill with the enlightened energy and cohesion of Europe; even at our best we seem to be only the hands that execute, not the head that originates.

Yet even if we accept this picture of ourselves without the necessary modifications, we need not accept this interpretation of inherent inferiority. For my part I demur to any such hasty generalization: yet however much of it be true be sure that there is no law of Nature which can prevent you from changing it. To suppose that any nation can be shut out from the operation of the law of Evolution is utterly unscientific, and, in the light of history, absurd.

Granted that originality among us is low, that enterprise is deficient, and that leadership has passed out of our hands; is there in the first place no qualification to the entire truth of the assertion? And in the second, is this state of things due to

immutable causes and therefore of old existence, or is it the result of recent and removable tendencies? It is true that such originality and power as we still possess has hitherto busied itself mostly in other paths than those of industry and the sciences which help industry. It has worked chiefly on the lines of Religion and Philosophy which have always been the characteristic bent of the national mind, continuing through Rammohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Keshavchandra Sen, the long and unbroken line of great religious teachers from Gautama to Chaitanya and Kabir. It is true that teachings of fatalism and inactive detachment have depressed the vitality of the people. Yet there is no reason to believe that this depression and this limitation are not removable and are constitutional.

But it is not only in Religion that we were great. We had amongst us brave soldiers like Shivaji, Hyder Ali, Mahadji Scindia and Ranjit Singh. Can we not again claim to have had an important share in the establishment of that mighty structure—the Indian Empire—erected indeed by the clear-sighted energy and practical genius of England, but on the foundations of Indian patience, Indian blood and Indian capital?

It is not an insignificant symptom that, considering how recent and meagre is scientific education in India, we should be able to show at least some names that are familiar to European scientists, not to speak of others enjoying a deserved reputation among ourselves. Small as these things may seem, they are yet enough to overthrow the theory of constitutional incapacity. And if we consider classes

rather than individuals, can it be denied that the Parsis are an enterprising and industrially capable race? Or can it be doubted that the community which could produce a leader in industry and philanthropy like Mr. Tata, will, as circumstances improve, take a leading place in the commercial world? Or can enterprise and commercial capacity be denied to classes like the Bhatias, Khojas and the merchants of Sind? When we have individuals and classes like these in our midst we may well inquire why it is that we stand so poorly in industry and commerce, without fearing that the answer, however ungratifying to our feelings, will lead us to despair.

But if this theory of the inferiority of the tropical races be untrue; if we find that in the past we had great men whose influence is with us even today, we must look for some other cause for the difference, and ask what it is that India has not today but which she had in that older stage of her history and which Europe has at the present day. We have not far to seek. It is obvious that it is the clear and practical examination of Life and Nature which men call Science, and its application to the needs of Life which men call Industry, in which we are deficient and in which Europe excels. And if we question the past we learn that this is exactly what has not come down to us through the ages along with our Religion and Philosophy.

Our early history is scanty and, in many respects, uncertain, but no uncertainty, no scantiness can do away with the fact that this was once a great commercial people. We were a very wealthy nation with organized guilds of artisans, a flourishing inland

commerce, a large export and import trade. We hear of busy and flourishing ports through which the manufactures of India flowed out to Europe, to Arabia and Persia, and from which, in those early times, we sent out our delicate cotton textures, our chintz and muslin, our silk cloth, silk thread, and a fine quality of steel; indigo, sugar, spices and drugs; diamonds, ivory and gold. In return we received brass, tin and lead; coral, glass, antimony; woollen cloth and wines from Italy, and also specie and bullion.

All through the Middle Ages, our manufactures and industries were at a very high level. Every traveller attests the existence of large and flourishing towns (a sure index of industrial prosperity), and praises the skill and ingenuity of our workmen. It was on the Eastern trade that Venice built her greatness, for then we were indeed the 'gorgeous East'. Notice, that it is especially in the manufactures which required delicate work, originality of design, or instinctive taste that our products were famous; our carving, our inlaid work and our gossamer cloth.

Coming now to the earlier part of the last century, what do we find? The carrying trade had passed from the Arabs to the East India Company and with it, too, the control of nearly all our exports especially those in indigo, iron and steel, and the newly imported industries in tobacco, tea and coffee. But there was still a large body of trade in Indian hands; even then our manufactures held their own and were far superior to those of Europe even then there were thousands of skilled artisans

and we supplied our own wants and exported enormous quantities of goods to other countries. Where, then, has all this trade gone and what has caused our decline?

The most obvious answer is, as I have said, the difference between Europe and India in industrial methods and appliances. But this is not quite sufficient to explain it. A deeper examination of the facts at our disposal shows that the life had almost left Indian industry before Europe had brought her machines to any remarkable development, and long before those wonderful changes which the application of chemistry and electricity have more recently wrought in industry. Nor can we ascribe it to a superiority which England possessed in industrial and technical education, for at that time there was no such training, and England has never relied on it for commercial capacity. If we go a little deeper into the matter we find that there is a further reason which does not depend on the natural working of economic laws but which is political in its nature, the result of the acquisition of political power by the East India Company and the absorption of India into the growing British Empire.

As Mr. Dutt shows in his able *Economic History of British India*, this political change had the gravest effect on our economic life. In the first place we were under the control of the economic policy of the East India Company which, so far as its export trade was concerned, accepted manufactures indeed, but paid an equal, if not greater, attention to raw materials. Even our internal trade was taken from us by the policy of the East

India Company; there were heavy transit duties on all inland commerce and there were commercial Residents in every part of the Company's possessions, who managed to control the work of the local artisans, and so thoroughly that outside their factories all manufacture came to an end.

On top of this came the protective policy of the British Government, which, despite the powerful interests of the East India Company, crushed Indian manufactures by prohibitive duties. Then came the application of steam to manufacture. It is scarcely to be wondered at, if with all this against us at home and abroad, our manufactures declined; and with the great advance in the improvement in machinery and the initiation of a Free Trade policy, this decline was hastened into ruin.

Moreover, a country not exporting manufactures is necessarily stagnant, and commercial progress and self-adaptability cease. Once the manufacturing superiority of India had been transferred to England, it was impossible for the weaker country to recover its position without some measure of protection. Not only was the struggle in itself unequal but the spectacle of a mighty commerce, overshadowing and dominating ours, flooding our markets and taking away our produce for its own factories, induced a profound dejection, hopelessness and inertia among our people. Unable to react against that dominating force we came to believe that the inability was constitutional and inherent in ourselves; there is a tendency in fact to hypnotize ourselves into apathy by continual repetition of the formula that Indians, as a race, are lacking in

enterprise, deficient in business faculties, barren in organizing power. If, therefore, I have dwelt upon our old manufactures and commerce and the way in which they were crushed, it is not with the unprofitable object of airing an old grievance, but in order to point out that there is no reason for this discouraging view of ourselves. We were a trading and manufacturing country from ancient times down to the present century, and if our manufactures have fallen into decay, our commerce languished, it was under a burden which would have crushed the most flourishing industry of the most energetic people.

Our weakness lies in this that we have for many years lain prostrate under a fictitious sense of our own helplessness and made no adequate attempt to react against our circumstances. We have succumbed where we should have exhausted every possibility of resistance and remedy. We have allowed the home-keeping propensities and the out-of-date semi-religious prejudices, which have gathered round the institution of caste, to prevent us from choosing the line of activity most consonant with our abilities, or from seeking in other lands for fresh markets and the knowledge of new industries.

The restriction against foreign travel is one of the most serious obstacles in the way of commercial success and must be utterly swept away, if we are not to go on stagnating. It is a pity that communities like the Bhatias should be restrained by an out-worn prejudice from going abroad and furthering that task of development for which they are so admirably fitted. The endeavours hitherto made have been, with

few exceptions, sporadic, half-hearted and prematurely abandoned; and the support given to them by the public has been scanty, wanting in confidence and in personal and active interest. It is this state of things which must cease before we can hope to revive our own manufactures, to establish firmly and extend those which exist, and to set on foot any new industries which our needs demand, and for which the conditions offer sufficient opportunity. Then India may again be what she was in the past and what she is so admirably fitted by nature to be, a self-sufficing country, famous for artistic and useful industries. To raise her again to this should be the ideal of every patriotic citizen. But in order that the ideal may be realized we need, first: knowledge of our possibilities, of the means and facilities necessary to success, and of the lines on which activity would be best repaid; and secondly: belief in ourselves and in each other so that our knowledge may not fail for want of co-operation.

If we get these, if we realize the progress of Science and mechanical invention and resolutely part with old and antiquated methods of work, if we liberate ourselves from hampering customs and superstitions, none of which are an essential part of our religion; if instead of being dazed in imagination by the progress of Europe, we learn to examine it intelligently, and meet it with our own progress, there will be no reason for us to despair; but if we fail in this we must not hope to occupy a place in the civilized and progressive world.

To speak with any fullness on this subject is not possible within the short limit of time at my

disposal. I shall, therefore, pass lightly over a few salient points; for the lines of activity open to us and calling for our energies are unlimited in their extent, variety and promise. This country is not poor in its resources, but may rather be said to be blessed by Nature in many respects; its mineral wealth is anything but contemptible; its soil produces valuable and useful products in great variety and abundance; the provision of water power is also unstinted. We have an excess of cheap labour and we have hereditary artisans who are quick in hand and eye, and who only need to be properly trained to make them the equals, if not the superiors, of their rivals. If there are certain serious disadvantages and defects in its mineral wealth such as the inferiority of its coal supplies, and in its vegetable products, such as the greater coarseness of its cotton and the difficulty of growing the finest silk, yet so great is the advance Science has made that we need not despair of meeting some of these difficulties at least in part. Nor is there any imperative necessity why we should always vie with other countries in producing the very best. If we utilize to the best advantage what Nature has given us and advance in such manufactures as the country is fitted for, we shall have done no inconsiderable task. What is required is greater knowledge, a more earnest endeavour of the Government towards improvement and the provision of facilities, and more serious activity on the part of the people to take advantage of such facilities as already exist. We need improvement in agriculture, and facilities in industries; for in a country like India, which produces or can

produce the bulk of its own raw material, the agricultural question cannot be separated from the industrial.

Improvement in agriculture is necessary to secure an increased quantity and improved quality of the produce of our fields. What Science can do for agriculture, the development of the beet-sugar industry and the improvement of cotton clearly show; and as sugar and cotton are two of the most important of our products and especially of our export trade, I wish to call your attention to what has been done by our rivals.

Beet-sugar cultivation has been gradually developed by careful selection of the best roots and the application of agricultural chemistry, until the percentage of saccharine has been doubled and trebled. Here is the remedy for Indian sugar. We must not be ashamed to borrow our rivals' tactics, but strive hard to get, for example, for our cane sugar the very best canes, and take care to use nothing but the very best methods of cultivation and manufacture.

The same is true of cotton. It is certain that the competition which Indian cotton has to meet will be much intensified in the near future; and our only hope of meeting it successfully is to improve our indigenous varieties up to a point at which they can hold their own. I believe that we can do this, but it demands the most patient researches and above all that, when the best variety has been discovered the cultivator will really grow it.

Science is our great hope, but there is one great obstacle to be overcome before Science can help us

and that is the ignorance and apathy which is the general condition of the agricultural classes at present.

The failure of the old arts and crafts, and especially that of arms, has thrown vast numbers back on the soil, and these classes are neither intelligent nor progressive. Many old professions are dying out and while those who should have followed them, go back to the land, many of these professions are not such as to provide any hereditary capacity for agriculture. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if our Indian cultivators, despite their traditional skill, are neither enterprising nor capable of undertaking improvements which demand considerable energy and foresight. Their methods, despite Dr. Voelcker's high encomiums, are backward, their resources are very limited, and their implements, though they may be the best suited to their narrow means and small holdings, are old and economically wasteful. But their most serious drawback is their helplessness. There is a general complaint that the soil is deteriorating, but that they can do nothing to remedy it; and in times of scarcity and famine they seem incapable of doing anything to help themselves. This is a most serious question and one which demands all our attention.

In the first place this deterioration of the soil is a very real danger. Do you know that the average product per acre has in some parts of the country diminished by 50 per cent since the middle of the seventeenth century, when the *Ain-i-Akbari* was compiled? Is it any wonder that the peasant grows poorer, or that his resources diminish? •

Our remedies must fall under two heads : (1) the improvement of methods, implements and general conditions; and (2) education.

In the first place attempts to introduce new implements have nearly all failed. Iron flails and threshing machines have been tried at one time or another, but the ryot will have none of them. At the same time this does not mean that the old implements are the best that the wit of man can devise, or that we are to suppose that past failure is conclusive.

Another matter to which Government has given some attention has been cattle-breeding. The results so far have not been encouraging, though there are Government farms at Hissar and at Bhatgaum in Khandesh, and another called the Amrit Mahal, maintained by the Mysore Government, from which are derived certain superior breeds of cattle to be found in the Madras Presidency.

Until we can get the co-operation of the people the results must be disappointing. Nevertheless, I think that there is a great deal of good work to be done on these lines and I am of opinion that besides improving the breed of cattle much might be done in the way of encouraging the ryots to breed other stock, such as horses, mules, etc. It is a thousand pities that our Indian breeds of horses should be dying out and that there seems to be no sensible effort made to keep them alive. Perhaps the chief reason why Government breeding farms have failed is that they are too elaborate for the people in their present condition. I believe that much might be done by reviving the old custom of keeping sacred bulls in every village and taking care that the bulls

supplied were the best that could be procured. Much might be done if the cultivator could be persuaded to breed only from the best animals.

Instead of helping ourselves we always depend upon Government; here is an instance where people can, with advantage, help themselves. To it I would add the planting of trees, which are of economic value, around the cultivators' fields and the encouragement of the fibrous plants which are now articles of commerce. There is further the question of good drainage to relieve the bad effects of irrigation. A serious endeavour should be made to help the ryot to sow only the best seed and to pay some attention to the best rotation of crops.

In a country like India, where the introduction of improved implements is so limited in its possibilities, and where everything depends upon the timeliness and sufficiency of the annual rains, it is irrigation that must necessarily take the largest place in all plans of agricultural improvement. This importance of irrigation has been recognized by the successive rulers of this country from the times of the ancient Hindu kings. From the days of Asoka, and before him, the digging of wells and tanks had been the subject of royal edicts, and one of the first religious duties of princes, zemindars and wealthy philanthropists. The number of small tanks in ruins that one finds in the districts, the multitude of old wells that still exist round about Muslim capitals; above all, the immense system of artificial reservoirs in the Madras Presidency, bear testimony to the steady persistence of this old tradition of administrative benevolence. In the Southern

54 THE REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA 1902
Presidency there are over 6,000 tanks mainly of native origin, the magnitude of which will be best remembered when it is understood that the embankments measure over 30,000 miles with 300,000 separate masonry works, and that these tanks irrigate over 34 lakhs of acres, an area almost equal to that irrigated by the entire system of the major and minor works of the Madras Presidency. These works were getting out of repair in the troublous times of the eighteenth century, when general disorder and maladministration, the usual concomitants of any violent change in the form of government, prevailed in our country. When they occupied the country the British, with their characteristic administrative energy, not only put them in order but in many cases improved and enlarged them. They have brought, or kept under irrigation, an area of little less than 20,000,000 acres at the cost of forty-two crores of rupees; and the work has been done with so much judgment and success that the works yield a profit of nearly 7 per cent and the produce raised equals 98 per cent of the total capital outlay. Not content with this they are now undertaking to prepare and gradually execute a scheme of protective works which, when complete, should do much to insure the country against famine. The work in irrigation will always be one of the most splendid and irreproachable chapters in the history of British Rule.

The proposed extension of irrigation works would also offer to the capitalists of the country a very eligible field for the investment of their surplus savings. If the people only co-operate they would find

irrigation projects a very profitable channel for investment; and if they fail to take advantage of the favourable opportunity, one need not be surprised if European capital is extensively employed in their development as has been done in the case of railways in India. I trust the Government on its part will also offer more than usual inducements to attract private Indian capital in these profitable undertakings.

Besides great irrigation works there is another way in which much might be done to protect the country against the effects of drought, that is, by encouraging the digging of wells. This is a method well adapted for States which have no facilities for works on a grand scale. In my own territories I have found that the advance of *taccavi*, for this purpose, was a measure which the cultivator could understand, and, under the guidance of experienced officers, one which worked well. At the same time large irrigation works have been commenced in various parts of the territory, and a survey is being made for the repair of old tanks and the utilization of favourable spots for the storage of water.

But it must not be forgotten that irrigation will not end all our troubles. Indeed, unless it is accompanied by a considerable measure of intelligence and foresight, it brings others in its train, such as the debilitation of the soil. The remedy for this is, of course, the use of artificial manures which will restore to the soil some of the qualities that are removed from it by over-irrigation. Here we are at once faced by our usual want of foresight and ignorance, of which I have already spoken. In face of

the deterioration of the soil, which I have mentioned as a widespread evil, widely acknowledged, it is inconceivable to me that we should seek to encourage the export of cotton-seeds on which so much of the efficiency of the simple manure, which we use here, in Gujarat, depends. Yet the value of this export has risen in one year from five to twenty lakhs of rupees, and it is certain that at this rate the cattle will have to go without it, and that their manure will become practically valueless. An artificial manure is, therefore, a crying necessity.

Another point is the growth of deep-rooted grasses which can resist drought and so prevent the terrible mortality of cattle which was so painfully marked in the late famine. We must follow the example of Australia in this matter and find indigenous deep-rooted grasses which we can plant systematically on waste land, and then, when we are cursed with another season of drought, we shall have something to meet it with.

Before we can hope that the ryot will try to employ measures which demand a high level of intelligence and scientific knowledge, we must awaken his curiosity and enlist his sympathy, which can only be done by a good system of general education. Without it our best endeavours are bound to fail. Government has established Agricultural Colleges and model farms in different parts of the country, but agriculture has been but little improved in consequence. Partly, I think, this is due to the vastness of the area and to the great variety of local conditions, for each district has its own difficulties to meet and overcome. But the main reason for the

failure is, I believe, the indifference and apathy of the people themselves. Another reason is the fact that these measures have come from outside and not from the people. However imperfect our education may be, it is equally lamentable that it has so far affected no more than 5 per cent of the population of the country. Before any noticeable change can take place, there must be a general feeling among the people that improvement must be made, and there must be a desire to take advantage of the efforts of Government to help them. At present, they are more inclined to laugh at our attempts to aid them than to help us by their advice and by showing us where their real difficulties lie. Their criticism, as a rule, is more destructive than educative.

I have found it possible to do something to improve the more backward classes of cultivators by sending more intelligent ryots to show them better methods of cultivation; and the school for the Dhanakas at Songadh has been more or less successful. These measures only serve to raise the internal level of the lower agriculture up to the highest of our present system, while the problem is to raise the general level. Perhaps something might be done by agricultural associations which studied local requirements and popularized such improvements as admitted of practical application. But I believe the only change which could do much would be to induce a more intelligent and enterprising class to engage in agriculture.

Over and above all this it is very important that our agriculturists should have cottage industries or

some work on which they can usefully engage themselves and the members of their family during the slack season of agriculture. Such would be for the men, wood-carving and the making of toys; and for the women, needlework and embroidery.

The annual review of the Trade of India published by the Statistical Department of the Government of India teaches us some wholesome lessons, which it would be always useful to remember. They show the large number of objects for which we are at present dependent on foreign factories, but for which we have plenty of raw material at hand, and which, if we only avail ourselves of the latest scientific methods, we can ourselves manufacture. Our endeavour should be to reduce this dependence upon foreign industries, and, where the necessary facilities do not exist for such manufactures at home, we should so improve the quality of our raw material as to enable it to hold its own in the foreign market to which it is sent. The wheat, for instance, which we export at present is used for the manufacture of bread in Europe, but it is scarcely fit to be turned to the many other uses to which it can be put unless it is much improved in quality. The same remarks apply to many of the most ordinary articles of daily use, such as paper, oils, leather, etc. The instance of leather is peculiarly noteworthy. We export the hides and the materials for tanning them, but that is not all. There is a cheaper and more efficient process of cleaning the hides in use in Europe, and the hides are exported to Europe to be cleaned there. Is it impossible for India to tan her own hides, in her own factories, with her own tanning materials?

Another point which seems inconceivable when the need for artificial manure is remembered, and that is, that we export bones in large quantities to be turned into bone-manure for the beet-fields of our rivals, and so for their sugar, which we so largely import.

Glass again is an article of which we import a large quantity every year, but which we might manufacture for ourselves. Last year we imported glass of the value of over ninety lakhs of rupees. In 1887 I made some inquiries into the matter and found that there were raw materials in plenty for the manufacture not only of rough glass, but of glass of the finest quality. I was advised that it would not pay to establish a factory, but the reasons against success were not insuperable. I also made some inquiries into the possibility of manufacturing paper in Gujarat and discovered that there were abundant raw materials of an excellent quality to be obtained here, and that paper-making was quite feasible in Gujarat.

We have already some glass-blowing factories at Kapadwanj and in the Punjab; paper mills in Bombay, Poona and Bengal; leather tanneries in Madras, Cawnpore and Bombay. It would be interesting to study the quantity and quality of these home products and to compare them with the articles imported from abroad. We may thereby learn the difference and know how to remove their shortcomings and extend their sale. Experience is the only path to knowledge, comparison perfects it. Knowledge is the dominant factor in the spirit of the age and the basis of all reform. I would suggest that,

of the many manufactures which might be successful in India, it would be advisable to begin with those in which there is a steady local demand, such as soap, candles, glass, furniture, pen-nibs, carpets, etc., and afterwards extend the field of our operations so as to include other and more elaborate articles.

To enable us to take up these manufactures we need a system of industrial education, and for this we have to rely very largely on the assistance of Government. But we must remember that our position is not quite that of any European country in this respect, and that our best model would probably be Japan. Now, Japan, when she aimed at general, and particularly at industrial, progress, adopted three main lines on which her education was to run. These were, first to send a number of her young men abroad, and especially to Germany, for education; secondly to establish great colleges in Japan itself, the staff of which was at first composed of Europeans; and thirdly to employ the services of Europeans, in the initial stages of her manufactures, under whom her people were gradually trained in efficiency.

Now I should like first to call attention to the last of these, because I think that here we have the solution of a difficulty which has been met with in the case of some industries which have recently been started. I have heard complaints that the quality of the goods turned out was not satisfactory, and from what I heard, it seemed to me that perhaps the failure was due to the incompetence of the directors, or to some culpable laxity in their

management, or to our having commenced the enterprise on too impracticable or ambitious a scale, or to our having lost sight of some essential conditions of success at the outset. Some industries may require European skill and supervision to pilot them through their initial stages, and a hasty attempt to dispense with it may lead to disappointing results. But there is another aspect to this apparent incompetence; we have to learn trustworthiness, a capacity for obedience, the art of management, accuracy, punctuality, method and the sense of justice, and the only school which will teach us these is a position in which they are called out by use.

To return to the first of the three points: it is obviously impossible to send any very large proportion of our Indian youths abroad, though I think more might be done in this direction. I would appeal to Government and to our philanthropists to see if they cannot help us.

That which will help us most is a largely extended system of technical and general education, such as that on which Germany has built her commercial greatness. It is of course impossible to imitate the German system exactly. But it is not impossible to provide ourselves with a system which will meet our requirements. Though private individuals may do something in the matter, a satisfactory solution of the whole question must depend upon the sympathy and generosity of the Government. I believe that Government could not give a greater boon than such an education, and I think I am voicing the feelings of the educated classes at large, when I say that we are confident that we have not long to wait

to see our rulers grapple with this problem, with their usual energy and decision. Meanwhile we must start our factories as best we can, and do the best with our present circumstances. I do not overlook the fact that the odds against us are heavy and that our infant industries have to struggle from the start in an open market with long-established competitors.

I am not afraid of being thought a heretic with regard to economics, if I say that I think we need Protection to enable our industries to grow. The economic history of Germany and America shows that there is a stage in the growth of a nation when Protection is necessary. The laws of political economy are not inexorable and must bend to the exigencies of time and place. Theories and doctrines, however plausible, cannot take precedence of plain and practical truths. It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands, but this cheapness is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status, and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat. National defence against the alien industrial inroads is more important than the cheapness of a few articles.

Protection, therefore, if only for a short time, is what we need for our nascent manufactures; for some time must elapse before more perfect methods are naturalized in India and the standard of Indian workmanship attains the excellence of Europe. A high wall of tariffs has secured to American manufactures the home market as an undisputed field for

their own development; and India, maimed, and helpless as she has been, may expect that relief from her beneficent Government. Government, like the climate and geographical conditions of a country, has a peculiar force of its own and must leave an indelible impress on the mould of the destinies of nations. It may as powerfully hamper, as promote, the moral and material development of the people entrusted to its care. If the Government were supported by a more informed and intelligent public opinion and if the people, awakened to a sense of national life, were allowed and induced to take a livelier interest in their own concerns and if they worked in unison, they would conduce to mutual strength. Government is a matter of common sense and compromise, and its aim should be to secure the legitimate interests of the people governed.

But at the same time I would warn you against some false methods of encouraging industry, such as the movement to use no cloth not produced in the country. The idea is quite unsound so far as any economic results go; and the true remedy for any old industry which needs support is to study the market, find out what is wanted and improve the finish of the work and the design until an increasing demand shows that the right direction has been found. This applies particularly to the artistic trades, such as wood-carving and metal-work, for which the country has been so famous and which it would be a pity to allow to die altogether. Among other means of improvement, the education of women in decorative art would bring a fresh

economic force into play; and as I ascertained by inquiries in London, made from a desire to find lucrative home industries for our women, and especially for widows, such industries could prove extremely profitable. Tapestry, for instance, is a great women's industry in Switzerland; lacework, cretonne and embroidered cushions could all very well be made by women. Needlework is even now done in Gujarat homes, and if the designs and colourings are improved it might be turned into an active industry, supplying our own wants, and possibly outside demands. Carpet-weaving also, which is now done in several of our jails, might be turned in the same way into a profitable home industry. The main thing is to study the market and not to pursue our own hobbies. It would be necessary to have agents in Europe, who would study European wants, consult professional men and get designs which could be executed in India. Something of the sort is, I believe, done in the School of Arts in Madras. My inquiries in Paris convinced me that in the hands of capable persons this method would be both practicable and profitable.

I would, however, direct your attention more to the establishment of the larger industries involving an extensive use of machinery, for it is upon this that our economic future and any increase of our wealth depends. Before we have a large demand at home for the arts we must produce the wealth to support them, and we shall never have that wealth until we have an economic system on a much broader basis than our present limited industry. With a little energy and the assistance

of Government we can broaden this basis, and then we may look forward to a new lease of life for Indian art and Indian literature and for those industries which depend on leisure and wealth.

I should like now to say a few words on the subject of the assistance which a Government can give in developing the resources of its territories. I have indicated a few ways in which I think Government can help economic development in the direction of education. To these I would add improvements in the means of communication and the establishment of banks and other co-operative institutions. It can also encourage merchants and manufacturers by advances of capital and by granting other facilities.

Native States in India, seriously handicapped as they are by their limited means and scope and the want of trained men, though they cannot emulate their great exemplar the British Government, seem to limit themselves, as yet, too much to the routine of administration, and might do more for the material and commercial development of the country. Granted freedom of action, and with proper endeavour, I am inclined to think that many States in Central India, Rajputana and elsewhere would be able to get even more treasure out of the bowels of the earth than Mysore and Hyderabad at present obtain. But Government help has its limits.

My experience teaches me that it is very difficult for Government to provide industries for its people in the absence of a real business spirit amongst the people themselves. It is very difficult for so impersonal an entity as Government to get capable managers or to supervise its enterprises properly. I

have tried various measures in my own State, but I am sorry to say that the results are disappointing. A sugar mill, a cotton mill and an ice factory were tried, but were not successes. A State fund for the advance of capital and other assistance to manufacturers also failed. I found that the managers were not sufficiently interested in the scheme and not impartial in the working of it. I am convinced, however, that the fault lay not with the industries themselves but in the fact that they were State enterprises.

I have also made an experiment in technical education. I founded an institution called the Kala-Bhavan with departments in dyeing and weaving, carpentry and mechanical engineering, and with the object of diffusing technical education I had branches of it set up in various parts of the Raj. The response among the people was so faint that after a time the institution had to be contracted within narrower limits. Until the means of the people and the material wealth of the country expand, there can be but little demand for the work which such institutes turn out. So far, the Kala-Bhavan has done but little beyond providing skilled dyers for Bombay mills; and until the people co-operate more earnestly its utility will not be recognized. Once more it is the prevailing ignorance which hampers every movement to help the people. They are sunk in a fatalistic apathy and do not care to learn how to help themselves.

I have omitted to refer to the many endeavours made by other Indian States in the same direction; but not because they are not worth mentioning.

The wonderful Cauvery electric power scheme and the irrigation projects of the Mysore and Jaipur States, as well as the fine Technical School at Jaipur, are indisputably entitled to a high rank in the record of such laudable work. I have to pass them over for want of time and adequate information of all their details.

It is the general lack of education and intelligence which hampers us at every turn and has been our ruin. Once we can make education general we may hope for increased dexterity, an increased power of concentration, increased trustworthiness and quickness to discover new processes. We need these qualities in every class of Indian society. Education in England has diffused a spirit of self-reliance and a capacity for initiative; education in Germany aims at thorough knowledge, methodical application and exact learning; but education in India has hitherto aimed only at providing a certain amount of food for thought without ever touching the mental capacity or character.

I do not think that the plea that our industries are poor for want of capital is one that can be sustained. We have more capital than we imagine to develop our resources if we would only use it. But we lack the active foresight always seeking the best investments. We prefer to hoard our savings in our women's ornaments, or to invest it in Government securities at low rates of interest, when we might be using it in ways which would be profitable to the country at large, as well as to ourselves, such as agricultural improvements, insurance of agricultural stock and the establishment of factories.

And that is especially true of some Indian States which invest their surplus capital in Government securities, instead of using it in the development of the resources of their own territories.

This is not, however, our only fault. There is another fault which is nearly as fatal to any system of industry, and that is our lack of confidence in ourselves and in one another. Without self-confidence you can never do anything; you will never found an industry or build up a trade, for you have nothing to carry you through the first anxious years when the only dividend is hope, and the best assets are unfaltering courage and faith in oneself. And without confidence in one another you will never have a credit system, and without a credit system no modern commerce can exist. It is this want of co-operation, this mutual distrust which paralyses Indian industry, ruins the statesman, and discredits the individual even in his own household. I believe that this trait of our character, though in some cases arising from our obvious defects and instances of actual misconduct among ourselves, is mainly due to the fact that the nation has long been split up into incoherent units, but also to the ignorance and restricted vision which result from our own exclusiveness. We have denied ourselves the illuminating experience of foreign travel and are too prone to imagine that weaknesses are confined to India. Failures and defalcations are as common in Europe as among ourselves; and yet we allow ourselves to be too easily discouraged by such incidents. Hence arises the habit of censorious judgment, a disposition to put the worst construction on the conduct of

our friends and relatives without trying to find the truth, which destroys all trust and tolerance. Our view of the conduct of friends, of the policies of administrations, of the success and integrity of commercial undertakings, are all vitiated by a readiness to believe the worst. It is only when we learn to suspend judgment and know the man and the motive before we criticize, that we shall be able to repose trust where trust is due. We must stiffen our character and educate ourselves up to a higher moral standard.

We despair too easily. Let us remember that we must expect failures at first; but that it is those who learn from failure that succeed. Moreover, as anyone may learn from a survey of the present state of industry, there is evidence that some do succeed. We have not, of course, made the most of our opportunities, but it is worth while remembering that something has been done because it shows us what it is possible to do, and encourages us to do it. If anyone wishes to know, in more detail, what has been done and what might be done, he could not do better than consult Mr. Ranade's excellent book on the subject.

And now let me say a word about this Exhibition and its aims. I take it that an Exhibition is intended to draw together the scattered threads of industrial activity, so that the members of any trade may learn not only what is the latest development in their own trade, but also what other trades are doing, and what in the other trades is likely to help them. Then it is hoped that the spectacle of advance and improvement will arouse emulation and

suggest new ideas and also draw industries together. But are the conditions in India such that we may hope for this? I fear not; I fear that the ryot will not yet come to learn from us and that there will be few craftsmen who will go away with new ideas and the memory of new processes. Nevertheless, we should not despair.

It should be remembered that a similar difficulty was experienced in England in connexion with the Workmen's Institutes which sprang up all over the country in response to Dr. George Birkbeck's suggestions. The object was to provide the mechanic with lectures on his own trade; but the attempt at first largely failed from the incapacity of the working man to learn anything from the lectures. Lectures and exhibitions bear fruit only when the people have received sufficient general education to make them mentally receptive and deft in adaptation and invention. When that goal is reached, such exhibitions may most usefully be turned into local museums, and if possible a syllabus of instruction attached to the exhibits. On the other hand, there is yet another function which exhibitions perform and which is equally useful, and that is their influence as general education among the classes whose intelligence is already aroused, and who go away with a new sense of what there is to learn. Life is not yet all machinery which it takes an expert to understand, and there are many new ideas which the collection of the most recent efforts in Art and Science in one place can inspire, and especially is this true if there is the comparison of the old with the new.

But before any of these undertakings and enterprises, which I have mentioned, can succeed, India must be thoroughly awakened. Understand what this means. It means action. There is no reality in our social reform, our political progress, our industrial revival, because, as you know, there is scarcely one of us who dares to act even in his own household.

You complain of an over-centralized Government, of the evils of heavy custom charges, of inland excise duties on cotton, of the treatment given to your emigrants, and the want of a legitimate share by the people in their own Government. There may be much in your complaints, but until you realize that the ultimate remedy lies in your own hands and that you have to carry it out by yourselves, no external reform can help you.

That awakening, that realization is your share of the work, you who know something of Western thought and Western methods, and who imitate much from the West. But to the bulk of the population it does not apply so simply. The masses of India are lost in a hopeless ignorance, and that is why they are so intensely conservative and lacking in confidence and initiative. We cling to old customs because we do not know that they are not essential to our religion, and we dare not adopt new ideas or establish new industries because we do not know how to set about it. But there is another side to this ignorance and that is that we let our old customs hamper us and blind us in the present, because we do not understand the past.

Remember two inevitable tendencies in history : one, that no system, however perfect, however glorious, however far-reaching, can go on for 2,000 years (or 200 for that matter) without enormous changes being made in it simply by time; the other, that the religious, the political and mental conditions of a nation are indissolubly connected and interwoven, so that you cannot alter a single feature in one of them without changing all three. Now apply these principles to the past.

From A.D. 500 we find a steady decline in the political and mental condition of the country down to the two centuries of darkness from which we emerged into the periods of the Rajputs and the Muslim conquest. Follow the fortunes of India down the next eight centuries and note the steady decline in Hindu power, both political and mental, till we come to the time when Europeans obtained a firm footing in India and conquered the country with very slender means, meeting and solving each problem as it arose. For 1,400 years the record is one of steady decline in political and mental nationality. How then can religion have fared, and especially all those social institutions which depend on religion? Surely it is clear that just as our trade and our political power collapsed before the attacks made upon them because they were inefficient, the other features of our system cannot have escaped degradation and that in clinging to them blindly we are clinging to the very tendencies, the very forces that have dragged us down. The fact that we cling so tightly to them has ruined both them and us. Consider the effects of cumulative physical heredity

on the capacity of any caste, when the action for which that caste and its institutions were designed, is taken out of its power.

Here then is the problem : to carry out a great change in this respect, to realize our ignorance and to make up our minds to face the question, how and what to change boldly and altogether. We have changed before when it has suited our convenience, adopting details from the Muslims when it fell in with our wishes; and many of us, even our conservatives, are European in their tastes at times. It is obvious that much of our religion and many of our social institutions of today have nothing in them except perhaps a faint shadow of their old vigour and glory on which our old greatness was founded.

India needs a great national movement in which each man will work for the nation and not for himself or for his caste, a movement carried out on common-sense lines. It does not mean that we are to adopt a brand-new system from Europe, but it does mean that we must borrow a little common sense in our solutions of the problems of life.

We must resolutely see what we need, and if we find a plain and satisfactory solution adopt it whether we have traditional authority for it or not. Turn to the past and see what made India great, and if you find anything in our present customs which does not square with what you find there, make up your minds to get rid of it boldly, without thinking that it will ruin you to do so. Study the past till you know what knowledge you can get from it which you can use in the present, and add

to it what the West can teach us, especially in the application of Science to the needs of life.

You, Gentlemen, are the leaders of India, and if you fail, she fails. Let each of you make up his mind that he will live by what his reason tells him is right, no matter whether it be opposed or approved by any sage, custom or tradition. Think, and then act at once. Enough time has been wasted in waiting for time to solve our problems. Wait no longer but strike and strike home.

We have our 'ancient régime' of custom and prejudice to overcome: let us meet them by a new Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; a Liberty of action, Equality of opportunity and the Fraternity of a great national ideal. Then you may hope to see India a nation again, with a national art and a national literature and a flourishing commerce, and then, but not till then, may you demand a national government.

I should like to pay a personal tribute to the organizers of this Exhibition, for the trouble and energy they have expended in making this collection of Indian arts and industry so fine and representative a collection; and to the local authorities and their able head, Mr. Lely, the popular Commissioner, whose name will ever be a household word in Gujarat for his unfailing kindness in famine and plenty, who has taken so encouraging an interest in this Exhibition.

Surely it is a good omen for the success of our industrial revival that this Exhibition takes place in Ahmedabad, a town long famous for its enterprise and energy, which already possesses factories

and industrial connexions of importance in the industrial world. If only we had a few more Ahmedabads, India would not have long to wait for a real revival of her commerce.

And last of all, I have to pray for the long life, happiness and prosperity of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, whose accession we are about to celebrate in so splendid a manner and whose reign will, we trust, inaugurate a new period of strong and prosperous national life for India, which will make her the brightest jewel in the Imperial Diadem.

HINDU-MOSLEM SOLIDARITY¹

MR. PRINCIPAL AND GENTLEMEN,—It is a singular pleasure to be able to pay a visit to this institution.

When Mr. Mahbub Alam asked me yesterday to visit this College, if I had time and inclination, I agreed to do so, as it was an invitation which I thought it would be a mistake to decline, for it would give me an opportunity of seeing the progress that Muslim friends are making in the Panjab. The progress of the whole country must depend on the advancement of all sections of the community, and therefore the advancement of any one section must interest all. Division must lead to ruin, and union to strength. It is incumbent on us, leaders and persons of influence in society, to promote unity and not division. Hindus and Muslims must work hand in hand. Just now I was conversing with Mr. Mahbub Alam on this subject, and he pointed out several things in which there existed differences of principle and action between Hindus and Muslims.

Not being acquainted with details of local circumstances, I am not in a position to suggest remedies to minimize points of difference and promote unanimity, but, I am sure, men of experience and men versed in local affairs must know means to

bridge over the difficulties. Even where Muslims may be in a minority, some reasonable compromise must be found such that the interests of the minority may not suffer. This may not be the popular view but it is surely, I think, the right view. If one propounds an opinion divergent from that held by the majority, one will meet with opposition; but if one continues to advocate the right view, it will be accepted in the long run. For instance, Galileo proved certain laws concerning the earth. People in his time were decidedly against him, but after his death his services came to be recognized. However, in practical politics, we have to give some consideration even to popular prejudices. Granting that we differ as to certain lines of action, it is still incumbent upon us to consider whether it is not in our ultimate interest to try to secure the advancement not of one community only, but of the whole of India. Division has ruined India and must ruin it as long as it exists—I do not mean politically, but socially and materially.

Having made these remarks, I wish to assure you once more of the great pleasure with which I have visited this institution, and if ever I come to Lahore again it will give me great pleasure to pay you another visit to see the progress you have made.

One thing more. It is incumbent on me to reply to the kind words in which the gentleman (Shaikh Abdul Qadir) has alluded to me personally and to my interest in movements for the good of the country. My interests are not limited to one province or one community. I do not consider provinces and communities separately. I regard them as

¹ On the occasion of a visit to the Islamia College, Lahore, on the 26th of September 1908.

parts of one whole. If the parts improve and become perfect, the whole is bound to be complete. I wish therefore to encourage every good movement and every good institution. In Kashmir I paid several visits to Hindu and Muslim schools, since diversity of religion makes no difference to me when considering the encouragement of useful objects.

I may give you, as perhaps you may be expecting me to do, some idea as to what we are doing in Baroda with regard to classes to some extent left behind in the onward march of education, among whom are Muslims. I say 'to some extent' as Muslims in general in Baroda are perhaps more advanced than those in similar social positions in the Panjab, and even more than some of their Hindu fellow-subjects. We have schools there where Urdu and Persian are taught, though many Muslims, knowing that Gujarati is the prevalent language, learn it and know it well. Moreover, there are religious institutions where charity and kindness are shown to Muslims. In my service there are many professing Islam who have distinguished themselves as civil servants. There have also been Muslims who have fought battles and shed their blood for the House of Baroda. We have paid them not in empty words, but by granting them positions of dignity and trust and giving them emoluments. It is not only in 1903 that the principle of unity between Hindus and Muslims has been recognized. It has existed for a long time. Look at Muslim States and those who have risen to eminence in them, as for instance Hyderabad at the present day and the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda in olden

times. Such being the case, there is ample reason for us to be united. Upon due consideration I am convinced that our interest lies in acting in unison.

You are a part and parcel—an inseparable part and parcel—of this vast country. In religion we may differ, but within the world, advancing in its knowledge of scientific truths and progressing materially, it is strange that we should depend only on religion for agreement or difference, when so many other points of contact are offered. Because we differ in religion, it does not follow that we must oppose one another from birth to death. We are destined to one and the same goal. As human beings gifted with the faculty of reasoning, we should be able to rise above petty prejudices. We are children of the same God and should live as brethren.

In conclusion I thank you heartily for the reception you have given me, and I assure you that your interests will always have a place in my heart.

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM IN INDIA¹

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—When I was asked by Mr. Chandavarkar to open this meeting of the Social Conference in Bombay, it was with some diffidence that I accepted. I could not but recollect how many distinguished men have occupied this chair, and with how many earnest, brilliant and informing speeches the function has been associated in the past. They have dealt with all the various subjects of our social problems, and thrown on them the full and clear light of their learning and their thought. What could I add to the things they have said, or how could I feel any self-confidence in filling their place? Still I accepted the invitation only because I was anxious to show my sympathy with the movement which this Conference typifies.

A few general ideas have occurred to me while studying the course and progress of this movement, and I put them before you so that you may compare them with your own rather than for any intrinsic novelty they possess. Social problems are full of difficulties, and every contribution to their discussion, however insignificant, may be of use. And difficult as they are, solve them we must, for the

¹ The Inaugural Address at the Eighteenth Social Conference, delivered on the 30th of December 1904.

choice they set before us is the ultimate one of a nation's destiny.

A glance at the progress of the Social Reform movement from its commencement to the present day is apt at first sight to be rather discouraging. It is now more than seven decades since Rammohan Roy, and the small knot of enlightened men who supported him, agitated successfully against *sati*—the first landmark in the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. Since then there has been much clamour of discussion and movement and a great appearance of effort on various lines.

There have been great religious movements, the Brahmo Samaj breaking boldly away from Hinduism and building up a new community with the modern spirit; the Arya Samaj seeking to reform society and religion but clinging to a nationalistic basis; Theosophy and Vedantism trying to set the waters moving from within; not to speak of smaller movements like the Satya Shodhak Samaj started by Mr. Phuley, which celebrated marriages without the intervention of Brahmins.

There has been movement within the orthodox society itself, different castes attempting to rectify one or two particular evils within their own limits; there have been conferences and associations of the separate communities, the Jain Conference, the Muslim Conference, the Kayastha Sabha, Sabhas of various castes and sub-castes.

There has been cautious but liberal social legislation by the Government abolishing whatever was intolerable to modern sentiment, and liberating the path of advance and progress from the great

82 ASPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM IN INDIA 1904
stumbling-block of active persecution and legal disabilities.

Individuals of influence and reputation have come and gone who have given their intellectual ability or their personal efforts to the cause of progress. And there has been finally this Social Conference of ours established for eighteen years, which meets annually to discuss and report progress, seeking to give some centre and point of meeting to so many disconnected efforts.

What is the upshot of all these efforts of these seventy or eighty years, and how far can we assign any improvement to our own exertions?

To the first question we can answer, that with the slow advance of education there has been some intellectual progress, and the need for social reform is more generally recognized than it used to be. We might point out that the average age of marriage has risen somewhat, though we have not yet succeeded in raising the age beyond that of puberty, as the laws of health and the saner customs of our ancestors dictate. We might observe that caste restrictions against inter-dining and foreign travel are breaking down, and that an enlightened Government has removed the difficulty in the way of widow-remarriage. And it might appear that all this represents on the whole an encouraging measure of progress, and is evidence of a distinct change for the better.

But when we come to examine the causes at work which have produced the results, we shall have to confess that the prospect is not so reassuring, and to face the conclusion that we have talked much

and done little. For we shall see that these changes are due mostly to the irresistible pressure of circumstances and very little to intelligent and energetic action on our part.

The average age of marriage has risen because of the necessities imposed by the education of boys, and the change that has come over the bridegroom in respect of his views of the age of marriage; this, together with the longer period during which they now receive education, has made marriage more difficult for girls. Caste restrictions are breaking down because the railway, the school, the college and the public services are bringing men together without consideration of caste, and foreign travel is becoming more frequent under the tremendous pressure of economic forces.

It is the force of circumstances which is freeing us from our social trammels, and not our own desire to be free. However, let us not dwell on the discouraging features of our slow progress. Let us rather try to understand what we really mean by Social Reform and, recognizing our deficiencies in the past, try to make our future action more spontaneous and intelligent, our progress more dependent on conscious and active endeavour.

Before going further, I should just like to say something of a tendency which has been visible recently, and that is to insist that reform, if it is to be effectual, must run on national lines. One disadvantage of the idea is that so many meanings have been attached to the term National Social Reform. Some, for instance, mean by it cautious reform after the manner of Erasmus, others take up

an ideal like that of the Arya Samaj, others again mean by it the revival of the purity of earlier conditions without their defects. And many, it is to be feared, use it as a euphemism for a reactionary policy.

There is, of course, some truth in the position that reform must work along lines natural to the country and our national characteristics. There are some features in our environment which are sufficiently powerful to modify the practical application of any idea, and these account for certain tendencies in national history which persist even through long centuries of foreign influence. It is also true that servile imitation is no reform and is often worse than the original evil. But the great truth behind the phrase is, that it is the general advance of the nation which is the aim of reform: that only is national reform which subserves national interests.

It matters nothing where the truth comes from. If it serves a national purpose or helps national ends, then it is national whether the form in which we find it is modern or Vedic, European or purely Indian. And we must be eager to find this knowledge and apply it whether it has the sanction of the older ideas or not. We have to look forward to the future of India; we are not going to revive the past. Therefore we must be a little on our guard in this respect. It is not religious sanction which can guide us in our choice. What the past held sacred is often noble but still more often misunderstood, and we who have to deal with the present shall do more by trying to judge of our need from a practical common-sense point of view, and by using our

reason to guide us as to the utility of past experience and new knowledge. What we need now is action—common-sense practical measures—and not discussion as to whether this or that reform is justified by older traditions or the sacred writings of our ancestors.

A question which often arises is, why do we need Social Reform? We cannot say that our whole society is evil, for every society has its merits and its defects, and the merits are there even if we see the defects more prominently. It is quite superfluous to exaggerate the evils, for many of them are local, as, for example, *kulinism* in a small community of Bengal; or restricted to certain castes, as for example *pardah*. It is also sometimes unwise to take European criticism too seriously, for Europeans do not always see correctly or make allowances for diversity of institutions and customs. Thus, they often speak as if our marriage ceremony implied immediate consummation as theirs does, or imagine that all *pardah* systems are absolute. Another thing to be on our guard against is reform for reform's sake. For instance, the anti-*nautch* movement would remove in a spirit of unreasoning Puritanism what might be an innocent amusement. We have few amusements and we gain nothing by abolishing them, though, of course, every thinking person would wish to purify those which are unhealthy.

What then are the objects before the Conference? In what direction does reform seem necessary? The principal measures noted are: Female Education; Abolition of Infant Marriage; Widow-Remarriage; Abolition of Polygamy; Removal of Caste Divisions;

Intermarriage between Sub-Castes; Inter-Dining; Freedom for Travel and Sea-Voyages; Raising the position of the Castes called Low; Temperance; and the Regulation of Public Charities. If we examine this list, we shall, I think, find that we can classify the greater number of them under two main heads: (1) difficulties arising from the caste system; (2) difficulties in connexion with the status of women. These are the two great problems—their solution will enable us to deal satisfactorily with the subjects mentioned in our list.

What are the methods by which we can deal with these problems? There appear to be two great methods of reform—legislation and persuasion. Of these the simpler and swifter is legislation; but on the other hand it can only deal with particular evils, and its effects are less permanent and thorough. Moreover, in some respects it appears more suited to our national temperament, which, like that of some continental peoples in Europe, prefers Government action to popular initiative. On the other hand, though we do nothing ourselves, we are not above criticizing Government action. We should be grateful to the British Government for what it has managed to perform in the way of the removal of barbarous customs, despite the delicacy of its position and the caution which has necessarily characterized its policy. We wish that it might have seen its way to do more in this direction.

The Governments of Indian States, though their scope and activity are much restricted in some directions, may yet discharge a great and useful function. They may provide centres of activity and may

lead the progressive tendencies of our society. So far as their opportunities permit, they should strive at the very least not to lag behind the British Government in liberalizing the social organization. The Government of an Indian State which liberalizes and perfects its administration is powerfully helping towards the reform of society. May I be permitted in passing to pay a tribute to those of our older princes who have given personal examples which should greatly strengthen the forces of progress; examples on which a younger generation increasingly tends to improve? It would, I think, be an excellent thing if these princes could find an opportunity of coming together occasionally and exchanging views on the social problems in which they have a common interest.

But we must remember that legislation cannot deal with great barriers which have their roots deep in social organization. These only education can deal with. There must be an intelligent appeal to the whole people, which shall produce a general awakening, a general determination to think and act. If we can produce this, many of the detailed reforms we are discussing will solve themselves. The movement must be truly general and in earnest. But as this is perhaps an ideal far from realization, we should not despise smaller efforts at practical reform, if they are all we can deal with at present.

Let us now examine, in more detail, our two great problems, caste and the status of women, endeavouring to understand what they are at present, what are the defects which they impose on society, and what is the real value which they conceal or obscure.

The evils of caste cover the whole range of social life. It hampers the life of the individual with a vast number of petty rules and observances which have no meaning. It cripples him in his relations with his family, in his marriage, in the education of his children and his life generally. It weakens the economic position by attempting to confine him to particular trades, by preventing him from learning the culture of the West, and by giving him an exaggerated view of his knowledge and importance. It cripples his professional life by increasing distrust, treachery and jealousy, hampering a free use of others' abilities; and ruins his social life by increasing exclusiveness, restricting the opportunities of social intercourse and preventing that intellectual development on which the prosperity of any class most depends. In the wider spheres of life, in municipal or local affairs, it destroys all hope of local patriotism, of work for the common good, by thrusting forward the interests of the caste as opposed to those of the community, and by making combined efforts for the common good exceedingly difficult. But its most serious offence is its effect on national life and national unity. It intensifies local dissensions and diverse interests, and obscures great national ideals and interests which should be those of every caste and people, and renders the country disunited and incapable of overcoming its defects or of availing itself of the advantages which it should gain from contact with the civilization of the West. It robs us of our humanity by insisting on the degradation of some of our fellow men who are separated from us by no more than the accident of birth. It

prevents the noble and charitable impulses which have done so much for the improvement and mutual benefit of European society. It prevents our making the most of all the various abilities of our diverse communities; it diminishes all our emotional activities and intellectual resources. Again, it is the most conservative element in our society and the steady enemy to all reform. Every reformer who has endeavoured to secure the advance of our society has been driven out of it by the operation of caste. By its rigidity it preserves ignorant superstitions and clings to the past, while it does nothing to make more easy and more possible those inevitable changes which Nature is ever pressing on us.

If we attempt to trace caste down the misty records of our history, we are at once struck with one great fact, and that is, whatever it once was, it was never in earlier times the extraordinary and illogical mixture which it is today. Society was united and vigorous, caste was no bar to active and healthy intercourse. The system was a natural and practical organization of society.

In the Vedic Period we can scarcely trace its existence, if at all. Society was too simple to need this differentiation. National life was energetic and united. From this period onwards we can trace its gradual growth, and unfortunately its degeneration. In the Epic Period it represents a simple and practical organization of society, meaning the specialization of the four great natural divisions of a people. The lines between caste and caste, however, are apparently not rigid, and each caste was carefully adjusted to the others. *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma*

marriages (i.e., with girls of lower castes or of higher castes) were not unknown. Then followed the period in which, in spite of a tremendous output of intellectual activity, the first signs of decay appear. Caste became more rigid. There was a struggle between caste and caste. Apparently the Kshatriya, falling from his high ideal, lost power, and the Brahmin degenerated; and though the evil effects of this did not appear at once, the balance of powers in the society was upset. Caste entirely lost elasticity, subdivisions arose, and there came a period in which disorganization rapidly followed.

That caste had become an evil and no longer a help is shown by the position it occupies in Buddhism, which was a revolt no less against caste than against the over-heavy burden of ceremonies, rites and sacrifices. Gautama, who was a Hindu preaching to Hindus, would not have removed caste from his teaching had it been a healthy form of national life. Though it survived, the weakness and disunion of the nation and the failure of the caste system are shown by the collapse of Indian society before foreign invasion.

There followed a long period of darkness in which caste became an antiquated tradition, an heirloom to which men clung as connecting them to a past which they felt to be glorious but could not understand. With the Brahmanical reaction it became a vast congeries of meaningless subdivisions. These became intensified by the disturbed and evil days which preceded the period of Muslim conquest, and still more so when caste, regarded as the last possession left to the conquered, came to be employed as a

national bulwark against the foreign invaders. In consequence of all this and also the fissiparous tendency which has manifested itself from generation to generation, caste has introduced into our society the paralysing chaos which we find therein today.

Some aspects of caste are so powerfully typified in Maratha history that I may be excused a brief reference to some of the most striking instances here. We may note, as an instance of the obstacles which it throws in the way of reformers, the persecution not only of *sadhus* from the humbler castes, like Tukaram and Chokhamela, but of liberal Brahmins like Eknath, by the ignorant Bhats and Bhikshuks. The ignorance of priests has always been, and is, a great stumbling-block in the way of reformers since olden times, when the great Śankaracharya himself was outcasted by them. If this ignorance of the priests could be removed, progress would become a much smoother affair. We may note as an example of the inhuman arrogance of caste the way in which, in the time of the Peshwas, Mahars were forced to sit down when they met a superior in the street, lest their shadow should touch him, or, as tradition says, were forbidden to spit on the road, and had to carry a vessel round their necks for the purpose. This was due to the supremacy of a single caste, and was not typical of the times of Maratha vigour, when Maratha, Brahmin, and Prabhu worked harmoniously for a common cause; when the other castes were forced to suffer the touch of Mahars and Kolis, for these fought shoulder to shoulder with them in their battles; when Hindus drank water from the hands of Muslims and installed

Muslim Pirs among their household gods. We see in all this the liberalizing effect of political activity and expansion upon society. But we note also how the caste spirit revives when less strenuous times arrive: we see it in the quarrels of Kokanastha and Desastha; in the fights about the ceremonies and status of Shenvis and Prabhus; and in the jealousies and dissensions of Marathas, Prabhus and Brahmins that became so rife in our later history.

We come now to the practical question: What are we to do with this social incubus? It is surely obvious that it is an antiquated survival of an institution which has changed much and for the worse. All it meant at its best has long since vanished, and we surely do not propose to retain its degenerate developments. From a common-sense point of view one might almost wonder that it continues to exist at all, so meaningless a husk has it become. To remove it is undoubtedly our ultimate object. If you cannot do that all at once, at least hold it up boldly as the ideal at which we aim. And in the meanwhile, since something is better than nothing, we shall do well to clear away its externals and the useless minute forms which encumber our daily life and prevent the increase of social sympathy; to promote free social intercourse and inter-dining between all castes, and intermarriages at least between sections of the same caste. If we can do this we shall get rid of many invidious distinctions and inconveniences, make unity easier to develop, and facilitate the solving of particular problems.

Do not, however, imagine that to remove partially or wholly the external forms of caste will be a

panacea for all ills. Many of us who decry the form cherish the spirit, pride ourselves on being Brahmins, or fight to enrol ourselves as Kshatriyas in census lists, because this argues Aryan descent. So that, you see, we can turn even an ethnological report, which was certainly not meant for that purpose, into cause of dissension and ill-feeling. This is only the spirit of caste in a new form. To remove the externals of caste will do us no good if it does not help the exorcism of this spirit from our hearts.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon all those familiar questions which cluster round the question of the status of women. I would merely point out that we most legitimately object to prevailing customs in these matters because they involve a bad economy of social forces. Early marriage, especially now that the checks on early consummation are breaking down, must increase death and disease among the mothers, swell infant mortality and injure the physique of the race. It interferes also with the proper education of women. A too strict *purdah* mutilates social life and makes its current dull and sluggish by excluding the brightening influence of women.

By the denial of education to women we deprive ourselves of half the potential force of the nation, deny to our children the advantage of having cultured mothers, and by stunting the faculties of the mother affect injuriously the heredity of the race. We create, moreover, a gulf of mental division in the home and put a powerful drag on progress by making the women a great conservative force that

clings to everything old, however outworn or irrational.

The existence side by side of customs like polygamy and the prohibition of widow-remarriage similarly shows a bad organization of society. The one keeps up an unduly low standard of morality among men, the other demands an impossibly high standard from women. To enforce this standard we suppress our feelings of humanity and affection, and inflict severities upon widows in order to keep their vitality low and make them less attractive; yet the impossibility remains and the laws of Nature we have ignored avenge themselves; for in spite of our harsh measures we fail to preserve even an ordinary standard of morality in this much ill-treated class. We do well, therefore, in protesting against these evils and striving for their alteration.

We should, however, realize where the evil lies; it is in the lowering of our ideas about women and the relations of the sexes. We get no detached picture of the status of women in the Vedic Age, but we know enough to assert that it was free and honourable as in all early Aryan societies. We have a fuller idea of the Epic and Rationalistic periods. More secluded than in modern Europe, women were yet allowed a rational freedom; they were taught liberal knowledge and beautiful accomplishments, and a few were distinguished in science and philosophy. They were trained to be helpmates as well as devoted wives to their husbands. Their position, therefore, was not materially inferior and, in some respects, as notably in the laws concerning women's property, was superior to that which prevailed in

England until 1870; and even the point reached in 1870 was anticipated by the author of the *Mitāk-śara* who wished to make men and women equal in respect of rights of property.

In the literature of the Buddhistic period we see the first signs of change. Women are as a class debarred from studying the Vedas, though there seem to have been exceptions, and Buddhism admitted spiritual equality between the sexes. Disparagement of women in Manu and other writers is mingled with expressions of respect. The idea of wifely devotion as typified in Sita predominates over the idea of the helpmate, seclusion seems to have become gradually stricter, and widow-remarriage is looked on with disfavour. But women are still educated and, on the whole, respected.

A change came when the disturbed times of ignorance and foreign invasion were disintegrating society. The ideal of wifely devotion and purity was exaggerated beyond all reason and all customs modified in this spirit. *Sati*, the entire prohibition of widow-remarriage, early marriage and the rest were established in our society and, in some parts of India, the strictest Muslim type of *pardah* was adopted. Ignorance, increasing among men, became absolute among women.

In both these two great problems, then, what is it that we seek? It is nothing new or revolutionary. Our real aims are the true and noble ideals of our forefathers, ideals eternally beautiful, eternally worthy the search of men. Only the form in which these ideals are presented to us is not always

the same, and it is the ideals which we seek and not the form.

What for instance is the ideal underlying caste? Might we not say that it is the recognition on the one hand of the individuality of every man, that which distinguishes him from every other, which gives him his own worth, his own value in the world; and on the other the combination of these countless individualities into that united and organized life which we call a society—his organized relations to the rest of society. You remember the *Sloka*: 'According as each man devotes himself to his own proper work does he attain to consummation.'

But I wish to draw your attention to one point; no caste is nobler or more necessary than any other. If the old broad lines of differentiated activity typified by the old caste system do really represent a fact in Nature, leave it to Nature to work out that fact, do not hamper her by clinging to an artificial growth such as that of our modern system.

And certainly no one system is perfect or everlasting, least of all divine. It is not only in India that there have been castes and that caste systems have arisen and perished. In Peru, in Egypt, even in mediæval Europe, we can trace the growth of analogous systems and can watch their fall. Like all other organizations of society, caste in any particular form represents a stage in evolution. For a time it is beneficial, for a time it decays, and finally there arises from its ruin an organization different indeed but better adapted to the needs of the time,

a better and more vigorous form for the expressions of the eternal ideals in practical life.

So too with the problems affecting the status of women. That at which we are aiming is the attainment of conditions in which our Indian womanhood can once again produce types as noble and as great as those which glorify our national history. They need not be the same conditions which existed formerly. Times have changed and the world is very different; but our aim, our ideal, is the same and we seek to achieve it.

There, indeed, is the pith of the whole matter. We ignorantly mistake the form for the ideal. Realize the ideal and the form matters nothing. Let India be inspired with a new grasp of these truths which are for ever old and ever new, and these smaller problems of caste and woman's position will solve themselves. Some causes of our present conditions are other than social—some are economic; some again trouble us because we are uncertain what we want and cling helplessly to the old and familiar. If we can but see what India needs, what once she possessed and expressed so beautifully, if we will but seek a new expression for her national life, then we may be content with the future and leave the question of the precise form which it will take to the great forces which regulate the destinies of humanity and the onward sweep of evolution.

Before we go further it will be worth while to recall briefly the principles on which the scientific study of society is based, for it is upon these that our deeper understanding of social problems depends. We know that the life of society, like that

of an individual organism, is an unending struggle with its environment, which is partly invariable and partly variable. The invariable elements are climate, natural position, physical forces; the variable are of numerous kinds such as economic position, geo-political surroundings and contact with other civilizations. The society must be able to deal with its environment, and the principal weapon it wields for the purpose is the knowledge it possesses. We remember in this connexion that the social organism evolves like the individual and, as it develops its organs of knowledge, proceeds through different stages; it first records simple facts, then proceeds to complex and finally classifies and generalizes.

As it develops knowledge, it becomes more fit to deal with its environment. For it begins properly to understand cause and effect, and can better handle causes so as to bring about the effects it desires. Lastly, we remember that no society is alone but, like the individual, has to strive and compete with other social organisms. In this struggle the fittest will survive, and the fittest means the most efficiently organized, the one which assimilates knowledge most successfully and uses it to readjust all its parts to new environments. The individual has several kinds of relations with his surroundings: social, with the members of his class and caste; economic, with his competitors; political, with the State. Society accordingly must have its various aspects, its social, economic and political organizations, none of which it can afford to neglect in its battle for existence. These relations must be

based on principles of justice, mutual interest and truth. And the society must reflect these conditions in each sphere of life, politically by a just balance of powers in the State, economically by an equitable balance of all interests, and socially by a careful balance of the rights and privileges of every individual. If this delicate balance be upset, the society must degenerate; its organization become defective and produce abnormal developments, such for instance as our modern caste system. Until the balance is restored, that society will be weak, discordant and backward, the prey of any society better organized than itself.

What then are the practical lessons we draw for our own guidance from these well-known principles of the science of society? We learn that it is suicidal to cling to a more primitive state of knowledge and reject new light. The old knowledge related all facts to the single idea of religion, the new classifies life and restricts the sphere of religion to the high spiritual matters with which it is properly concerned. What is to be gained by clinging to the older and less developed system, and applying the solemn sanctions of religion to matters of ordinary convenience which do not really affect our spiritual welfare? We only make life cumbersome and hamper our efficiency. Indeed these rules and restrictions, which become too many and irksome for men to observe, help to demoralize us; for either we get accustomed to breaking what we regard as the ordinances of religion, and what therefore it ought to be our aim and interest to observe, or we turn a large number of innocent

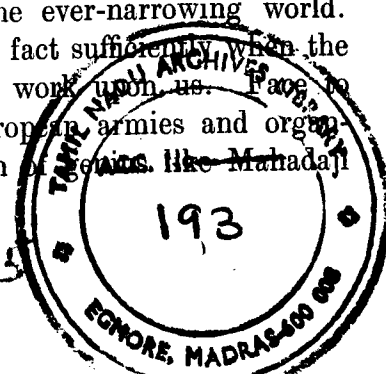
acts into secret vices; in either way we come to think nothing of leading a double life.

The next thing we learn is the importance of a more accurate knowledge of the laws of Nature; we must rationalize our knowledge and no longer cling to superstitions. To take some homely instances: our people are full of strange theories of cause and effect, and have their own methods of presaging coming events; they believe that if a lizard falls on a person it will cause him misfortune, that the sight of a widow on certain occasions is inauspicious, that the advisability of marriages ought to be determined by comparing horoscopes, that various marks on the body can be interpreted in terms of character or future events, that bathing in the Ganges or paying money to Brahmins, and not one's conduct, purifies the mind and soul. Similar ideas, such as the religious importance of wearing the *sovale* at meals, regulate our daily life. All this obviously typifies a primitive state of mind which, if encouraged in small things, must dominate us in those which are higher. A society which persists in beliefs of this nature is not likely to understand cause and effect in its own social arrangements. We must get rid of superstition in great things as well as small, and govern our actions by a rational consideration of aims and means.

Our next lesson teaches us to accept new knowledge and assimilate it whether it comes from without or within. A society armed with bows and arrows, confronted with another which uses the modern rifle, must arm itself with rifles if it is to go on existing; and the same principle applies in all

matters. We must not only accept knowledge merely as an intellectual acquisition, but we must have the moral courage to alter our actions and customs in accordance with it. Otherwise our knowledge is of little use; for the true test of knowledge is its practical utility in equipping a society for the actual problems of life. If, then, our customs put us at a disadvantage in the struggle for life, it is useless to persist in them merely because they are our own or old. And lastly, we learn that we must not exaggerate the importance and probable effect of social reform, since it is only one of the aspects of readjustment. We must advance socially, economically and politically if we wish to reorganize our society so as to survive.

Science and Western civilization have thrown us into entirely new environments. We were a secluded country, economically self-sufficient, socially a people to ourselves, able to develop our own peculiar institutions, politically almost a separate continent. Our internal organization absorbed everything that entered the country without losing its own peculiar character. All this is no longer possible. We are exposed to the competition of social organisms economically and socially better equipped and in the highest state of unity and organization, and have no longer the defence of a comparative seclusion. Science has forced down barriers and made us merely one district of the ever-narrowing world. We did not recognize this fact sufficiently when the new forces first began to work upon us. We must face with disciplined European armies and organized administrations, men like Mahadaji



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Scindia, Hyder Ali, and Ranjit Singh adopted the military methods of the newcomers, but no indigenous powers realized the necessity of readjustment all along the line; they had, therefore, to succumb in the struggle for existence. Now, at least, we must recognize the necessity. We must strive for a more elastic and efficient economic organization; we must give up customs which keep us physically weak or unenterprising, and especially those institutions or prejudices which divide man from man, caste from caste, religion from religion. Science has given us a mass of new knowledge which we can utilize for the purpose. Increased communications and inevitable mutual contact urge us on the road with or without our consent. It only remains for us to decide whether we shall yield slowly to necessity or get the most, instead of the least, advantage out of the change by a voluntary and wisely chosen adaptation of means to the end in view.

Many seem to doubt whether we can survive in the struggle. They take refuge in European theories of racial inferiority or inexorable physical forces, especially the influence of climate. This is the substitution of a new fatalism based on a misconception of Science for the old which was based on a misconception of *karma*, and should be combated at every turn. If these theories were true, our race would never have played any part in the history of civilization. Yet the same people under the same climatic influences reached heights in religion, philosophy, science, architecture and literature which no contemporary nation surpassed. They were equally successful in material pursuits, in arts and

industries, agriculture, war and administration. They produced not only poets, philosophers, scholars and scientists, but administrators and leaders among the most able in history, and this is true from the ancient days of Chandra Gupta and Asoka, Vikramaditya and the Senas and Guptas, down through the Moguls and their great generals and administrators to the recent times of Shivaji, the leaders of the Maratha Confederacy and Ranjit Singh.

The superiority of Europe is a fact of the present day; but is it really an eternal and unalterable law of Nature? Does history bear out these pseudo-scientific generalizations? On the contrary it is during the last 300 years only, since indeed men like Bacon discovered a sound method of inquiry into the laws of Nature which enabled Western nations to economize effort and rationalize life, that Europe has taken the lead over other parts of the world. The superiority is not due to climate or physical causes or to our inbred inferiority, but to a more scientific organization of political, social and economic life.

There is no reason why we also should not progress if we follow their example. Our natural resources are excellent: fighting classes like the Rajputs, Muslims, Sikhs, Gurkhas and Marathas; intellectual classes with a capacity for administration and public affairs like the Brahmins, Kayasthas and others; born traders like the Banias and Bhatias, Memons and Parsis and Bohras; a peasantry superior to many European peoples in thrift, patience, diligence, kindness, domestic affection and

orderly habits—the common and useful qualities that preserve a race. Yet with all these splendid resources, what sort of existence are we leading?

It is no natural deficiency that is to blame, but bad organization, antiquated methods and our own *karma*. We ignore the sanctity of natural sympathy and co-operation, and forget that the interest of the whole society is the higher interest of the individual; we base our actions and institutions on favour and privilege instead of equity and justice. Let us revise our ideas and change our methods to suit better knowledge and new circumstances. That is the whole meaning of reform, and if we realize and carry it out in practice, we need not be afraid of natural forces which can always be met and utilized by Science and human endeavour. The determining powers of our destiny are not physical forces nor chance, nor *kismet*, nor necessity, those gods mostly of our own making on whom we cast the responsibility for the consequences of our actions. No, Gentlemen, man is man and master of his fate. Our future depends on the use we ourselves make of the opportunities which knowledge places in our hands.

To take advantage of the new and favourable features in our environment we must take care that education is much more widely spread and practical. It is the general ignorance of the country which renders our social progress so slow. That ignorance must be removed. And I should just like to say one word about the attitude often displayed towards social reform and social reformers. There have been cases where men who have argued

splendidly for social reform have failed to carry out their principles in actual life. Their failure does not invalidate the truth of their preaching: a truth remains a truth even though the man who preaches it cannot put it into practice. What we need is some practical working organization for spreading the social ideals and new knowledge in which all classes of the community are lacking.

We have among us already a large body of men who might usefully do some of this work for the country, just as the great religious Orders of the Middle Ages did for Europe. I refer to the countless body of *sadhus* who roam over the country. But they must be trained, and they must have something useful to say. For asceticism is an evil unless it be a humane asceticism, one not divorced from philanthropy. He who surrenders life to help his fellow men is a saint, but not he who becomes a beggar to avoid labour or responsibility, or retires to a jungle to save what Kingsley would have called 'his own dirty soul'.

We have, as it is, a fair amount of propaganda. The country, indeed, owes much to this Social Conference which has done a great deal to make discussion of our social problems general among educated men. Many individuals also by their speeches and writings have placed much of the available knowledge and much new light on the subject in the hands of the inquirer. As a result of their efforts we have already a large literature of Social Reform. I could wish indeed that our caste *sabhas* and conferences would record not only their conclusions but their discussions and differences also;

for if the contentions on each side could be put on paper and published, it would have a great educative effect. It would be, too, a valuable document for posterity to comprehend the ideas of our countrymen in an interesting period of transition.

Still, we need something more insistent, busy and popular. Active and energetic associations organized somewhat on the lines of the Arya Samaj and even on those of the Christian Missions are what we want. Such an organization should penetrate into every village in the country to bring to the people this new knowledge in an attractive and telling form. Then only may we hope that the Social Reform movement will have to contend with less obstacles and will advance more rapidly.

But Social Reform cannot stand alone. The social aspect of a society is closely connected with the economic and the political. The advance of one affects both the others. Therefore we cannot hope for general improvement in social conditions until we have conquered some of our economic difficulties and have realized more fully the opportunities which exist for the development of a sane political life.

Indeed we may look for considerable assistance in Social Reform from the economic development. Industrial progress has already done much to break down the barriers of caste and will do more. If India can become richer she will have more leisure for the consideration of her needs, more capital for the exploitation of her resources and for the encouragement of the education of her people to make the

most use of them. A more active commercial life must bring all classes of people together, and force upon their attention, as nothing else can, the great common interests which unite them.

Again, in the political sphere there is much which we can do. I am not one of those who believe that a foreign Government is necessarily a bar to the political advance of a country. The most that we can hope from any Government is that it will work for the best interests of the people which it governs. So long as it identifies their interests with its own, so long as it works for their encouragement with an efficient administration and true zeal for national progress, that Government is national. But there is one change which I think would mean a very great deal to India. I believe it would bring to light and draw to a point in a very practical way the real and vital political interests which all classes of the community have in common, and do much to strengthen the position of the Government in this country, and to enable all our countless classes, creeds, people and castes to unite in working together for the common good of India. I mean the establishment of a permanent Court in this country with some member of the King-Emperor's family as a permanent Viceroy. When there is such a Viceroy who might devote his life to India and realize more fully that all his interests were bound up with those of the country, there would be, I believe, an outburst of patriotic loyalty such as would seem almost incredible to us. I believe that that would serve more than anything else to draw together all energies and activities into work for the

common weal, and I trust that the ideal may not seem impracticable, the dream only a dream.

Meanwhile let us do our best to encourage a spirit of brotherhood and union. We boast of our philosophy which teaches us to see that God 'abides in all born beings': 'I am seated in the heart of all'. Why then do we forget the practical application of that great truth in the sphere of conduct? Is it in harmony with this golden truth of our religion that we despise and shrink from those who belong to different, or what we choose to call our lower castes? Or that we fill our social and public life with mutual distrust, jealousy and disunion? If we really believed in the One Spirit in all, we would not maltreat His manifestations; we should realize that we despise and hate Him in despising and hating our fellows. Once more I say to you, let us return to our own ideals, understanding them better and trying to carry them out both as individuals and as a nation. Let us try to realize the virtues and merits of those who are different from ourselves. Let us try to find the good in those who differ from us in caste, and not insist on their deficiencies. Let us try to keep before us that ideal for the future of India as the aim to which we are all working; and let us judge our fellow men by the work which they do to make that future great and united. Let us recognize the selfless and devoted work which many have done for India in the sphere of administration, philanthropy or science, of action or of knowledge, whether they were Christians, Hindus, Muslims or Parsis, and let us try to realize that such work is the true claim to nationality. He who loves the

country well enough to give his life for it, he is the true Indian, not he who merely boasts his own superiority because of some fancied advantage which he derives from caste privileges and traditions. There is only one spirit of truth; there is only one truth behind all ideals; and all who are working in that spirit towards these ideals are doing the noblest of which they are capable, no matter what their caste or race or creed may be. That is the spirit which must animate us if we are going to work for India and hope to have any successful reform in the future.

INDIAN STATES AND THEIR PRINCES¹

GENTLEMEN,—We have heard a discussion on the paper, and it only remains for me to say a few words thereupon. The subject requires delicate handling from me, because the least mistake might be misunderstood. It would take a long time to deal with the matter of the Indian States thoroughly. It is one which is understood by very few people outside the ranks of officials who have served in the Indian States. The English people take a fair amount of interest in Indian questions, but many of them have not the personal knowledge entitling them to pass a judgment which will not be objected to by those who have first-hand acquaintance with Indian problems.

The Indian States, taken as a whole, represent a very large proportion of India, and when you take into consideration both their area and population you see the importance of the question of their future. In order to decide how far a State is making progress it is necessary for you to consider the standard they have set themselves, or how far they have been handicapped by shortcomings, mental or moral, or by defective education,

¹ Remarks made in bringing to a close the proceedings of a meeting of the East India Association in London on the 6th of July 1905 at which Sir David Barr, sometime British Resident in Hyderabad, delivered a lecture on Hyderabad.

or political restrictions. In the times when Major Kirkpatrick, to whom the lecturer has referred, was at Hyderabad, the Indian States were going through a very critical period. Such times of crisis, following the overthrow of one empire and preceding the establishment of another, are not unknown in other countries besides India. It is a mistake to take this period of history as affording evidence that the people of India are not capable of managing their own concerns. I think that if the British and French Governments had not come on the scene it would have been an interesting problem (which it is now useless to discuss) what would have become of India—whether many of the States would have vanished, whether some of them would have established a supremacy over others, or whether they would have been formed into United States, something like those of America.

Had the Indian people come into communication with the rest of the world, and had they adopted modern Science and the leadership of soldiers and statesmen on modern lines, I have no doubt that a people with such natural capacity and ability would have asserted themselves in a manner in no way inferior to those of other parts of the world. This is not a matter the Indian people can pride themselves upon: it was their folly and their mistake that they lost ground. Now they have come under a Government which, though to a limited extent, gives them some scope to exercise the inherent qualities I have mentioned and to obtain such training as will in time qualify them

to occupy higher positions than they do at present.

I hope the time will come when the Indian princes will show themselves more capable, more alive to their duties, more concerned to promote the interest and happiness of their people than has perhaps been the case up to now. I believe there is no surer way of reaching that ideal than by educating the princes thoroughly. And the need is not confined to the princes' education: a higher moral code must also be extended to the people, must be brought down to the lowest level of the population. If the princes show themselves reckless and neglect their duties and the care of their States, it is their own people who must come forward and compel them to discharge their duties and to conform to accepted standards.

I see before me many young Indians of judgment who will, I hope, assist in the setting of high standards, and to whom it will be a source of pride and pleasure to advance the progress of the people as much as possible. The lecturer has referred to the Nizam as having asserted himself more of late than formerly. I am not going into details of the lives of Indian princes, but I may say that there are occasions when the best-intentioned ruler finds his best labours bearing but little fruit, and that his best reforms are not of a very lasting kind. You cannot expect any sensible man to emulate the labours of Sisyphus in taking continuous interest in the administration if the results are disappointing. This is what the princes sometimes feel. It is pity they should do so, for the feeling

may seem akin to cowardice. But before passing judgment on them, you must consider the circumstances under which they gave way.

As one who feels that he has personally sacrificed himself in doing his best, I must say I am inclined to sympathize with those to whom I have referred. I hope, however, the sense of duty will lead them, in spite of sacrifices, to live up to the standard of duty in promoting the happiness of the people. Hyderabad is without doubt the premier State of India, and we look to His Highness the Nizam to set up a high standard for other Indian States. We hope and expect he will continue to carry on the administration to the best advantage of his people, to reform his revenue, to increase the resources of the State, and to encourage profitable investment on the part of his people. I know that His Highness has been doing this to a great extent, and has been carrying out other reforms.

What I want to urge is that those princes who are interested in good administration and who endeavour to carry out useful reforms should be allowed to reap the benefit of them. Too often those reforms are effected at great sacrifices of dignity and of jurisdiction. There are times when the best-intentioned ruler may find his efforts of little use; but I trust that fact will not deter the ruling princes from doing everything in their power to benefit their people.

In conclusion I have to thank Sir David Barr for the manner in which he has drawn up his paper, and especially for his avoidance of controversial topics. Sir David showed great skill and tact in

dealing with Indian princes—and that is a quality of the highest importance for the political officer in India, amongst whom there are great variations in character and temperament. Sir David would not have received the splendid send-off accorded him when he left Hyderabad had not the people of the State learned to trust him. I can only say that I hope the younger generation of political officers will follow in the footsteps of men like Sir David Barr, by encouraging the princes in the performance of their duties and freeing them from swaddling-clothes as much as possible. I thank you for listening to my remarks so patiently, seeing that they are spoken on the spur of the moment, and that I had not had time to think them out beforehand.

THE NEEDS OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND THE LINES OF ADVANCE IN EDUCATION ¹

MR. PRESIDENT, DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It was only last month, on my return from a tour in Europe and America, that your able and energetic Secretary, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, called on me, and conveyed to me your Committee's unanimous request that I should attend this Conference, and deliver an Inaugural Address. I naturally felt some hesitation in acceding to this request, partly because of the pressure of administrative work owing to my recent return from a foreign tour, and partly because I am aware that there are others who are better qualified than myself to advise you in the noble work which you have undertaken. But, Gentlemen, your Secretary was not to be put off by these reasons. He pressed me to accede to the request of the Committee, and was good enough to assure me that by so doing I would be rendering some service to the great cause which we all have at heart. To this argument I felt it my duty to yield. I feel very strongly that to help in the industrial movement of the present day is a duty which devolves on all of us equally.

¹ The Inaugural Address at the Second Indian Industrial Conference, at Calcutta, in December 1906.

Whatever be our vocations in life, we cannot be untrue to this duty without being untrue to ourselves and our country. And I feel today, as I have always felt and declared, that our interests are one and the same—whatever helps and elevates you, helps and elevates us; whatever retards your progress, retards ours. Furthermore, I am strongly convinced that our activities in all different departments of life—political, social and industrial—are so correlated that we shall never make any marked progress in one without making similar progress in all. Three seemingly diverse currents of intellectual activity converge towards the same headworks and feed the same main stream of life. Unless we extend our horizon and take a less parochial view, we can ill understand the value and place of each of these component parts in the great machinery of progress.

Gentlemen, I do not propose to take much of your time with an account of the industries of India in ancient times, but a brief reference to some notable facts will perhaps not be unsuitable on an occasion like this. You are all aware that India was famed for her cotton fabrics from very ancient times; and antiquarians tell us that Indian cotton found its way to Assyria and Babylon in the remote past. Indigo, which is peculiarly an Indian produce, has been detected by the microscope in Egyptian mummy cloths, and Indian ivory and other articles were probably imported into ancient Egypt. There can be little doubt that the old Phoenicians carried on a brisk trade with India, and much of the spices and precious stones, ebony, gold and embroidered work,

with which they supplied the Western world, came from India.

The Greek civilization developed at a later date; and Herodotus, generally called the Father of History, speaks of Indian cotton as 'wool growing on trees, more beautiful and valuable than that produced from sheep'. A brisk trade between India and the Western world was carried on during the centuries preceding the Christian era; and as Rome rose in power and importance, and Alexandria became a flourishing mart, the trade increased in volume. Silk threads, sapphires, indigo and cotton fabrics were exported from the mouth of the Indus; and the important seaport town of Broach—then called Bharukaccha by the Hindus, and Barygaza by the Romans—exported gold, silver and other metals, glass, corals, muslins, cotton fabrics, ivory, ebony, pepper and silk. The Roman Empire declined after the third century. An Eastern Empire was founded with its new capital at Constantinople, and that place attracted to itself much of the Asiatic trade which before used to flow through Alexandria.

India was the scene of frequent invasions during the centuries succeeding the beginning of the Christian era, and Scythians and Huns desolated her western province. But a great chief and warrior, known to our literature under the name of Vikramaditya, at last turned back the tide of invasion, and India was virtually free from foreign raids from the sixth to the tenth century. It was within this period that Chinese travellers, Fa Hien, Hiuen Tsiang, and others, visited India as religious

pilgrims, admired her arts, industries and manufactures, and wrote on the Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries, which existed side by side in every large town. Hindu traders founded settlements in Java and other islands; and it was in a Hindu ship, sailing from Tamralipti or Tamlook, that Fa Hien left India. Those of you who have been to Europe, and visited the continental towns, may have seen images of Hindu gods and goddesses in the Museum of Leyden, taken there by the Dutch from Java, where Hindu religion and learning were introduced by traders and settlers from India.

Venice was the channel of trade with India after the close of the dark ages; but the glory of Venice departed with the discovery of a new route to India round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama about the close of the fifteenth century, and Portugal rose in power and commercial enterprise as Venice declined. In the sixteenth century, all the southern seaboard of Asia, as far as China, was practically under the commercial control of Portugal. But the Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, and like the latter enriched themselves by the Indian trade. Likewise the English appeared on the scene a little later, and wrested from the Dutch a large share of the Eastern trade in the eighteenth century. It is remarkable that, within the last thousand years, nation after nation in Europe has risen to power and to great wealth mainly through the Eastern trade. Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland and England have successively been the carriers to Europe of the

rich manufactures of India, as the Phoenicians and the Arabs were in earlier times.

When England obtained territorial possessions in India in the eighteenth century, she was evolving her commercial policy in relation to Ireland and her American colonies. Her aim and endeavour was to obtain raw produce from her dependencies and to develop manufacturing industries in England. She repressed manufactures elsewhere by unequal tariffs in order to develop her own manufactures. The American colonies freed themselves from the industrial servitude when they declared their independence; but both Ireland and India continued to suffer. Industries in both these countries steadily declined early in the nineteenth century; manufacturing industries progressed by leaps and bounds in England; and the invention of the power-loom completed her industrial triumph. Since then England has slowly adopted a fair and equitable commercial policy, and repealed Navigation Acts and unequal tariffs. Today England stands forth as a pre-eminent free trader with all the world. This brings me, Gentlemen, to the industrial history of India in our own times.

The triumph of machinery has been the triumph of our age: the victory of steam and electricity will always be memorable among the decisive battles of the world. The rise of the power-looms, for instance, has been stealing a march over the handloom workers, and the numbers employed in cotton-weaving in India have declined by 23 per cent even within the last decade. Even the ginning and the pressing of the cotton has so extensively participated

in the use of improved machinery that its hand-workers have dwindled by fully 68 per cent. And yet it is this textile industry itself which shows how, with intelligent adaptation to the improved methods of art, our Indian industries can compete with the manufactures of Europe. The Bombay mills give daily employment to about 170,000 factory operatives, while as many as 30,000 more are maintained by the ginning presses. Some forty years ago we had only 13 cotton mills in all India. The number rose to 47 in 1876, to 95 in 1886, to 155 in 1895, and to 203 in 1904: and today the number of our cotton mills is still larger. We had less than 4,000 power-looms forty years ago: the number was over 47,000 in 1904. We had less than 300,000 spindles forty years ago: the number exceeded 5,000,000 in 1904. These are insignificant figures compared with the huge cotton industry of Lancashire; but they show that we have made steady progress, and that we may fairly hope to make greater progress in the future if we are true to our aims and our own interests. Our annual produce of yarn is nearly 600,000,000 pounds in weight; and it is interesting to note that out of this total output about 30 per cent is used mostly by our hand-loom weavers.

Gentlemen, it is with legitimate pride that the Indian patriot marks this silent progress in the mill and hand-loom industries of India which, next to agriculture, are the largest industries in this land. New mills have been started in Ahmedabad and Bombay within the last two years, largely as a result of the present *swadeshi* movement. In the poor State of Baroda too, this progress is marked.

For more than twenty years the State worked a cotton mill in the capital town to give an object-lesson to the people and to encourage private companies to start similar mills. The call has now been accepted, and a private company has at last been formed, and has purchased the State mill from our hands with the happiest results. Recently a second mill has been completed and is about to start work, and a third mill is now under construction. More than this, the number of ginning factories and other factories using steam has multiplied all over the State, and the number of hand-looms has doubled in some towns. All the coarser kinds of yarn in the Indian markets are now mostly of local spinning; an insignificant fraction alone being imported from abroad. In the case of yarn of higher counts, however, the local manufacture falls much below the supply of the foreign mills. Muslin and finer fabrics can be imported much more cheaply, and in a more pleasing variety of design and colour than can yet be locally produced. The hand-looms of the East, once so far-famed for the fineness of their fabrics, have now dwindled into small importance. Prints and chintz from France, England and Germany are still extensively imported to meet, not only the local demand, but also the demand of markets across the Indian frontier in Persia and Afghanistan.

Thus, though there is reason for congratulation in the rise of our textile industries, there is yet greater reason for continued toil and earnest endeavour. We are still at the very threshold of success. Our cotton mills produced less than 600,000,000

yards of cloth last year, against over 2,000,000,000 yards which we imported from other countries. Here is scope for indefinite expansion. We exported cotton of the value of £213,000,000 to foreign countries, and imported in return for this raw material cotton manufactures of the value of £390,000,000. We are thus producing only a fourth of the mill-made cloth which the nation requires. We should not rest till we are able to manufacture practically the total supply needed by our countrymen.

Gentlemen, the remarks I have made about the cotton industry of India apply to some extent to the other industries which require the use of steam. Bengal is known for its jute industry, which I believe is increasing year by year; and the number of jute mills has increased from 28 in 1895 to 38 in 1904. Northern India and the Panjab have some six woollen factories, whose produce has increased from 2,250,000 pounds in weight in 1896 to 3,500,000 pounds in 1901, and I have every hope that our countrymen, who have been so successful in the cotton industry, will broaden the sphere of their operations, and take to jute and woollen industries also.

The silk industry is one of the most ancient industries of India, but declined like other ancient industries under the repressive commercial policy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some faint signs of improvement are, however, visible now. Tassar silk is manufactured in many parts of India, and quantities of it are exported to Europe. In Assam, silk still continues to be the

national dress of women, and each family weaves silk *saris* for its own use. In Bengal some improvements have been recently effected by the adoption of scientific methods of testing the seed. In the Panjab the attempt to reintroduce the cultivation of silkworms has not been attended with marked success. In Kashmir the industry is indigenous, and the State is endeavouring to develop it. Much attention is paid to this industry in the advanced and enlightened State of Mysore. And in the State of Baroda I have been endeavouring to spread and develop the industry. The number of filatories in India in 1904 was only 75, and the number of silk mills was only 11; but much silk is also produced as a cottage industry.

So far I have confined myself to the textile industries; and I have scarcely time to refer at any length to the other industries of India. Brass and copper have been used for vessels in India from ancient times, but have been threatened lately by the cheap enamelled ironware of Europe. Aluminium is a new industry, and we are indebted to Mr. Chatterton of Madras for greatly developing it in India.

Recent geological surveys and investigations have brought to light the rich area of iron which has been lying concealed for so long in Central India; and there is great scope for the development of iron industry. Veins of iron ore are believed to exist in several places besides those where they have already been explored; and if only a few more enterprising companies, like my friend Mr. Tata's, spring up and prospect these mines, they have a hopeful future

before them. If the quality of the indigenous coal is improved and the means of communication made more easy and cheap, so as considerably to reduce the cost of transport, we may be saved importing large quantities from abroad. I am glad to find that the able geologist who discovered suitable iron ore for Mr. Tata's scheme, Mr. P. N. Bose, has been selected by you as Chairman of the reception committee of this Conference. The scheme is still under the consideration of Mr. Tata's son, whom I had the pleasure of meeting recently in England. There were 89 iron foundries in India in 1904, and it is to be hoped that the number will rapidly increase in the near future.

Bengal is rich in coalfields, and out of the 8,000,000 tons of coal, worth about two crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7,000,000 tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to you to be large figures, but what are 8,000,000 tons compared with considerably over 200,000,000 tons annually raised in England? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal-mining, though greatly hampered in the endeavour by want of technical knowledge. I am glad the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal-mining in England. The importance of coal consists in this, that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England, more than any other causes.

The following are the principal industries of India carried on mainly by steam, and for facility

of reference I give the figures as to them and a few other industries in a tabular form :

	1895	1904
Cotton mills	148	203
Jute mills	28	38
Woollen mills	5	6
Cotton ginning, cleaning and press mills	610	951
Flour mills	72	42
Rice mills	87	127
Sugar mills	247	28
Silk filatories	89	75
Silk mills	28	11
Tanneries	60	35
Oil mills	163	112
Lac factories	133	128
Iron and brass foundries	64	89
Indigo factories	8225	422

These figures will show at a glance our present situation in relation to the principal industries carried on by steam in India. In some, like the cotton industries, we are only at the very threshold of success and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In others, like the wool and jute industries, we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise. We ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries, like sugar and tanneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class of industries like iron we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe, the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India.

I repeat therefore what I have already said before : there is ground for hope but not for joy or elation; there are strong reasons for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves.

And there is one more fact which I would like to impress on you in concluding this brief survey of our present situation. A great deal of attention is naturally paid to the mill industries of India, and to tea, indigo, coffee and other industries in which European capital is largely employed. We know, however, that the labourers who can possibly be employed in mills and factories form only an insignificant proportion of the industrial population of India. Very much the larger portion of that industrial population is engaged in indigenous industries carried on in village homes and bazaars. India is, and will always remain, a country of cottage industries. Where hundreds of thousands can work in mills and factories, millions and tens of millions work in their own huts; and the idea of greatly improving the condition of the labourers of India, merely by adding to mills and factories, is only possible for those who form their opinions 6,000 miles away. No, Gentlemen: any comprehensive plan of improving the condition of our industrial classes must seek to help the dwellers in cottages. It is the humble weavers in towns and villages, the poor braziers and coppersmiths working in their sheds, the resourceless potters and ironsmiths and carpenters who follow their ancestral vocations in their ancestral homes, who form the main portion, and who demand our sympathy and help. It is

they (more than the agriculturists, or the mill and factory labourers) that are most impoverished in these days, and are the first victims to famines; and if your *swadeshi* movement has brought some relief to these obscure and unnoticed millions and tens of millions in India, as I have reason to believe it has done to a perceptible extent; if it has created a larger demand for their manufactures, widened the sphere of their labours, and brought some light to their dark and cheerless homes, then the movement, Gentlemen, has my cordial sympathy. Help and encourage the large industries, but foster and help also the humbler industries in which tens of millions of village artisans are engaged, and the people of India, as well as those who are engaged in the work of administration, will bless your work.

In saying all this, I do not by any means ignore or minimize our difficulties. We have to recover the ground which we have lost during the last two centuries. We with our ignorance and poverty have to compete with some of the richest, best trained, and most skilful nations on earth. With our ancient methods we have to habituate ourselves to modern ways, to adopt modern inventions, and then to beat those inventions. It is a duel with Western nations with weapons of their own choosing. With weapons with which we are still unfamiliar we must face and conquer those who are past masters in their use. With the produce of our infant mills and our infant iron foundries we must oppose the overwhelming flood of manufactured goods which England, Germany and America are pouring into India.

The danger of extinction with which our industries are threatened is therefore imminent. Keep to your conservative methods, cling to your orthodox ways of work, and your industries must perish. Such is the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest, and such the admonition which a true *swadeshi* movement ought to give you. If the rush of the steam engine and the whizz of electricity, combined with cheap and easy means of transport, have succeeded in dumping your bazaars with the cheap and attractive products of foreign marts, rise to the occasion and learn how to withstand this inroad with intelligent anticipation and skilful adaptation. Learn to force Nature into a corner, accost her and bring out her inmost secrets, harness her powers, tackle her energies, and make of her a handmaid unto man. Use Nature to the relief of man's estate. Any competition between skill, capital, and organized enterprise on the one hand, and ignorance, idleness and poverty on the other can only have one result. Learn to combine and co-operate; learn the value of time and the use of money; and the chances of a fairer fight will eventually requite all your efforts.

Swadeshi-ism can be a genuine economic force under the above conditions. It can be a potent weapon of usefulness if properly understood. There is no economic fallacy in that *swadeshi* creed which aims at improving the indigenous arts. The genuine *swadeshi* ought to secure the maximum of production at the minimum of cost. Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be

cheerfully put up with at the outset. But remember that no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to compete successfully with foreign products. The most rigid economist will then have no flaw to find in your *swadeshi* armour.

A single instance of the pitiable straits to which our industries have been reduced, on account of the difficulties mentioned above, will suffice. The export trade of Indian cane-sugar has now become almost a matter of past history. German and Austro-Hungarian beet-sugar has driven Indian sugar from its own stronghold. In spite of the imposition of duties and extra tariffs, the bounty-fed sugar from Europe captures the market from the Indian refiner even on his own field; and it is curious to observe how the cane-sugar industry of India has suffered in the struggle. The reason is not far to seek: laws can cure only artificial anomalies; the levy of extra duties can countervail only the adventitious advantage of bounties and subsidies; but what can remedy causes of mischief that lie deeper, ingrained in the very constitution of the Indian grower and inherent in the very conditions under which the Indian refiner has to work? The demand for Indian sugar is large enough; it is even larger than the local refiners can supply; yet the cost of production is so excessively inflated that it pays better to import the cheap beet-sugar, grown with the aid of government bounties, than for India to bring the products of her own growing into her own markets. The growers and refiners pursue a process involving extravagant

waste of raw material; and ignorant of the latest inventions of science or art, they adhere to the methods inherited from their sires with a hide-bound orthodoxy.

The same deficiency in improved methods and perfected machinery has also led to the ruin of the tanning industry of Madras. The curing and tanning of skins by an improved process in America has been found more suitable and more economical than the purchase of skins tanned in India. Similarly the manufacture of synthetic indigo, like other coal-tar preparations, has effected a revolution in agricultural chemistry; and the quantities of artificial indigo that the German factories have dumped into the markets of the world, at very cheap rates, have a very depressing influence on the indigo trade of Bengal. The exports of indigo, which in 1895 amounted to about 53,000,000 rupees in value, dwindled down to the low figure of 6,000,000 ten years later, and the decline has been so rapid that it has been a cause of alarm for optimists even of a thoroughly Micawber type. Dyes of no less value than seventy-five lakhs of rupees were poured into the Indian vats from Germany, Belgium and Holland in 1905; and these aniline dyes have completely ousted the Indian dyes from their own markets.

It thus becomes imperative on all of us to endeavour to minimize this helplessness and enrich the industrial resources of our country. The trade returns of India are an instructive study. They tell us that in 1905, fully 69 per cent of our exports were represented by bulky agricultural produce,

which gave no employment to local skill and capital save that employed in tillage. With regard to the total imports in that year, on the other hand, fully 59 per cent of the entire amount represented manufactured articles, with reference to which we did not know how to supply our own wants, and had to depend upon foreign skill, foreign capital, and foreign enterprise. A fair criterion of the industrial development of a country may safely be sought in the proportion of its exports of manufactured goods to the exports of raw material from the country, and secondly in the proportion of its imports of raw material to the imports of made-up or finished goods. The industrial prosperity of a country may be said roughly to vary directly with its exports of manufactures and imports of raw material; and inversely with its exports of raw produce and imports of manufactured goods. This is a safe and reliable canon of industrial economics.

Our serfdom to foreign capital and to foreign enterprise could scarcely be more complete. Our railways are financed by capital from Europe; our mines are exploited by savants from America, and even in our daily household needs our dependence upon products of foreign marts continues from day to day. We are being fed and clothed, diverted and entertained, lighted and washed, warmed and comforted, carried and housed, by the foreign artisan. Our arts and industries are standing today on the brink of a precipice, and are threatened with imminent extinction. The problem of saving the country from this perilous plight, and emancipating her has become the one topic of absorbing interest; and

to find a cure for this malady has become the one anxious thought of every patriot and every statesman. You, Gentlemen, have already bestowed your earnest attention on this subject, and I need therefore only make mention of the industries which appear to me to be capable of great progress in the immediate future. The list includes: the textile industries; carpentry and other wood-work; iron, copper and brass work; work in gold and silver and jewellery; masonry and stone-work; pottery and brick and tile making; dyeing; tannery and leather work; rope weaving; cane and bamboo work; mat making and basket work; glass work; turnery and lac work; horn and ivory carving; embroidery; sugar refinery; tobacco curing; and oil and flour mills.

Out of these industries we might select, to begin with, those for which there is a large demand in our home markets, and whose raw material we have been at present exporting in shiploads to be worked into finished products abroad. In the place of large exports of raw vegetable products, our endeavour should be to send out large cargoes of manufactured and finished goods. In 1905 we exported oil-seeds of the value of 106,000,000 rupees, and imported oil of the value of 22,000,000. Our oil factories in the Bombay Presidency are said to have supported only 76 operatives at the last census. There is an indefinite scope for the expansion of this manufacturing industry in the country. Oil pressers have diminished by 47 per cent during the last decade, as it was found more profitable to export oil-seeds and import pressed oil from abroad, than to

press it at home by crude and antiquated processes. Besides, as an authority has pointed out to us, to export the entire oil-seed is to export the soil's fertility.

Moreover, every year we export large quantities of wheat and other grain to be ground in foreign mills, and import large quantities of flour for our use; while the wheat-grinding mills in the Bombay Presidency afford employment to no more than 78 operatives as the figure for the last census informs us. These are instances of the low state of our industries and of the difficulties under which they suffer. It should be your aim and endeavour to face and conquer these difficulties, and a wise and sympathetic legislation should help your effort and lead you to success.

Four years ago, I made some remarks at Ahmedabad, which with your permission I will repeat to-day. 'Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease, all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another and a larger aspect of the matter and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. It is our last chance. Fail there and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker, more dependent on foreign help; we must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master. Solve that problem and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of

your ancestors and of your old position among the nations.' These are words which I spoke at Ahmedabad; and I repeat them today, because we feel the importance of them. Perhaps more than we felt four years ago, we are at a crisis in our national history. The time has come when we must make arduous and united endeavour for securing our industrial independence or we shall sink again, it may be for centuries to come. We must struggle and maintain our ancient position among the industrial nations of the earth, or we shall be betraying a sacred trust, and be false to our posterity.

I am sure you will not accuse me of exaggerating the gravity of the present situation. I am sure you all feel, that if at the present critical time we do not free ourselves from that industrial serfdom into which we have allowed ourselves to sink, we have no hope for the future. This, as I said before, is our last chance.

And now, Gentlemen, you will permit me to say a few words with regard to the work you have undertaken and the methods by which it can best be done. At a critical juncture in our country's industrial history, the Indian National Congress conceived the happy idea of having an Industrial Exhibition in connexion with their annual gatherings. From the very first, the Indian and the Provincial Governments rendered every assistance in their power to make these industrial exhibitions a success; and I may add that all classes of the Indian population—Hindus and Muslims, Englishmen and Parsis, merchants and manufacturers, graduates, rich landlords and humble citizens—have worked harmoniously

towards this common object. These annual exhibitions fulfil a double purpose. First they inspire manufacturers with healthy emulation, and enable them to make the products of the different provinces known to all India. In the second place they enable traders and dealers in articles of daily use to obtain accurate information, and to collect articles from all parts of India for the use of purchasers in every province and town. These exhibitions have been a success; but let us not deceive ourselves. Compared with the wealth, the variety, the magnitude of Western products as I have seen them abroad, the results we have achieved here are meagre indeed. An exhibition like this simply serves to emphasize our backwardness in utilizing the resources at hand. Let us never be satisfied until we attain a standard of perfection that will bear comparison with the Western world. With the sympathetic co-operation of the Government and the quick intelligence of our people, there is no reason why such a result may not be achieved within a generation or two.

Last year, Gentlemen, you took a new departure. Not content with these annual exhibitions, you held an Industrial Conference, and the first Conference was held under the guidance and presidentship of my Revenue Minister, Mr. R. C. Dutt. The Conference arranged that its work should proceed all through the twelve months instead of being transacted once in the year. It appointed Provincial Industrial Committees at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore and Nagpur. And it also appointed a permanent secretary and under-secretary

with headquarters at Nagpur to compile information, to carry on correspondence and to help the Provincial Committees in their work all through the year. I am glad to find that this central establishment has not gone to sleep over its work; within this closing year the secretary and under-secretary have collected subscriptions which have more than covered the year's expenditure; they have published in a handy form a report of the Conference, embodying all the valuable and instructive papers which were read at the time; and they have compiled a directory, not complete or exhaustive by any means, but a fair beginning, describing the different industries in the different parts of India. They have also published a very interesting report of the work done during this year in all parts of India.

All this is a good output for a first year's work, but you should not be satisfied with this. Greater progress is expected from you in future years. The weak point in the Conference organization seems to me that the central office is not in sufficient touch with the Provincial Committees, and therefore is not able to render them sufficient help to develop the industries of the different provinces. Besides Provincial Committees you require district and even town associations for closer touch with the masses. India is a country of vast distances; and from many parts of India it takes more than a day and a night to travel to Nagpur. The State can do much to help the outlying provinces; the provinces can do more to help themselves. By such harmonious co-operation towards a common object, I hope to see the work of the Industrial Conference show a continued

progress from year to year. A central organization is needed to co-ordinate all the endeavours that are being made in all parts of India to promote home industries, and the Industrial Conference with its central establishment and Provincial Committees was not established a day too soon.

And now I desire to place a few practical suggestions before you such as from my own knowledge and experience occur to me. The first and the most important means of promoting our industries is to spread general education amongst the masses. Great and far-reaching changes might be made in the educational system of the country, and I am of opinion that no ultimate solution of our problem will be reached until schools have been provided in every village, and education is taken to the very threshold of the people; until in fact education at least in its primary grades has been made free and compulsory throughout the land. I am indeed gratified to learn that the Government of India has already under consideration the policy of making primary education free.

The experiment of free and compulsory education is a novel one in this country; and yet its novelty must not scare us from our duty. I am not, indeed, prepared at this time to recommend the example of some of the socialistic communities of the West in providing free breakfasts, free baths, free boots, and everything else almost, except free beds. I have, however, endeavoured to introduce compulsory education throughout the State of Baroda and hope to see my people benefited by it. The measure has been working with satisfactory results in one part

of the State for a number of years. Emboldened by the success of this experiment, I have decided to make primary education compulsory throughout the State, and absolutely free.

Of scarcely less importance at this time of day is the need for industrial education. I must confess that it is my recent visit to Europe and to America that has impressed me most with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of nations. I may state without exaggeration that education has undergone a complete revolution in the West within the present generation. The great armaments of the Western nations, their vast armies and navies, do not receive greater attention and greater solicitude in the present day than education in industrial pursuits which befits them for the very keen struggle which is continually going on among nations for industrial and manufacturing supremacy.

Among the nations on the continent of Europe, Germany takes the lead in industrial enterprise; and among the many technical institutes of that country, the Royal Technical High School at Berlin is the most famous. A large staff of professors teach over 1,500 students, and Applied Chemistry in oils and colours, as well as dyeing, bleaching, printing on cloths and silks, and leather tanning are taught on a scale unequalled in any other country on the continent. France is endeavouring to foster her industries and manufactures in numerous institutes. The Musée des Arts et Métiers of Paris has an extensive collection of machines and models of machines, and Science and Arts classes are held there

on important technological subjects. The French Government manage the Sèvres Royal Porcelain Factory and the Gobelins Tapestry Factory; and frequent exhibitions are held in the Grand and Petit Palais of Paris.

Austria is not far behind, and Vienna has Technical Schools on a smaller scale, each teaching some branch of technical art. Italy has her Technical Academies; and a Polytechnic Institute, planned on the lines of the Casanova Institute at Naples, might serve anywhere to collect the best craftsmen and the most promising apprentices under the same roof, and extend the moral influence of the teacher to the pupils. All the experts of art would be collected there and interchange ideas about their trade deficiencies and trade difficulties.

In London, the City and Guilds' Technical College, the County Council's Schools of Arts and Crafts, and the several Polytechnics, are among the many institutions where a practical training in arts and industries is imparted to the people. The new universities of Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds pay special attention to technical education, just as the older universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London pay to liberal and classical education. The Municipal School of Technology at Manchester is a monument of the enterprise of that great manufacturing city, and teaches mechanical, electrical, municipal and sanitary engineering, technical physics, industrial and general chemistry, bleaching, dyeing, printing and finishing of textiles, paper manufactures, metallurgy and various other subjects. Some students from Baroda are engaged in the

study of acids and alkali manufacture, and plumbing and sanitary engineering in this school.

But of all the countries which I have recently visited, it is America where I found the highest development of industrial education. Every single State in the United States has a State College where technical education is given to students absolutely free. No fees are charged in these State Colleges, because the proper training of citizens in technical arts is considered a matter of national importance, and lands and annual grants are assigned by the States for the maintenance of the colleges. Every State College teaches agriculture and engineering, and also gives some training to the students in military tactics. Other subjects are also taught according to the resources of these colleges. Besides these State Colleges there are some forty-three privately endowed Technical Institutes all over the United States, where engineering is taught in all its branches—civil, electrical, mechanical and marine. Architecture, drawing, modelling and the textile industries are also among the subjects taught. The great Institute of Technology at Boston with its 2,500 students, the Armour Institute at Chicago with its 2,000 students, and the Pratt Institute at New York with its 1,500 students are the best known among these privately endowed Technical Institutes. I need hardly add that the great universities like Harvard, Yale and Columbia also teach engineering in all its branches; and what will surprise you more, almost every High School has classes for manual training, comprising carpentry, smithy and machine shops.

I have not yet visited Japan, but we all know what Japan has done within the lifetime of one generation. Her victories in the battlefield have lately brought that wonderful land among the foremost nations on earth, but the victories of Nanshan and Mukden are not more brilliant than the triumphs of her industries achieved by a system of technical education which leaves very little to be desired.

My second suggestion to you is that, besides establishing technical schools, you should endeavour to introduce some manual training in the ordinary schools. The training of the eye and of the hand at an early age is useful to all—even to those who have not to support themselves by manual industry in life. Early lessons in drawing and modelling, simple instruction in carpentry and smith's work, are good for all students in all ranks of life. Physicians and psychologists tell us that such exercises, by introducing a variety in the course of studies, really refresh and help the brain, and make boys and girls more capable of acquiring both learning and practical skill. Moreover, to attach some industrial classes to our ordinary schools would have the healthy effect of giving a complete and not one-sided education to our children. The richer classes would be brought more in touch with the humble industries; the poor classes would acquire that skill and facility in handling tools which can be effectively acquired only at an early age; people in all branches of life would be impressed with the dignity of manual labour more than they are now in India. Your great endeavour to promote the industries of the land will be greatly helped when the nation

receives an elementary technical training in schools. At the same time it is necessary to bear constantly in mind that no amount of specific training in manual arts can fill the place of that liberal education and general culture which should serve as the necessary substratum for all kinds of learning. Technical training is a supplement, but not a substitute, for general education, and should never be turned into a fad.

I have tried to impress on you, Gentlemen, the importance of founding technical schools, and of introducing manual training in your ordinary schools, throughout India. Years will, however, pass before this can be done on an adequately extensive scale, so that India may take her legitimate place among the nations of the earth in industrial education and mechanical inventions. It follows, therefore, that for years and perhaps generations you must send your young men to Europe, America and Japan for that complete industrial training which they cannot yet receive at home. Make no mistake, and let no time-honoured prejudices deter you from travelling to other parts of the earth and receiving that new light, that new culture, those new ideas, which even the most gifted and advanced nations prize, and which India needs perhaps more than any other civilized nation. The healthy results of foreign travel and of comparing notes with foreign nations are already manifest to India in every department of life within the last fifty years. Nothing impressed me more upon my recent return to India than the changed attitude of many of my countrymen towards foreign institutions. Men of all ranks

have been eager to learn my impressions of Western nations. Such a spirit of inquiry is always healthful if it proceeds from a sincere thirst for knowledge. I was much interested in learning while in America that some two or three thousand students every year go abroad to learn the best of European methods in education and in commerce, while the national Government sends men to all parts of the world to study the products of other lands. England, Germany and France with all their commercial prestige do not hesitate to send inquirers to foreign parts. Coming nearer home, we find that hundreds of Japanese young men complete their education in France, Germany, England and America. Such is the desire for knowledge and the whole-heartedness of the latter, that not only do they acquire a special education in whatever subject they may be engaged in, but in providing themselves with a means of livelihood they do not shrink from the humblest occupations.

Japan profited most by sending out her youths to the seminaries of Europe. She owes her present greatness to that illustrious band of scholar-statesmen, who imbibed the first principles in the science of politics and the art of government at the universities of Göttingen and Leipzig. She is today the mistress of the Eastern seas because of her student-sailors, who acquired their first lessons in naval warfare in the docks of Tilbury and Portsmouth. Her battles are fought and won by her soldiers, who had been themselves initiated into the mysteries of manœuvring and the secrets of strategy in France and Germany. And she bids fair to assume the

supreme place in the trade of the Orient on account of her scholar-financiers, who have rubbed shoulders with bankers in the counting-houses of London, Berlin and New York. Has the world ever seen a nobler instance of young men architecturing the fortunes of their motherland? Can we conceive of a higher example of patriotism for India's sons to emulate? Let us follow their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion. Let us hold up their ideal of national unity and social equality, learn their eagerness to acquire the newest methods in all walks of life; imitate their perseverance and patient toil; and we may yet save the fortunes of our country.

I have learnt with pleasure that an earnest and patriotic worker of this province, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, the worthy son of a worthy father, has organized a scheme for sending young men to Europe and America for education; and that a large number of students have already been sent in accordance with this scheme. Nothing gave me greater pleasure while abroad, than coming in touch with several Bengalis who were studying in Europe and America. Although far away from India, they had the kindest and most patriotic feelings for their native land. India is to be congratulated in having such men. This policy has also been pursued by the State of Baroda for many years past, and young men educated in Europe at State expense are now serving the State with credit, or finding profitable employment in other parts of India. Several young students have lately been sent to England and Germany, America and Japan; and a scheme is now under consideration to send a limited number of

students at regular intervals, mainly to learn the methods of modern industry.

Gentlemen, India is today at the parting of the ways. There are great possibilities before her. The people of Bombay, for instance, are looking forward to the use of electricity generated in the Western Ghats for working their mills. The people of Madras are looking forward to the experiments made in 'Tree Cotton'. All India looks forward to the happiest results from the Research Institute, for which we are indebted to the late lamented Mr. Tata. There is a stir; and the people are showing signs of awakening. This is hopeful; but let us not forget that years of patient toil are before us, that it is only by patience and perseverance that we can ever succeed in competing with the West in industrial pursuits. We need the spirit of determination, of courage, of confidence in ourselves and in each other; we need to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, between the spirit which vivifies and the letter that kills. Let our energies not be distracted in small things.

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to India at this juncture. Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilization of the time, we discover that vast resources, agricultural and mineral, are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilization, though the foundation of all stable civilizations must fall back in the last analysis upon the natural resources of the country. Egypt in

ancient times had abundant resources, but, failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest classes, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sand. The wealth of a nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence not from any failure of philosophical insight; in these directions she has been the chief source of inspiration for the whole Western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry; had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of to her slaves; had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy; the story of Athens might have had a different dénouement. But she wasted her mineral resources and expended large sums in the erection of great temples of worship and art and learning. Far be it from us to suggest any criticism against the civilization which has been the fountain-head of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy, no civilization, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of ancient Greece to

modern India. Be careful of large expenditure, either individually or collectively, which is unproductive. Bid her people forget their caste and tribal prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India; bid them find expression for their religious enthusiasm in practical co-operation for the uplifting of humanity—of the human spirit in the temple of God. Bid them be free men, economically, socially, and intellectually; and no power under Heaven can long keep them in servitude.

Rome, too, has its lesson for India. In the complex and far-reaching series of disasters which led to the downfall of Rome, it would be difficult indeed to designate any one factor as the premier cause of the catastrophe. But of this we may be sure, that the highly centralized and paternal Government which developed under the later Cæsars was a potent cause of weakness to the Empire. Private initiative and individual responsibility gave place to State operation of manufactures and industry. Insufficient currency and military oppression drove the husbandman from his plough and the merchant from his counter. The people looked to the Cæsar for corn, and out of the public treasury the hungry were fed, if they were fed at all. The Emperor ruled by force of arms; manufactures were operated by a system of forced labour under the strictest surveillance of the State; the civilian was forced into idleness and vice; the masses into pauperism and dejection. The national spirit decayed, and Rome fell an easy prey to the ravaging hordes from the north

At this crucial period in India's emancipation we shall need to keep constantly in mind the failure of Rome. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to arouse, to stimulate, and to educate the lower classes. We should help them to help themselves. But ever let us beware of paternalism: not charity but co-operation is the crying need of the hour.

Let our people as rapidly as possible be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest, intelligent, *entrepreneur* class, who will be content to organize and manage our new industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

Ancient India too has lessons for us. I have already spoken of India's rich products and her brisk trade with the West in ancient times. But her mechanical inventions were slow because mechanical work was left to hereditary castes somewhat low in the scale of society. Our sculpture does not compare favourably with the sculpture and architecture of ancient Greece, and our mechanical progress does not keep pace with the mechanical inventions of modern nations, because our intellectual classes have been divorced, for centuries and thousands of years from manual industry, which has been left to the humbler and less intellectual classes. In literature and thought we need fear no comparison with the most gifted nations on the earth. The genius of

craftsmanship is also among the people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan classes. Make industrial pursuits the property of the nation, instead of the exclusive possession of castes; let sons of Brahmins and of learned *moultis* learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate, who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts; and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought.

Turning to the Western world of modern times, we discover lessons of the utmost importance for India at this time. As I look back over the last few centuries which have raised the nations of the West from the darkness of mediævalism to their present high degree of civilization, it seems to me that four historical movements are plainly discernible as important factors in that development.

The first movement to which I refer is the capitalistic programme of the last few centuries. I do not need to dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of a capitalistic organization of industries, with its attendant systems of credit, banks and exchanges, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution in the scientific application of capital. We still have many things to learn from the nations of the West. For this reason I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of Chairs of Economics in our colleges, and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance. Let the brightest of our young patriots be sent to Western

universities to master the principles of economic polity.

The second movement in the West is the taking out of the hands of the priests, social, political and commercial affairs which are purely secular in their nature. In the thirteenth century the Church of Rome dictated not only matters of religious import but reached out in many directions to control all the relations of life, both individual and collective. For three centuries the popular will struggled against the secular tendencies of the Church, until led to open revolt by Martin Luther. Since that revolt the principle has been firmly established, and is held with special vigour in America, that the realm of the Church is in matters moral and metaphysical, and that social, political and commercial relationships must be left to the individual consciences of those who participate in them. And in this connexion I merely desire to point out, that in so far as India's religious ideas tend to keep many of our brightest and best minds out of practical affairs, out of the scientific, political and commercial movements of the time, by so far do the religious and philosophic systems stand in the way of her progress towards economic independence. Why have the people of India been tardy in grasping the scientific principles of Western industrial organization? I shall not presume to answer the question at any length but content myself with suggesting that we must, as a people, look well to the religious and social foundations of our national life. Break the monopoly of caste prerogatives and social privileges.

They are self-arrogated, and are no more inherent in any one caste than commercial predominance or political supremacy in any one nation. Learn the luxury of self-sacrifice; elevate your brethren of the humbler castes to your own level; and smooth all artificial angularities. Always appraise action more than talk, and ever be ready to translate your word into deed.

I desire in the next place to call your attention to the development of the national spirit. Throughout Europe in the last 2,000 years there has been constant progress in the unifying and the solidifying of national life. Petty states and warring principalities have given place to strong, compact and homogeneous nations, each possessing decided national characteristics, and each working through the patriotic impulses of all its people for the preservation of the national ideal. Now I find in my reading that the most frequent criticism offered against us as a people by candid critics is that we are disunited, many-minded, and incapable of unselfish co-operation for national ends. If this criticism is true, if it is true that India is a mass of small, heterogeneous peoples unfitted for independent national existence, then it behoves us as intelligent men and patriots to put in motion the principles of unity and co-operation. To this end I favour the adoption of a national speech and the inculcation of a national spirit.

And the last movement to which I would direct your attention is the development of Science in Europe during the last 150 years. The story of that development reads like a romance of olden

times. Within that period have been developed railways, steamships, electric telegraphs, the telephone, friction matches, gas illumination, knowledge of electricity in all its multiform applications, photography, Röntgen rays, spectrum analysis, anæsthetics, the modern science of chemistry, the laws of the molecular constitution of matter, of the conservation of energy, of organic evolution, the germ theory of disease, and many other theories of the utmost practical importance in modern life.

I submit, my friends, that India's part in this wonderful movement has been shamefully small. Can it be true, as one writer has said, that some 'strange fact of arrested development, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the people of India to eternal reproduction of old ideas'? I cannot believe that the intellectual power of India is exhausted, nor can I believe that her people are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. We have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary, and the artistic wealth of the world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, and our highest glory, to regain the intellectual supremacy of the ancient days. The atmosphere of the West is throbbing with vigorous mental life. The pursuit of new truth is the first concern of every stalwart mind of the West, while the mass of our people are content to live stolid, conventional lives, blindly following the precepts of their fathers, rather than emulating the example they set of intellectual independence and constructive

energy. I cannot do better than close my remarks with those fine lines of the poet :

The east bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
Then bowed in thought again.

I would not for a moment have you think, my friends, that I return from the West a convert to Western ideals, or that I am in any sense a pessimist concerning the future of India. There are many defects in Western civilization that no impartial student of affairs can ignore. The evils that have grown up in the centralizing of population in the great industrial cities constitute, in my judgment, a serious menace to the future of those races. There are weighty problems of administration, of morals, of public health, which the West with all its ingenuity has not been able to solve. There is the eternal conflict between capital and labour which is becoming more acute as time goes on. Nor can one visit the great commercial centres of the West without feeling that the air is surcharged with the miasmatic spirit of greed. Everywhere the love of display, and the sordid worship of material wealth and power, has poisoned the minds of the people against the claims of the simple, homely life, which the Indian, in his love for the things of the spirit, has cultivated since history began.

It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West—to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time

preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervour of her people. I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this; to teach Philosophy to the West and learn its Science; impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal; inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business ways of its merchants.

SWADESHI AND WESTERN METHODS¹

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to participate in the inauguration of the Bank of Baroda, Ltd. I have long wished that the people of my State would combine in the organization of a joint-stock banking concern, believing, as I do, that a Bank of this nature will prove a beneficial agency for the lending, transmission, and deposit of money, and a powerful factor in the development of the arts, industries, and commerce of the State and adjoining territories. And I am very glad a scheme has been worked out by the Department of Economics upon bases on which not only my immediate subjects could combine, but also upon which influential gentlemen like Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal and the Hon. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey could be induced to lend their co-operation.

The concessions which have been granted by the Baroda Government are the result of mature deliberation, and should be sufficiently convincing evidence of my own attitude towards the project. My motive has been simply and solely to satisfy what seemed to me a natural want. The Government itself has no immediate need of such an institution,

¹ Delivered at the Opening of the new Bank of Baroda, on the 9th of July, 1906.

though I am not without expectation that it will prove an agency of great usefulness to the administration. The primary object is to satisfy a demand which the people themselves have made from time to time for such a financial institution of their own. Government has, therefore, left the management of the Bank to a private corporation, withholding its hand from any official interference with its operations, following in this respect the example of the Presidency Banks of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

At the same time, I must say that the granting of these large concessions and the assignment of their control to the people themselves imposes upon them and their representatives on the Board of Directors a solemn responsibility to carry out faithfully and conscientiously the objects for which the Bank is founded, and to see that no motives of personal animosity or personal aggrandisement creep in to mar the harmonious and businesslike management of the Bank's affairs. These concessions are granted in the expectation that the public, especially the commercial public, will be as liberal in its support of this institution as Government on its part has been in granting the terms of its subsidy and in eschewing control. If my people prove capable of co-operation in the flotation and management of this institution, I see no reason why they should not become the forerunners of many agencies of a popular nature for the spread of commercial and industrial prosperity. The organization of a strong system of Agricultural Banks in particular should follow as a logical corollary of the present enterprise,

if it meets with that large measure of success which is anticipated for it.

This institution should be, in and of itself, a great object-lesson in co-operative enterprise, and a constant educator in modern methods of commercial intercourse. The unqualified success which has attended the recent organization of the two *swadeshi* Banks of Bombay has proved beyond dispute that Indian financiers can hold their own against the shrewdest minds of any country. Banking in its various forms has from time immemorial been practised as a fine art among certain communities of the Indian people, and this is especially true of the Marwadis and Banias of Western India. The great weakness in the indigenous methods of banking hitherto has been its lack of combination and co-operation on a large scale, such as the principles of joint-stock holdings and limited liability of shareholders make possible.

If industrialism is ever to obtain a strong footing in this country—and after all the first object for which every enlightened patriot of India is striving today is the development of indigenous industries on a scale commensurate with the enormous demand of the country, and on a scientific basis sufficiently effective to ward off foreign competition—if ever the languishing industries of India are to be revived, I say, a preliminary step, or at least a concomitant step, must be the reorganization of our methods of finance, so as to centralize the countless dribblets of capital into powerful reservoirs where its outlet can be controlled and directed into productive channels.

The genius of the Indian people is not primarily scientific or industrial, and the competition of the West with its scientific and highly centralized organization of capital and machinery, has long since driven from the field the ancient crude methods of our forefathers, never to revive to any appreciable degree or for any length of time. The obvious moral is, that India, after the noble example of Japan, must set herself diligently to master Western science and Western methods in all that concerns finance and industries.

I am perfectly aware that this is not a new gospel; and yet, as this is in my opinion the key-note of future progress, its continued reiteration must go on until even the man of the dullest intelligence comprehends it. No reactionary sentiment of mere respect for the past will save India from the unrelenting pressure of foreign competition; no amount of emotional patriotism will drag us out of the slough of economic dependence. We must set our faces as a nation grimly and patiently to master modern methods and the implements that have mastered us. Science is pitted against traditional belief, and Science will win. I reiterate, therefore, Gentlemen, that the organization of such institutions as the Bank of Baroda has a deep significance beyond mere considerations of present expediency. The business aspects of the project have been eloquently presented by Dewan Bahadur Ambalal and the Hon. Sir Vithaldas, and it is not my purpose to trench upon the ground which they have covered so well. But I desire to call your attention to certain large aspects of the general movement, of which this Bank

is but one of the manifestations. I refer to the economic movement known as *swadeshi*-ism.

Swadeshi-ism covers, to be sure, a great variety of activities, and is capable of a great variety of definitions, but to my mind it is essentially a recognition of our national weakness in matters scientific and industrial and a determined effort to overcome it. To acquire economic freedom is the end and aim of *swadeshi*-ism. And this can only be done by mastering the technique of Western industrialism. Industrialism, broadly speaking, is the application of scientific invention to the production and distribution of all the articles required by society to satisfy its wants. Inherent in the system and inextricably bound up with it are the scientific methods of finance to which I have already alluded. Industrialism needs for its purposes the joint-stock bank and the exchange no less imperatively than the machine and the waterfall. So that in my use of the word industrialism I shall be understood to mean, not only machinery, the product of scientific invention, but also banking and the other agencies of credit, the products of scientific organization.

What, then, is the significance of industrialism in modern society, and what results would flow from its widespread introduction into India? This is, no doubt, a large subject, and one that is fraught with many difficulties in its elucidation. But as it is possible that some of us have not realized why and how industrialism is justified in the social economy, and what are its bearings, economic, political, and cultural, I shall attempt, without going into a lengthy dissertation on the subject,

to make a brief analysis of its effects on Western society.

Commerce in the olden days, until a century and a half ago in fact, was limited to the products of agriculture, the hunt, and the handicrafts. Merchants there were who understood the value of organization and the reproductive functions of capital. But it was not until the introduction of machinery in the processes of production and the widespread application of credit in the organization of industries, that rapid progress became possible. The ownership of the implements of production—factories and machinery—passed inevitably, it is true, from the handicraftsman to the capitalist. And it is sometimes questioned whether the process has been accompanied with any lasting good to the working masses. Certainly in many individual cases it could be shown that the workman has suffered, in the loss of that independence from overlordship which is sometimes extolled as the blessing of the humble cottager who labours at his own hand-loom. But I am convinced that it is easy to exaggerate the so-called independence which the workman enjoys under an organization for handicraft of manufactures. Assuredly, the mere fact that the handicraftsman performs his daily task with his wife and children to assist him is no proof of real independence. As a matter of fact, the workman's hours of labour are generally longer and his liberty of movement much more restricted than under industrialism. The test comes when we inquire which system leads, on the whole, to the higher standard of living, the larger opportunity for

the education of children, and the slow but steady development of the individual personality of the workman.

I think that no one who has critically compared the condition of our handicraftsman of India working from day to day, from century to century, for the minimum of subsistence, with the condition of the factory labourer of the West, begrimed it may be with soot, but nevertheless on the whole well-fed and well-housed, can fail to realize the economic and social advantages of industrialism. Industrial organization brings not only the machine to the help of the labourer—that in itself might not be an unmixed good, for too often the workman tends to become the mere mechanic, the slave of his iron implement—but the overwhelming advantage to the workman and to all society of diversity of pursuits and of the tremendous accumulation of wealth.

We hear much in the West of the injustice of large private fortunes, and certainly there is much truth in these allegations against capitalism. Nevertheless the substantial truth is, as anyone may discover who carefully studies the subject, that under industrialism private fortunes are growing ever larger, a larger proportion of the population is acquiring wealth, and the whole mass of people is lifted up to a higher standard of living. Private accumulations of wealth are justified, as also the competitive basis on which they exist, if it can be shown that the general welfare is enhanced thereby. Great fortunes under the industrial system consist not in treasure privately hoarded, but in stocks, bonds, and securities, and these are merely

representative of factories, railroads, mines, and other agencies of production and distribution, through which the labourer of all trades obtains his employment and his wages. The private fortune of modern times is therefore only nominally private and all the wealth of an industrial society belongs in a very real sense to the whole people.

What interest, what dividends, it may be asked, does society draw from these possessions? In the first place, as I have already pointed out, society at large, including the manual labourer, draws a larger wage and lives on a better plane than would be possible under the old organizations for handicraft manufactures. In the second place, the accumulation of wealth makes possible the shifting of foodstuffs in tremendous volume from place to place, and continent to continent, so that famine and starvation are comparatively unknown. In the third place, the agencies of culture, such as schools and colleges, libraries, museums, art galleries, hospitals, etc., are increased very largely, until they are brought within the reach of every class of society, even the lowest. The door of opportunity opens for every individual as wealth is increased and disseminated throughout the community.

The gist of the whole matter is this, that with the development of the industrial system mankind has learned to throw a large part of its burden on the machine. During working hours the productivity of the whole mass is increased a hundredfold. During sleep the interest on capital goes on piling up. So wealth is produced automatically. Society

at large reaps the benefit, notwithstanding the apparent injustice of so much luxury for the rich, while the masses are forced to work for daily bread. The masses will always work. The problem of every society is how to make the conditions of work as wholesome as possible and to enlarge the field for individual development.

It will thus be seen that the industrial problem has many bearings other than those which are economic in the narrow sense of that word. With the growth of industrialism in India is sure to come an enlarged outlook and an increased capacity of the whole social organism for things political, educational and ethical.

With the growth of industrialism, craftiness and chicanery are bound to give way to an increasing straightforwardness of dealing between man and man. Numerous writers have borne testimony to the fact that the influence of science and industrialism in the Western world has lifted the people to a higher standard of commercial morality than formerly existed. No more convincing evidence of this fact could be adduced than the respect in which British integrity in commercial relations is held in this country. Furthermore, with the increase of private wealth which industrialism brings are sure to come increased facilities for the spread of education and culture among the masses. With wealth and education comes increasing capacity for political affairs. It is an ancient truism that the good administrator must be a sound business man.

It is my profound conviction, therefore, Gentlemen, that the line of least resistance in the progress

of India at this time lies in the hard study and consistent application of the paraphernalia of industrialism to Indian conditions. Only in this manner can we fit ourselves for the larger demands of statesmanship. And only in this way can we as a people expect ever to enter the haven of economic independence. As the West owes its progress of the last couple of centuries to the application of scientific invention to all phases of life, so India must look to the same formula. I do not, in the least, minimize the necessity of reform in the social organism and reform in the political administration, but change in these directions is apt to be slow unless forced from beneath by an ever-increasing sense of industrial independence and economic self-respect, if I may be allowed to use such an expression. It is my duty to impress upon my people again and again, that the development of industries and commerce rests primarily upon them. Without individual pluck, perseverance, energy, and foresight, we are powerless to effect any solid and lasting improvement in the economic condition of the country.

It is therefore with great pleasure that I welcome an enterprise like the Bank of Baroda, Ltd., built on the solid foundation of private capital and private enterprise. I welcome it not only as an agency for the immediate satisfaction of the monetary needs of the community, but as an educational factor of no mean importance and as a symbol of that larger movement which is to give us a place eventually among the industrial nations.

Once again I must insist that the success of this project rests upon the people themselves. Government has done all in its power to give its support, moral and financial, to the Bank, but its successful flotation and management will depend upon the practical interest and assistance which my people are willing to give to an enterprise which is designed solely for their benefit. I need hardly say that the Bank is in no sense intended as an agency for loans to Government; it is a private enterprise subsidized by Government in the interests of the community at large. Upon its success depends in large measure the future development of trade and industries within our dominions. I commend it therefore to your practical sympathies and co-operation. With these remarks, Gentlemen, I desire to thank the promoters and directors for the lead which they have taken in this matter, and to wish for them continued success.

IDEALS AND AIMS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS¹

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is a great pleasure to me to be able to attend this very agreeable function of distribution of prizes at the Baroda College in the present year, and I sincerely appreciate the kind welcome which the college, through its Principal, has accorded to me. The progress of this institution, the highest educational institution in my State, always enlists my sympathy; and it is a source of personal gratification to me whenever my many duties permit me to come among you, Professors and students of this college, on such occasions as this.

I have listened with much interest to the Report which Principal Clarke has read on the progress of the last year. He has referred to the new endowments which have been added to the college within the last few years, and I am glad to learn that men who are associated with this institution, or who are interested in the cause of higher education in Baroda, evince in this manner their desire to promote the welfare of the college. Encouragement is given to students in other ways also, besides the grant of scholarships. To provide education for poor but meritorious boys, the Principal is empowered to admit 10 per cent of students free.

¹ Delivered at a Prize Distribution of the Baroda College, on the 1st of September, 1909.

Mr. Clarke has alluded to the growing needs of the institution, which requires larger room than is at present available. The precise extent of these requirements on some points, such as scientific education, will be ascertained by the Education Commission which I have appointed and over which Mr. Seddon presides. When the Commission submits its proposals, and other proposals come in due form, they will receive my attention, with due regard to financial considerations. In the meantime the hostels already built afford accommodation for over 150 students, and I am glad to receive the Principal's assurance that the house built for a Resident Professor will be occupied before the commencement of the next term.

Sometimes, when visiting these hostels, I wonder whether the students avail themselves of all the facilities afforded by them. They do not exist merely in as cheap a manner as possible to shelter you and to satisfy your bodily craving for food and sleep. They give you an excellent opportunity to know one another, to broaden one another's views, and by social intermingling to polish off rough edges, as it were. Such intercourse can train you in mutual trust, and thus break down the barriers of suspicion due to ignorance of each other's ways and manners of life. While you are yet unacquainted with one another, differences on the surface are the only things you see, whereas if you but took the trouble you would find beneath that surface, you have hopes, aspirations and characteristics in common. It appears to me that among the younger generation there is even less of that healthy

curiosity that seeks to know the character of the people around them, than there was a generation or two ago. I trust I am wrong; for mutual isolation would postpone and even nullify our efforts towards unity.

Study each other intelligently and sympathetically. Rid yourselves of your provincial and racial prejudices. Cast off without delay those harmful customs and superstitions which impede your progress. Gujaratis and Deccanis, Hindus, Parsis and Muslims should all mix freely, and they will be astonished when they realize how greatly they had previously exaggerated the importance of insignificant differences, and how little they understood and appreciated their basic similarity and unity.

Tours to different parts of India have been arranged; and I trust students in increasing numbers will perceive the great and real help which such tours afford to the education of the mind. I watch with much interest also the varying successes of our students on the cricket field; such games develop their physique, and also teach them the high virtues of patience, endurance and fairness to opponents.

Lastly, I am much gratified to learn from Mr. Clarke's report that the general behaviour of the students has been good during the year under review, and that the results of the examinations have been eminently satisfactory.

But while I congratulate those students who have shown much aptitude for learning, and made such progress in different branches of knowledge, let me

remind them, and all of you, that the highest and the noblest object of education is not the acquisition of knowledge itself, but the formation of character. The study of the world's literature and history is vain unless it inspires you with aspirations towards that which is honest and true in life, towards the great and the noble. The pursuit of Science or the knowledge of the laws of Nature is vain, unless you mould your mind in accuracy of thought and observation, in steadfastness of purpose and endeavour. And all the laborious studies to which you are devoting the best portion of your young lives will be to no purpose, if they do not make you better and abler men, stronger and more determined to perform your duty during the years which lie before you.

Look around you, and mark the successes of those who have distinguished themselves. You will find that it is not book-knowledge alone, but solid worth of character, which has led to their success. It is not the man deeply versed in the history of commerce and trade who has risen to be a successful merchant; it is the man of sober thought, of industry and of steady persistence. It is not the brilliant scholar who stands highest in Government service or in the liberal professions; it is the man who to a liberal education and strong intellect adds the higher virtues of conscientious work, courage of conviction, honesty of purpose and devotion to duty. Gather all the learning which schools and colleges provide for you; spend your young years in acquiring useful knowledge, but let that learning and knowledge so mould your character that you may turn out stronger

and truer men, men of sound sense and good manners, better equipped for the battle of life which awaits you. For those of you who will thus profit by the education you are receiving, success is assured in the future.

India has need of active citizens today. We could profitably exchange much of our meditation for Western activity. Metaphysical contemplation may be admirable in itself. But what we require is more of the study of the actual conditions of this life than of future existence, if we are to hold a place in the van of civilization; and I trust that those who go forth, year after year, from this institution, will find careers of usefulness for themselves and of benefit to their country.

Steady continuous progress has been the only true progress in the history of the world, and the path of steady progress lies open in all directions. Foremost among our present needs is an improvement in the condition of the masses—of the millions of cultivators and labourers who live in villages and towns. Some of the young students that I see before me may decide perhaps to settle down in the country as farmers, to adopt improved methods of agriculture, to start co-operative credit societies, and to introduce in villages something of the civilization of the age. Your example will leaven the cultivating classes, will introduce among them improved ideas of health and sanitation, and will help them to take an interest in the management of their own village concerns.

More than this, there is need for the subordination of individual interests to the interests of the

community. I should rather say that it is of the utmost importance to realize that in order to further and safeguard one's individual interests—in order to make them stable and progressive in character—it is necessary to promote the public welfare. It is a mistake to suppose that corporate life can exist only at the expense of the individual. The welfare of the community as a whole is consistent with, nay more it is dependent on, the well-being and development of smaller bodies, of sects and castes and guilds, and of the full realization of individual capacities.

If you can realize this principle, if you can achieve these results even to a limited extent in your lifetime, if you can inspire the village population with the utility of common aims and endeavours, you will have gone a considerable way towards curing that social disintegration from which our country and our people have so grievously suffered. Those who have studied history to any purpose will know that in every country in Europe—in Germany, in France, in England—this work of elevating the humbler classes has been effected within the last century. It is your mission to help the Government in its efforts towards this amelioration. More than that, there is the enormous field open to you which is beyond the sphere of Government—I mean charitable and social work. The success of our endeavour to raise the educational standard of our women depends largely on your co-operation and encouragement in the home. It would be difficult to overestimate the advantage that would accrue to the youth of India if their mothers and sisters were

better equipped for influencing their impressionable years. Elevate the condition and lives of our villagers and you have a solid foundation for national greatness. Surely the success of the individual is not inimical to the well-being of the family. Improve the cottage and you improve the empire.

Passing from agriculture to industries and trade, there is scope for persevering educated men in that direction also. There is a popular fallacy that it is less dignified for an educated man to occupy himself in business than in the professions. You have but to turn to the United States for example to see what little ground there is for this fallacy. Many more American graduates go into industries than into professions. Happily more attention has been paid during the past generation to manufacture and trade. Cotton industries have sprung up in the large towns of Western India, and smaller industries are also attracting numbers of educated men. The *swadeshi* movement, which, rightly understood, means a commendable and patriotic partiality for home manufactures, has also given a great impetus to manufacturing industries all over India.

The Government of India and the Governments of different Provinces are doing much to foster various industries, and the people are responding to their call. Within my limited sphere I have for many years devoted my attention to this subject. The extension of my railways, the encouragement given to cotton mills and other enterprises, the establishment of the Bank of Baroda, and lastly

the recent abolition of customs duties will, I hope, facilitate the industries and trades of my State. After all a Government can but grant facilities; it remains for the people themselves to take advantage of those facilities and thereby raise their general status and well-being. What is wanted is patient application, prolonged preparation, and persevering effort.

I have spoken of agriculture, industries and trade; but cast your eyes on the various learned and liberal professions, and young men of education and perseverance need not despair. No doubt the professions are overcrowded, and the path to Government service is somewhat circumscribed. But for all that, no man with a sound mind and a stout heart need fear the lack of useful employment in India. A Government should not only identify itself with the interests and the legitimate ambitions of the people to better themselves, but should also give a healthy direction to the activities of the rising generation; the sphere of usefulness must expand with the progress of the times. Obstacles which prevent the utilization to the full of our talent will gradually disappear. The recent reforms of Lord Morley form a step in this direction. The British Government in India requires the help and co-operation of the most talented sons of the country in the task of administration and legislation, and it is today welcoming to a larger extent such help and co-operation. This is a wise policy fraught with great results in the future.

I believe the best form of Government is Government through the people themselves—such as the

village communities of India enjoyed from ancient ages. In modern times the State has assumed many of their functions, and this centralization of administrative duties has told on the village population, who, in the present day, are lacking in initiative, in self-help and self-reliance and in co-operative action. The best remedy for this is decentralization. The people should be trained to look after their own concerns to a greater extent. How desirable it is that the villagers should undertake the sanitary improvements of the villages, the provision of wells, the laying out of roads, the management of schools, and the settlement of small disputes, civil and criminal, in their villages! It may be true that some of the functions instanced have not been exercised before by local government bodies, but then government in all its ramifications has become more complex, and includes within its scope the duty of satisfying many new wants. Among these new wants can be classed a large number of other functions, which from their very nature could be best carried out by local bodies. Such delegation of powers, if rationally carried out, would form part of a complete system of decentralization and representative government. But the mere delegation of powers to villagers will not secure the object in view. A sense of responsibility must be ingrained within the people: they have to be taught to know what is good for them, and how to secure it; and this can be effected only by education and by long experience in administrative work. It is for this reason that I lay great stress on the general education of the masses.

We sometimes hear it said that the progress of education is solely responsible for the feeling of political unrest. That there should be discontent is not necessarily an evil, for, as education broadens man's ideas, and as educated men will necessarily form high aspirations, which they will strive to realize, there will be a discontent with present conditions. A consciousness of the possibility of improvement is a necessary prelude to any advance. In fact, the absence of all dissatisfaction is symptomatic of decay. If any of this unrest has shown itself in the form of sedition, anarchy and crime, it is due not to education but to its abuse; for, when a system of education leads to anarchy and crime, that system is unsound. Crimes have been committed recently, in India and in England, which have sent a thrill of indignation throughout the Empire; and men whose lives were one long devotion to duty have fallen at the hands of criminal fanatics. It is obviously the duty of a civilized Government to stamp out such crimes. To remove this new danger effectively—this tendency to anarchy and violence—one must diligently look for its true explanation, and one must remove its root causes.

Fortunately, there has been no trouble in Baroda; sedition and anarchy find no place in my State and my subjects are peaceful, law-abiding and engrossed in their own occupations. I have been in close touch with my people during the last thirty years, and no one has greater faith in their good sense than I have. I trust that the same good sense will keep them safe in the future from acts which are foolish and

criminal, and that it will not be necessary for the State to adopt measures for their repression.

In the path of true progress, based on sound and universal education, I hope to see my subjects progressing from day to day. I wish all students present here a happy career in life. Under the blessings of God, may their duties be pleasant and may their lives be happy.

ROMESH CHANDER DUTT—IN MEMORIAM ¹

GENTLEMEN,—We are met today to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Romesh Chander Dutt, Dewan of this State, and to express our sympathy with the bereaved family.

It is but rare that in the annals of society a man leaves behind him a record of service so full of effort and of splendid achievement as this departed son of India has. Carlyle, in his *Oliver Cromwell*, has said: 'There is an irrepressible tendency in every man to develop himself according to the magnitude which Nature has made him of; to speak out, to act out, what Nature has laid in him. This is proper, fit, inevitable: nay, it is a duty, and even the summary of duties for a man.' When we call to our mind all that Mr. Dutt succeeded in achieving in his sixty-one years of life, I think we may say without hesitation that he ever lived up to this definition of manly duty. For if ever man spoke out, acted out, what Nature laid in him, made the most of his talents and opportunities, he was that man.

As a youthful student, after mastering the elements of English knowledge, he sailed with two

¹ Delivered at a condolence meeting over which His Highness presided on the 30th of November, 1909.

friends over unknown seas to an all but unknown country, there to distinguish himself in open competition with the sons of that land. As an observant traveller refining his knowledge gained in the schools by contact with the everyday world, he was surely expressing the magnitude which Nature had made him of. As an administrator, unflinchingly facing the horrors of famine and disease, relieving suffering and restoring order, calm and self-reliant in time of difficulty, loyal to his colleagues, anxious for the advancement of his countrymen socially, economically and politically, he was ever constant to his ideals of duty, worthy of his high calling. As a *littérateur*, drinking deep of the wells of classical learning, bringing it through translation within the reach of the humblest, he worked untiringly for the common good. In everything, as student, administrator, poet, artist in words, and politician, he fought and strove 'like a true giant of a man' for the good of society, and that not merely a society of creed, caste or colour, but the world society made up of all humanity.

Such a man as Mr. Dutt has an influence on society of the deepest value. His strength of character and high sense of duty are incentives to others to follow the same ideals, with the result that the whole tone of the society of which he was a member is improved, uplifted. No one could come into contact with him without being struck by his intense unselfishness, his energetic application to his work at the expense of health itself. His tolerance of opinions antagonistic to his own, his hatred of bigotry and faction, his constant appeals on behalf

of unity of action, his catholic sympathy, his moderation in the expression of his own ideas, his patience under criticism, all went to uplift society; to give it higher ideals, to broaden its views.

From another, more individualistic, point of view, his career gives to every young man an example of what may be achieved by the pursuit of knowledge. In our Indian society especially there is great need of applying to the service of our country all the powers which come from a diffusion of true knowledge: for in its light disappear those arguments which defend the permanent degradation of the untouchable classes, the bigoted assertion of birth superiority by a few privileged classes, the phenomena most prominent in our society of today, a system which must give way to one more in accordance with modern needs. Briefly, one may say that the principal value of such an example as that afforded by Mr. Dutt's career is its commanding incentive to ambition to follow the paths of righteousness.

But society has a duty to perform in its relations with virtue and genius. The opportunities afforded by a sound educational system, both elementary and advanced, must be offered to all who are sufficiently gifted to make use of them. A ladder of knowledge must be set up so that the future Hampden may be enabled to climb from a life of comparative oblivion to a position of influence in the Councils of the State; so that the future poet, scientist, historian or novelist may, by its means, acquire that information and culture which should play a prominent part in the development of the country.

To my mind, then, one of the most prominent lessons to be taken to heart by society, from such an example as Mr. Dutt's life has given, is the pressing need of offering opportunities of education to all, and this irrespective of sex. For, where one has succeeded others may follow. The individual member of society may draw from his career a lesson for himself in the example of a constant seeking after the welfare of the whole body, of the advantages of self-restraint, self-knowledge, self-control, of determined devotion to the cause of the weak and the helpless, of the truest and most devoted patriotism.

Time does not permit of more than a few imperfect phrases. Face to face with the fact that a great man whom we all knew and loved, who was but a few weeks ago working with us in the common aim, the raising of our country, is now no more, it is impossible to give expression to all the thoughts that demand utterance. May I however crave your indulgence whilst I give you briefly my own personal impression of Mr. Dutt in as few words as possible.

Of all his characteristics, I think the most striking was his determination to think the best of every man, his belief in the good that lies in the heart of all, sometimes dormant perhaps, but nevertheless to be reached by the magic wand of tactful sympathy. In this he was truly philanthropic, a lover of his fellow men. With all his great experience of public life as an administrator, in spite of the high and acknowledged position he occupied as a master of political affairs, he was never impatient of criticism, always used his best endeavours thoroughly

to comprehend the meaning of any suggestion, never wilfully or carelessly misunderstanding. His geniality and kindness of temperament turned work done with him into a pleasure and lightened the toil inseparable from the work of government.

In him India has lost a great patriot and leader, and every Indian individually has lost a staunch and fearless supporter of his rights and claims so far as they were based on justice. To his friends the loss is such as may not form the subject of words: it is more suitably the object of silent sympathy. All who met him, of whatever shades of political and social opinion, feel his loss as one affecting them closely and personally.

To the bereaved family we can but offer the most sincere sympathy in their terrible loss. The life of such a man is not bounded by death. His influence reaches beyond the shadows which conceal from our knowledge the world beyond. Of him we may say, in the words of the inscription carved on the tomb of Tennyson, words eloquent in their brevity:

Speak, living voice! with thee, death is not death;
Thy life outlives the life of dust and breath.

SANITATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS¹

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to address you today on a subject which has for long been engaging my very earnest attention. As society progresses, the question of the prevention of sickness and disease claims an ever-increasing amount of anxious thought in the minds of humanitarians and statesmen. Fatalism has given way before the march of civilization, and the preservation of health and the conservation of national resources form part of all State programmes; for those nations which develop their vital resources with the help of preventive medicine and science are those which are enabled to reach the highest standard of efficiency and economic superiority.

The influence of sanitary methods on the length of life has been most marked in European countries during the last three centuries. This is a most important point for us to remember in India, where expectation of life is slightly more than twenty-three years, and has remained at this figure for the past half-century. Compare the rate of progress in Prussia where the most modern systems of hygiene are studied and used. In that State life is lengthening at the rate of twenty-seven years per century.

¹ Delivered before the Sanitary Association, at Bombay, in April 1911.

This fact, which could be supplemented by many others, should convince the most sceptical of the pressing need of enforcing sanitation in India; for to the extent that disease prevails national and individual efficiency is hampered.

More than half the causes of death are preventable: this we know with certainty. Experts have estimated that fifteen years, at least, could be added to the average length of human life by the application of measures for the prevention of disease. This expert estimate has been based on the average expectation of life throughout the world, and, were we in India able to neglect plague, cholera and malaria as factors in the death rate—a happy condition already arrived at in the West—the estimate of fifteen years would have to be considerably increased.

With our present knowledge, we may safely assert that an application of scientific preventive medicine to Indian conditions would be followed by an increase in the average duration of life of thirty years—the rate of mortality would be lessened by one-half—and, together with the reduction in mortality, would come a twofold reduction in the numbers of those who are annually incapacitated by sickness. To express this in figures we may say that the Indian death-roll could be diminished by more than 4,000,000 a year, and the number on the sick list could be lessened by 8,000,000. These figures are impressive. They represent, however, proven and undeniable facts.

These calculations have not taken into account the effect which the scientific prevention of minor

ailments would have on the length of life. This would undoubtedly be considerable, for these minor ailments lessen the powers of resistance, and render the individual more liable to attack from the fatal diseases which swell the mortality tables of the world.

Another fact to be taken into consideration in forming our ideas as to the possible lengthening of life is personal hygiene, a most potent factor in the prevention of morbidity.

Now we must remember that all this preventible mortality and sickness involves a preventible loss of potential earning amounting to crores of rupees. When this fact is better understood by the people, motives both of economy and of humanity should prompt the initiation of a general financial policy towards the improvement of the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the food we eat. It has been well said that 'investments in good health yield interest beyond the dreams of avarice'.

The preservation of health presents itself under different aspects. Put as briefly as possible, these may be grouped under the two heads of public hygiene and personal hygiene. These two are inseparable and must go hand in hand, because it is obvious, for instance, that the efforts of the State to provide a pure supply of water and milk may be completely nullified if the domestic hygiene of those who use them is faulty, and permits contamination in the home.

Sanitary measures are based on medical discoveries in the etiology of disease. To combat sickness we have to guard the ways by which it is conveyed

to us, whether by air, water, or food, and to modify those predisposing influences, external or internal, which render us specially susceptible to attack, influences dependent on personal habits, overcrowding, insanitary dwellings, poverty, vice, heredity, social customs and prejudices.

It is possible for the State and for local bodies to promote public health by provision of good water, efficient conservancy and drainage; by controlling the sale of foodstuffs and milk; by adoption of regular principles of town planning to prevent the erection of insanitary dwellings and to improve existing insanitary areas; and further, by adequate school and factory legislation to improve the physique of the people. When we come to deal with social customs and personal habits, baneful prejudices of caste and religion, and inveterate ignorance of the masses, the State is confronted by the obstacles of public opposition. These obstacles it cannot hope to overcome before the people themselves have arrived at a realization that their own welfare depends on progress, on a willing co-operation with the benevolent intentions of the State. Here our only weapon is education,—education of women because it is their part to influence home life, and to fashion future generations: and education of our ignorant masses in the simple teachings of elementary sanitation and hygiene.

Bombay probably presents an extreme example of conditions which characterize many Indian towns but which have no parallel in the West. The census of 1901 discloses that 87 per cent of all the tenements in the city consist of one room only.

Each of these single rooms contains on an average 4.2 persons and, with this extremity of density, tenements are aggregated in huge many-storied blocks, with every arrangement, both within or without, calculated to prevent the access of light and air, and accumulate damp and faecal products. I would leave you to judge for yourselves the grave condition of this great city. Yet can we really call her great with such a seething volcano of danger to her safety ready to burst at any moment?

It is insufficient to teach boys and girls how to read, write and cipher only. We must deal with their lives in their homes. For that purpose I appeal to the educated portion of the community, and to the natural leaders of the people to set the example and by personal practice and precept teach their backward neighbours how to lead hygienic lives.

I advocate education. But the municipalities and local bodies have a heavy responsibility to the people in the furtherance of public health. Education can do much, but this fact does not excuse any apathy on the part of local bodies in dealing with the elements of sanitation. The condition of many towns and villages, at present simply appalling, could be greatly improved were the local governing bodies to show more willingness and energy. The State is willing to help those who show a serious desire to help themselves. Protection against disease is, if anything, more important than protection against theft or fire; no court, police or other agency of Government is more important than an efficient health department. It is evident that in towns a more elaborate system of health administration is

necessary than in villages. Dwellers in villages have the advantage of open air life as a rule owing to their occupation in the fields. But we see in the villages the same defects of overcrowding and want of ventilation that are only too obvious in the towns of this country. This is due to the inherited tendency of the people to build their houses in close proximity to each other, regardless of the evils of such a practice.

We have to deal in both towns and villages with masses of human habitations irregularly huddled up together, intersected by narrow winding lanes through which no air can penetrate into the dwellings, from which also, owing to faulty construction, the light of day is excluded. Such areas are plainly most suitable for the development of disease, and we must remedy the existing insanitary conditions by a gradual process of pulling down some houses, and the cutting of wide roads. We must have building bye-laws for both towns and villages, providing for future expansion by a regular system of town planning.

If, from opposition or lack of funds, existing conditions cannot be remedied, it would be indeed a most short-sighted policy not to prevent at least a repetition of such conditions in the future. All new buildings, whether mansion, factory, village hut or town villa, should be built in accordance with plans which permit an adequate provision of ventilation and light. Bye-laws on such matters could not meet with much popular opposition, and would require little more vigilance and initiative on the part of local authorities.

You have in Bombay City a striking example of what an Improvement Trust, backed by an efficient health department, can do in gradually improving the sanitation and appearance of the town. The poor appreciate the *chawls* provided for them, and learn the advantages of sanitary dwellings. I have recently started in Baroda an Improvement Trust for my Capital, and I hope that much good will be done by it to the city and its people; that *chawls* of a sanitary design will be provided for the housing of the poor, and that where the houses are crowded together, provision will be made for better ventilation and light.

Something in the way of providing better sanitation has already been done in Baroda. The streets have been widened, and the *poles* opened, to some extent, to the admission of more light and air. Much indeed remains to be done; but I look for steady improvement, and above all else for the intelligent co-operation of the people and the Municipality. Nor can we be content with plans alone. An adequate and efficient Municipal sanitary staff must supervise and control.

Another crying need in our towns and villages is a proper conservancy system. In many it does not exist at all, and where it is provided the efforts made to deal with the problem are too often futile.

I have endeavoured to secure for all the villages of my State good wells for drinking-water, and very shortly I trust it will be possible to say that every village is so provided. *Bhungies* are provided for surface cleaning of the village site, and men are

employed to remove stable refuse and filth to a safe distance from the source of water supply.

In large towns water drainage is necessary. A drainage system is being provided for Baroda City but the people have to be taught how to make use of the sanitary conveniences provided, and will have to learn the advantages of such use. In the meantime the conservancy is very defective, as it is almost everywhere in India, and the Municipality must bear some reproach for lack of proper surveillance. It is not a sufficient excuse to urge the bad habits of the people or lack of funds.

Even in villages, where primitive habits are less likely to be harmful, it is possible to improve matters by energy and persuasion, by the erection of open latrines of the simplest type on the outskirts of the inhabited area, and proper supervision of them when erected. The condition of streets might be improved with a little trouble, and accumulations of liquid refuse and filth prevented by utilizing natural outlets for drainages in the shape of small *nullahs*.

Bad conservancy and want of drainage cause a soaking of the soil with filth, and thereby provide a favourable medium for the growth of germ life, and for the breeding of flies and other similar disease-carriers. The demands of public health make it an elementary necessity to attend to matters such as these.

Further there is the question of water supply. The provision of a water supply for Baroda City has resulted in the practical disappearance of cholera there. I hope that good water ere long will be

available in all parts of the State. A grant has been made for the provision of wells, and schemes have been drawn up for water supply to thirty-nine towns and villages; and, as water should not be brought into places in large quantities without provision for drainage, such provision is also made in the plans.

The supply of water from wells forms one of the most difficult problems confronting sanitation in India. The people require special education in the dangers inherent in their system. The number of wells should be strictly limited within the bounds of necessity, and those from which water is drawn for drinking should be removed as far as possible from the neighbourhood of habitations and cultivated fields, while all wells should be covered.

The hygiene of school children is of enormous importance. I propose to institute a regular medical inspection, that carried out last year having shown an astonishing number of children needing medical attention. But unless ignorant parents realize the need of obtaining for backward and disabled children proper medical treatment the inspection will be robbed of much of its value.

In Europe owing to the progress of public health, and the amount of attention paid to it, plague and cholera have practically been banished, and the campaign against other diseases is being carried on most vigorously. There are also numerous voluntary associations which maintain an active propaganda for the dissemination of sanitary truths. The results shown by these associations are most encouraging.

The Bombay Sanitary Association is, I am aware, doing most valuable work, especially in the improvement of the conditions of *chawl* life. The tenants are constantly visited, and are taught to make proper use of the sanitary conveniences placed at their disposal, and to prevent children from befouling the place. Prizes are offered to the managers and proprietors of the best-kept *chawls*. This is one of the many examples of the good that may be done by voluntary societies.

However effective and elaborate may be the efforts of the official guardians of public health, these associations can do most valuable supplementary work by teaching the people how to rear robust children. Bombay with its large labouring population from all over the Presidency and beyond, forms a great centre of dissemination of phthisis, owing to the deplorable conditions of the tenements. It is scarcely surprising to find that the death rate from pulmonary phthisis for the whole city averaged 9.4 per 1000. In one ward (population 130,000) where the density is the greatest the phthisis death rate was reported to be 16.4 per 1000. These results are confirmed by the Jail returns wherein during the three years ending 1900, 11.6 per 1000 of average strength died of this disease, the rate for London being 1.8. The campaign against phthisis in England has reduced the mortality from that cause by from 40 to 45 per cent; sanatoria are erected, patients are sought out and visited in their own homes, and instructions are given for the cure and prevention of this scourge, which is now, unhappily, making such rapid strides in India.

I must express my heartfelt admiration of the work done by the Bombay Sanitary Association. They have adopted the only practical way of getting the people to assimilate the principles of hygiene, by getting into contact with the people themselves, by visiting them in their own homes, and by means of friendly conversation and popular lectures.

The great value of voluntary workers in this country springs from the fact that the interference of an official in their private lives is usually resented by the people. And the people are so appallingly ignorant. They need to be taught the most elementary principles of hygienic ways of life. For example, one cannot help noticing the utter callousness with which refuse is thrown on the streets out of house windows. People must be led to understand that collections of useless rubbish will attract rats and vermin to the houses. All this can be done without arousing any resentment or wounding susceptibilities, for the people are not in reality averse to cleanliness, they are merely ignorant, and unaccustomed to modern sanitary measures. They are in fact like children and must be guided like children by a tactful combination of persuasion and compulsion.

Women workers especially are needed. Womanly sympathy and tact will prove most potent weapons in the war against improper domestic habits, in explaining the dangers of keeping cattle in the houses, in explaining the precautions to be taken in cases of infectious disease and in preaching the manifold advantages of pure air. Again the heavy infant

mortality due to parental ignorance can best be remedied by unceasing efforts on the part of volunteers who will talk to the people in a simple homely way.

It is obvious that in the time at my disposal I cannot deal as fully as the importance of the subject would demand, with all the points that arise when one thinks of the sanitary needs of India. But while I am touching on this immensely important point of infant mortality, I wish to emphasize the need for the employment in towns of qualified midwives. Defective registration largely explains the variations in infant mortality of different provinces and for different periods in the same province. The rates appear to be highest where registration is at its best. In Bombay among a population of 9 lakhs the rate was 462 out of every 1000 live births. This figure is deplorably high. At present the circumstances attendant on childbirth are very dangerous, resulting in much disablement to the mothers and mortality to the children. In Bombay the work done by the nurses employed by the Municipality is beyond praise. They do not merely attend births, but attend the sick, report cases of births and deaths, and cases of infectious disease, and carry on an active crusade of charity, relief and enlightenment.

The realization of the terrible havoc worked annually by diseases which are preventable arouses a feeling of horror. The work of reform is rendered yet more difficult owing to the opposition of the very people for whose welfare we are trying to act. How can plague be exterminated when inoculation

meets with such stubborn resistance; when through false religious notions no destruction of rats can be effectually carried out; and when the mode of life of the people is such that rats and flies find a congenial harbour in their homes? How can we tackle cholera, dysentery, diarrhoea, typhoid and parasitic diseases when even in spite of provision of good water the people often insist on using well-water? What is the good of the State spending large sums of money on draining marshy lands, when the Municipalities, through neglect of proper conservancy, and the people, through obstinate ignorance, will maintain conditions specially suitable for the breeding of mosquitoes and the spread of malaria? Here again, Gentlemen, success can only depend on education.

The objection to vaccination is much less since the people begin to know that it will preserve them from small-pox, and when they learn the ways in which other diseases can be prevented they will no longer object to preventive measures against them. At present they see in the destruction of rats an act of senseless cruelty and in the closing of wells an act of supreme, if not sacrilegious, absurdity.

But in order that a voluntary association may reap the full value of its labours, the authorities like the Bombay Municipality must be properly equipped to assist the association. When the voluntary workers point out insanitary dwellings or discover cases of infectious disease, improvement or disinfection at the hands of the Municipality must complete their work. It would not be of much avail to ask the people to adopt new modes of living

when these new modes of living cannot be put into practice. Herein lies the fault of local authorities—they neglect to take those measures which are necessary for the promotion of public health. The education of the people must go hand in hand with the improvement, or rather the initiation, of municipal hygiene.

There are too many amongst our educated classes who profess belief in sanitation yet are against the expenditure of money on sanitary measures because they say that the people are not sufficiently educated to appreciate them; but at the same time they do nothing to promote the education of the people. This indeed is an easy attitude to adopt, and I think needs no criticism.

Attempts made by authorities will often meet with discouraging results until a 'sanitary conscience' is aroused in the people. When this takes place they of themselves will bring their representative bodies to task for their frequent lapses in the administration of public health. The dormant sense of public spirit must be roused and we must all recognize the necessity for earnest and immediate organized action by State, Municipality and private citizens in the promotion of the precepts of hygiene and sanitation. This is the only way to national efficiency, and to develop the enormous potential resources of our country.

The efforts of the educational authorities in promoting physical culture should be backed by parents at home if we wish to prevent the rise of a class of literate but weak and sickly individuals, lacking healthy initiative and physically unable to bear the

well-being, but the fundamental factors must be traced still further back, even precedent to birth, since the health and constitution of the immediate progenitors, and the vicissitudes of their lives from birth to maturity have already laid the foundation of the constitution of the offspring.

Too strong a plea cannot therefore be advanced for as thorough an instruction in the manner of living and maintaining health, as in the method of working and of earning a livelihood. A knowledge of the laws of health and of the requirements of personal, domestic and social hygiene must produce a permanently beneficial effect on a people. Bound up with health are other equally important sciences, moral, social and economic, to which due weight must be allowed in public administration and with which executive officers must be more or less familiar.

As an illustration of the importance attached to the problem of the improvement of national vitality may be mentioned the eugenic movement in some of the American States. In Michigan and Connecticut marriage is forbidden to epileptics; in Indiana the prohibition is extended to all who suffer from transmissible disease, and, even further, confirmed criminals and mental degenerates are sterilized by surgical operation.

For the last few months some of my officers, as a Commission, have been probing the question of vitality and degeneration with reference to my people, and I am glad to say that, basing their opinion on their own investigations and on those of the Inter-Departmental Committee on physical

deterioration in England, they have come to the conclusion that the national efficiency could be greatly enhanced by improving the environment.

I am sure that all my hearers today will be at one with me in striving for the realization of the supreme importance of the problems of sanitation in India. In its improvement there is a field for the exercise of the noblest of all virtues, selfless patriotism. What true lover of his country can contemplate unmoved the terrible exaction of human lives, the awful weight of human suffering daily caused by ignorance, by miserable acquiescence in present conditions? Gentlemen, the future of this country which we all love depends largely on the way in which we deal with the problems of public health. Every year added to the average duration of life means an increase in our national strength, mental, physical and economic. We wish to see India take her just place in the councils of the nations of the world. It is our duty, our privilege to work to that end. Let us see to it that our efforts are worthy of our high purpose. Around us is a dark night of preventible suffering and death. Science offers us a means by which we may in some degree and in our own time lighten this darkness. Gentlemen, I appeal to you all, to my fellow-countrymen, to all who love my country, to do all that lies within the possibilities of human endeavour to take light into the dark places of our land, to carry hope and happiness to the despairing and wretched.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR INDIA¹

GENTLEMEN,—When I was asked to open the proceedings of this, the first Conference of the Co-operative Societies of my State, I accepted the invitation with very great pleasure. The occasion, I thought, would give me an opportunity both to show my interest in this important movement, and to meet the representatives of the Societies from the four districts. Every movement which has as its object the moral and material uplifting of my subjects has my deepest sympathy, and I am always ready to do all in my power to promote its development.

These Co-operative Societies are most beneficial institutions since their objects are the introduction of business habits amongst the people, the improvement of their industries, and the consequent raising of their standards of life. To me co-operation appears a splendid means towards the solution of those problems of town and country life which are so old and yet so new, ever insistent on our attention with a view to solution.

In rural life, the principles of co-operation are especially important: they should permeate all village activities, making of each centre a single

¹ Delivered at Baroda, on the 20th of February 1914, when opening the First Conference of Co-operative Societies in the State.

economic unit. The trend of modern civilization is towards the aggregation of these units. If the whole village community acts as one in buying and selling, in production and consumption, its income and happiness will proportionately increase. They will be able to make a better stand against the inevitable vicissitudes of daily life; they will develop habits of forethought which will help them to provide for the future; and they will be doing their part in the promotion of those reforms which my Government desires so greatly to foster.

I find that, at present, your activities are mainly confined to the agricultural classes, and I think for some time to come they will, and should, be so confined. Agriculture is our most important industry, and more than 75 per cent of our people are directly supported by it. Our agriculture is not in a very prosperous condition. The researches of the agricultural departments of other countries such as Germany and the United States, and especially those promoted here in India by the British Government, have achieved noteworthy results by which we may hope to profit. I trust my officers will carefully watch what is being done elsewhere with this view. The cultivators are poor, ignorant and sometimes improvident. They are not fully provided with farm implements and stock, nor do they know anything of scientific agriculture. They are slaves to old and expensive social customs. Their holdings are small and scattered, their incomes are meagre and uncertain and, I grieve to say, they are burdened with debt. They are divided by party faction and petty disputes, and are far removed in

mind and thought from the currents of modern progress and civilization.

It is impossible to banish these economic evils by means of legislation, however benevolent in intention. The obvious, outstanding remedy is co-operation in each rural community. Where there is ignorance and poverty, imprudence and vice, co-operation will come to our aid. Those of you who have studied the history of the movement, for instance in Germany, Denmark and Holland, must have been convinced that if we desire, as desire we surely must, to introduce the benefits of civilization amongst our people in rural areas, there is nothing more potent, more stimulating to that end than the Co-operative Society. In the countries I have cited the principles of co-operation have worked miracles amongst the peasantry. Peace and plenty have replaced poverty and all its distressing accompaniments, and real and solid foundations have been laid for national prosperity. The farmers have been made enterprising, thrifty and progressive in thought and action, and rural life has been awakened to the highest degree of efficiency. To the student of rural economics there can be no more inspiring chapter than that in which we read the record of the success of Co-operation in Europe. And the problem which awaits our attention, which is indeed receiving earnest attention here in Baroda, differs in no very material way from that which the leaders of the movement in other countries found confronting them at the outset of their labours.

In Baroda during the last twenty-five years several measures have been taken to improve the

condition of the farming community of my State. Endeavours have been made to place the assessment of land revenue on a more equitable basis, old laws have been simplified, and new laws with progressive ideals have been enacted. For the assistance of agriculture, roads and railways have been constructed, and, wherever feasible, irrigation tanks have been and are being built. Free educational facilities have been provided in all towns and villages, and a system of village libraries introduced. Special departments of agriculture and industry have been established, and an exhaustive survey of industrial conditions has been made. A comprehensive inquiry into agricultural indebtedness in the State has been recently completed, and the remedies suggested to relieve the burden are receiving the earnest attention of my Government. In spite of all this we have only touched the fringe of the problem. Much remains to be done, and we need not despair of ultimate success in the amelioration of our social conditions. It is as yet too early to realize the full benefits of the State activities, but I am confident that in the fulness of time these will lead my people to a higher level of civilization. But all our legislative and executive activity will have little influence until your communal life has been awakened, until you are able to think as village communities.

Co-operation possesses a peculiar force of its own. It affords easy credit to a man who has always been, like his fathers before him, a slave to the *sahukar*, paying for occasional accommodation an exorbitant rate of interest. It enables him to obtain in the best market at the right time full value

for produce which, previously, circumstances forced him to sell at less than its real worth. It procures for him farm and domestic requirements at wholesale rates, and it opens a way for the acquirement of a knowledge and practice of scientific farming in place of the present more or less primitive methods. By means of various kinds of insurance it makes his industry stable, protecting it against seasonal changes and fluctuations. Besides these obvious economic advantages Co-operative Societies offer great moral and social benefits. The system of Co-operation makes people thrifty in the use of their resources, helping them to save money, and to make the best economical use of their savings through agricultural banks. It checks vice, drunkenness and improvidence, and makes its followers prudent, honest and self-reliant. It teaches mutual help, and brings harmony and contentment in place of faction and jealousy. Through the strong public opinion which it creates, the Co-operative Society checks improvident social expenses, and is a potent influence for social reform. By its means, too, village sanitation, education and administration may be strengthened and improved.

The success of the movement depends on the wisdom and tactfulness of its leaders, and therefore on you who are the officers of the Societies. Every one of you has great opportunities. If you understand the great principles underlying this institution, if you realize to the full what great possibilities for the moral and material advancement of your countrymen are placed in your hands, you who are the pioneers will, I am sure, so act as to be entitled

to their eternal gratitude. Study the movement, realize its potentialities, take courage by its success elsewhere.

One important feature of this movement I am anxious that you should bear in mind. For hundreds of years our country has not advanced as it should. The whole of Indian society has been split up into numerous castes and creeds with the result that such progress as has been achieved, whether social or industrial, has been along very narrow lines. It is owing to the division of our people into many sections, a sad feature of our civilization, that trades and professions are regarded as rightly to be confined to certain castes to the exclusion of all other available merit or vocation. It has long seemed to me that in our practical politics we have carried the principle of hereditary office too far. Under modern conditions a more liberal, less rigid development is essential. The Co-operative Movement will make you think of these things, will put life and vigour into the old and inactive village community.

From the figures supplied me it appears that we have in the Baroda State at present 236 Societies with a membership of over 6000, and nearly four and a half lakhs of rupees invested. These figures may not seem, at first sight, very impressive, but in view of the innate conservatism of the people, and the fact that the principles of co-operation have only been at work here a very short time, the progress made must be considered satisfactory. You cannot organize Co-operative Societies by means of a Government fiat. The farmers must first be educated,

and they must combine of their own conviction and free will. It is only when these conditions have been fulfilled that you can have true co-operation. It is better that there should be a few well-established Societies, than many indifferent ones. A successful Society is in itself a model for others to copy. I hope, therefore, that great care will be taken in popularizing the movement, for a false step may set back the whole organization.

I fully recognize, as I have said before, the importance of this movement, and am prepared to give it all necessary State aid. But you will understand that there must be limits beyond which State aid ought not to go. It has been recognized that State help should be so used as to help the people to help themselves. Co-operative institutions are based on self-help, and are intended to teach self-reliance to the people. If State aid does not develop these virtues it is certainly misapplied. Mere 'spoon-feeding' is most demoralizing in its pauperizing effect. Those of you who are entrusted with the administration of the Co-operative Societies will, I hope, bear this principle in mind, and will guide them with wisdom and intelligence. No efforts however should be spared in the education of the people in the supreme necessity of village organizations for economic purposes, and you may rest assured, Gentlemen, that you will receive every assistance from me and my Government in this noble cause.

I am glad to find that some of the officers of the Revenue Department are taking keen interest in this movement. I hope they fully realize the effects

of the successful organization of village life and improved agriculture. Not only will these simplify our general administration, but they will thereby also allow Government to devote its attention and energies to other equally important problems of the higher civilized life. It is my sincere desire that every officer of the Revenue Department should not only study the problems of Agricultural Economics, but should also try to introduce modern ideas into the rural life of my people. I need not say that any officer who does not show active and intelligent interest in these movements is unfit to hold his post, since he shows, by such lack of interest, that he is out of touch with the spirit of his duty to his Government and the people. We do not want to make this movement official, but to our farming communities Government patronage and encouragement will be a great help in the organization of themselves into Societies which will enable them to assist each other.

I am glad to observe that some public-spirited citizens have come forward to assist the Registrar in the organization and supervision of these Societies. I hope more such men will come forward. It will be a day of great moment in the history of the movement and of the State, when private individuals will be found willing and able to take them over and conduct them. The time is ripe for such work as has been done by men like Raiffeisen, Sir Horace Plunkett and Count Luzzati, pioneer work which has led to such great things in the West.

One of the functions of our Local Boards is the development of Agriculture and Co-operation in the

Districts. I find, however, that they have hardly paid adequate attention to these most important subjects. Therefore I have made use of this opportunity specially to invite you, Gentlemen of the District Boards, to this Conference. I am glad to observe that nearly all of you have responded to my call, and I am anxious that you should consult with my Minister before your departure. By the time the Conference is over, you, Gentlemen, should be convinced of the importance of the Co-operative Movement, and of scientific agriculture. In addition to its economic advantages, the movement affords a great opportunity for the training of village leaders, and will supply you with good material for *Taluka* Boards. The leaders of successful Co-operative Societies will naturally take great interest in your work, and will conscientiously carry out all desirable improvements in their villages. They will represent to you the needs of their localities, and you can trust them to carry out your suggestions. In this way not only will economic development take place in villages, but a strong basis will be laid for the work of local self-government. I exhort you, then, to take keen interest in agricultural organization and to do your utmost to promote it individually, as well as through your Boards.

I had also another object in inviting you to this Conference. In recent years I have introduced several measures for the moral and material welfare of my subjects, and more are likely to come in the near future. In all such efforts it has always been my keen desire to secure the co-operation of my subjects, and with that view a system of local

self-government has been created. I cannot conceal from you the fact that I have not been satisfied with the manner in which you have interpreted your responsibilities as organizers and leaders of local opinion in matters of vital importance to my people. Your position is one of much possibility for good in the securing of improved sanitation in rural areas, to mention only one of the many details in which I find the work of the local bodies not entirely satisfactory. I expect from you, Gentlemen, energetic support in the efforts I am constantly making to bring about a much needed improvement in the physical, mental and moral status of my people, and I trust that I shall not be disappointed. What is required of you is a ready co-operation, an assistance, ungrudgingly given, in all the activities of my Government for the welfare of the people.

In our anxiety to secure, along right lines, the progress of our agriculture, and of our peasantry, we do not lose sight of the importance of industrial development. In the economy of nations, side by side with agriculture there should rise manufacturing industries. We have resources in Baroda awaiting development. During the past twenty-five years several measures have been taken for the promotion of manufacturing industries, and I am glad to know that some good results have been achieved. It must not be forgotten that our resources are limited, and that we have many difficulties to face. With the object of giving still stronger impetus I have set apart a substantial sum to be advanced to new and old industrial projects at a low rate of interest. A set of rules has been

drawn up, and the industries fulfilling the necessary conditions will receive financial aid from the State. I hope that some of the more enterprising of my subjects will come forward and take advantage of this opportunity.

With the object of carrying out a consistent and continuous policy in the development of industries, I am considering the appointment of a permanent advisory committee of official and unofficial members. It will discuss all the economic problems of the State, and will represent to the authorities its conclusions. It is time that the representatives of the people should take an interest actively in these important questions, and should help the State with their views.

Gentlemen, you who have followed me in my statements as to the backward condition of our rural population will doubtless have already accepted my view that while Government enactments may help, the remedy lies with the people themselves, and with you the leaders and guides of the people. My object has been to support a movement towards the betterment of the lives of our village population which I consider may result in incalculable good. We cannot, must not, rest satisfied with things as they are. It must be of the greatest concern to us that our peasantry should be constantly in difficulties; that they should be easy victims to preventable diseases, and epidemics which too frequently decimate the villages; that their constant unremitting labour in the fields should lack its just reward for want of knowledge of modern methods, and the absence of scientifically designed implements; tha

their ignorance should be exploited to their ruin by unscrupulous men. It is not possible to detail the many ways in which our peasantry, brave, honest and contented as they are, may be expected to profit by their enlistment as members of Co-operative Societies. Some of these beneficial results I have indicated in the course of this address which you have heard. For the rest, let it suffice that everything in our power should be done to awaken the interest of the people, to cause them to join the movement, and to see that they have right and proper guidance.

This magnificent conception of men of great gifts and greater imagination, rural Co-operation, provides a means for the bringing of help to our villages. I cannot think that there is one of my hearers who will not feel a glow of determination to do what in him lies to help in the work. We want in Baroda villages better methods of farming, more intelligent ways of doing business, and loftier standards of living. This new science of co-operative effort teaches not merely how to secure material advantage, it shows the way also to happiness. I appeal to you most earnestly to assist with all your powers this new movement, remembering always that in efforts to secure the happiness of others we are but answering the call of civilization, repaying to some slight extent the debt of gratitude we all owe for the measure of comfort and happiness we ourselves enjoy.

CHANGES IN INDIAN SOCIAL IDEAS AND CUSTOMS¹

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—When, in response to your kind invitation, I arrived here to-night, I had no intention of making a speech. But the very kindly, and eloquently sympathetic way in which the Dewan has just spoken of me, and the memories his words have awakened, induce me to express myself at greater length than I had intended.

The Dewan referred particularly to the social life of Baroda and termed such gatherings as this Club dinner, and the coming together at it of so many different creeds and castes, unique in India. His remark revived old memories in me, and leads me to reflect on some of the changes the passing years have brought about here. I am thinking of a period of my life twenty-five years or so ago, when my sons now beside me at this table—who would not now like me to call them 'children'—were not even born. Many of the familiar faces of that time have gone, but my old friend Samarth, whom I see now before me, will bear out the truth of my recollections.

¹ In response to the Toast of His Highness's health at a dinner given in his honour by the Sayaji Vihar Club, Baroda, on Thursday the 17th of December, 1914.

I think it will be generally accepted that occasionally to bring back the past to one's mind is useful to our present and future. To trace the direction our fates have led us since, youthful and hopeful, we first set our feet on the path we have since trod, to think of difficulties successfully overcome, of improvements brought into being, of failures and despondencies: in this, Gentlemen, there is bound to be profit for us. So I ask you to think with me for a few moments tonight on the past and present of Baroda society.

On an occasion like this, one naturally thinks first of the opportunities one has had in the past of meeting one's friends at the dinner table. And, in this, the Baroda of today is a very different place from the Baroda of a quarter of a century ago. When, for instance, I first began to invite the good folk of Baroda to dine with me I was faced with great difficulties. Our people had many deep-seated prejudices; they would not join in a dinner even at which all those invited were members of their own communities, and thought it beneath the dignity of their birth to join in social intercourse. The carpet on which their chairs were set, the canvas awnings of the *shamiana* in which the tables were laid, the tablecloth itself, all were sources of possible pollution. Though every care was taken to respect their prejudices as regards food and service, still some of them thought that such dinners were subtle, deeply planned attempts on their traditional privileges.

Still, I persevered in my efforts. Nobody was ever forced by me to accept my invitations,

everyone being assured that a refusal would not in the least displease me. While I attached—and showed I attached—no importance whatsoever to the prejudices I found existing, I was very careful at all times to respect them. Gradually my efforts began to meet with success, for I surrounded myself with educated men, and some of them were sensible enough to second me. To show how far I went in my efforts to remove any possible suspicion as to my motives, I may say that for these dinners separate cooking arrangements were made for different classes, separate tables were provided, and separate service arranged; I even went so far as to have the carpets removed.

Well, Gentlemen, I persevered, and I think I may say that the main factor in such success as I have achieved has been perseverance. Remember that I have never believed in forcing people to act against their cherished convictions; I have always preferred to use persuasion rather than force. Force has its uses in our civilization, but its use should, I think, be reserved for extreme occasions, while persuasion is a potent influence at all times. It takes education to appreciate this, especially for those fated to hold and use power in affairs.

Some there were, of course, who were prepared to do anything from interested motives, thinking they would thus win favour in my eyes. I discouraged such people, telling them emphatically that I did not wish them to act against their convictions simply to please their Maharaja. At last people began to understand my motives, and realized that while I was always prepared to respect

convictions sincerely held, I did not regard them as in themselves important, and that, moreover, I had no respect or sympathy whatever for humbug. People began to see for themselves how foolish their attitude was, and yielded.

Then there arose the question of my trip to Europe. I was myself, in those days, very ignorant, and my people were more so. No one knew how many followers I ought to take with me, and no one told me a large number was unnecessary. You will laugh now, in the light of the greater knowledge which the years have brought us, at the thought of the size of the retinue which accompanied us on our first visit to the West. We took with us fifty-five persons, including a tailor to look after our clothes, and a priest to guard our spiritual welfare. Unfortunately the latter found the customs of the West so much to his liking that certain habits he developed became a source of inconvenience to me.

Another question of great difficulty at the time was, who were to accompany us. Our officers and *mankaris*, when asked, all declared their extreme willingness to die if need be for the Huzur. As our proverb puts it: 'Wherever you spit, there will our blood lie.' But somehow or other, mysterious ailments began to exhibit themselves amongst them or their families: the wives of some were stricken with rheumatism, the fathers, mothers or sisters of others were too ill to be left, and the situation was the reverse of simple. We turned to our relatives. They were unwilling, but from affection they would accompany us. Then, on the steamer,

we had to have *purdah* arrangements, cabins kept rigorously private and inviolate, separate cooking arrangements, and a hundred and one other devices.

When we got to our destination we were confronted with more trouble. In hotels we had to engage special accommodation, for which, you may be sure, the managers remembered to make special entries in their bills. Our officers had to study the bills, and from their ignorance, I have no doubt, the managers had no difficulty in making much profit out of the arrangement. Another difficulty in the hotels was presented by the carpets. The maidservants, poor things, when no one was looking, used to jump over the carpets and passage rugs with dishes in their hands, to avoid the pollution which contact with the fabrics would bring about.

Often the hotel managers positively refused to make special arrangements for us at all. In vain did we offer to pay extra money for the privileges we needed. No, they would not accept our suggestions on any terms. They said that the smell of our cooking would so annoy their other guests that they would lose their custom if they consented. In England it was generally possible to make arrangements in the hotels, but on the Continent we had to rent private houses at very high cost. And even in the matter of these rented houses we had trouble. Sheep and poultry had to be killed for us in a special way, and this had to be done in the house cellars. In other ways some of the things done by our servants offended the susceptibilities of the house owners, so much so that one ingenious gentleman managed to get damages out of us for certain stain

on the floor. It transpired that he had used those very stains as a means of extorting damages from two tenants before us. However, as time went on, we began to understand things better, and these difficulties of past years are difficulties no longer.

Prejudices have shown an increasing tendency to disappear on each subsequent trip, and now, I believe, even the maidservants will go down into the hotel kitchens, will give orders to the European servants, and expostulate with them on details of arrangement and etiquette, and on the treatment expected by and proper to us, their guests.

I used to tell my people that there were great countries and states in the West with a venerable civilization, many details of which were well worthy of our imitation. This, in those days, all refused to believe; to them it appeared incredible that any country could in any way be comparable to their own. Things are different today, and the function I attend here tonight, and the audience I now address, is evidence, were evidence needed, that we have at least imitated the West in the introduction of club-life and its amenities to Baroda. In India club-life is not generally understood; our people are not 'clubbable', to use a word in frequent use in the West. But in Baroda people are showing signs of increasing appreciation of clubs. Here you will find Marathas and Brahmins, Deccani as well as Gujarati, Nagars and Chitpavans, Prabhus, Panjabis and Madrasis, Muslims and Hindus, all come together with a willingness which reflects great credit on their good sense.

India is a land of striking contrasts. Here, for instance, you will find many a man so cultured and well-read that he can perhaps recite from memory whole passages of Shakespeare, discourse learnedly on systems of philosophy, and derive lessons from the downfall of empires, who is, at the same time, buried in old-fashioned prejudice most harmful to him and the society to which he belongs. The Dewan referred just now to the Epics and *Purāṇas* and the picture of Indian society of the past which they offer to our study. He rightly spoke of the queens who, with the kings, moved freely about in public, freed from the handicap and restriction of the *purdah*. Similarly we find that most if not all the artificial restrictions placed on Indian society by the caste system are of comparatively modern introduction. I would earnestly invite you all intently to study the past of India : in it you will find much worthy of the imitation of the present, much which may most profitably be mingled with the practice of the present.

The Dewan referred to me as 'a leader of Indian society'. I make no such claim for myself. Here, and at all times, I would speak only for myself, not wishing my position to add weight to my words. Never let your own personal judgment or faith be swayed by the position of the man who addresses you. Use your own judgment always. Europe is now passing through a terrible upheaval. Look at the forces at work there, and as men, as patriots, study the elements of which your society is composed, its beliefs and prejudices, its castes, customs, and creeds. If, as a result of your study, you find

anything of value, then cling to it with might and main : if, on the other hand, you are forced to the conclusion that there is much which is useless and harmful, then, as you love your country, as you are determined to prevent her decay, bestir yourselves, and discard it. I thank you, Gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have honoured the Toast of my health, the kindness of feeling apparent on every side, and the excellence of the arrangements on which I congratulate you.

ON THE DIGNITY OF SERVICE ¹

GENTLEMEN,—Every man has a definite place in society. Every one of us from the king to the pauper has to do his duty either as master or servant. Let us attempt to investigate the principles which govern these relations. Learned men have expressed the opinion that in very ancient times, that is, before the evolution of human civilization began, primitive men and women had no settled abodes, but roamed from place to place in search of means of subsistence. In those times, they had no knowledge of agriculture but used to maintain themselves on roots and fruit, or on grain spontaneously produced by Nature. They recognized no social tie except that of a common parentage. In their ramblings they travelled by groups corresponding to one family. Gradually these families grew enormously in extent, and had, for self-defence, to adopt a sort of social order which was modelled on that of the family. Each of such organizations now composed of a number of families was called a clan. Gradually the clans gave up the habit of migrating from place to place in search of food, and each of them settled permanently at a place of its choice.

While the social order had not passed beyond the family stage the distribution of the functions

necessary for existence presented little or no difficulty. When the members comprising a family are few, the question as to who should perform the domestic duties is not important, as all have to perform them, and the duties are of the same grade. If, however, we study the organization of a clan, we find a different state of things. The question of service arises for the first time and assumes importance. For instance, in view of the desirability of defending a particular clan against the attacks of another, able-bodied and intelligent members thereof have to be entrusted with military duties, and necessarily some of them have to be leaders and others have to work as mere privates. In a similar way does a priestly class arise for the worship of the guardian deity whose assistance the clan thinks will maintain it in a career of prosperity and success.

As the population of the clans increased, the problem of an orderly organization of the new society became more and more difficult, as on such organization depended the full evolution of that society. In this state of things, after the lapse of several centuries, the clan naturally divided into classes according to professions, and these performed particular functions for the mutual benefit of one another. Each of these classes had an assigned place in the society according to the duties it performed and according as these duties were considered high or low by the society of the time. After many centuries of social evolution by this process, there gradually came into existence a sort of social economy suggestive of the disciplined order of a nation, just as previously a number of families had been united into a clan.

¹ Delivered at Baroda, on the 26th of April, 1917.

Whether we consider a family, a clan or a nation, the object underlying their organization is the same, viz. mutual protection and assistance. For the purposes of the present discourse, it is not necessary to consider the several classes into which a nation may be divided. We need only bear it thoroughly in mind that in the economy of a nation every one of us has to perform one duty or another, and that unless we do perform it, the nation will not prosper. When we know this we shall not fail to appreciate the dignity of all kinds of labour. This idea has been expressed by an English poet in a very appropriate way. He says, 'All service ranks the same with God'.

Some of you may observe that the above philosophy is such as will satisfy the master class only. You will ask: 'Why should we—the servant class—render service, be content with doing our duty and exhaust ourselves for the comfort of others?' I wish to attempt to answer this question. In the existing economy of society the question of earning a livelihood is important to all concerned. It is necessary for all of us to earn money for our maintenance, and if we fail to do that our families will not be maintained. Similarly in the case of a nation, which is but a family on a large scale, accumulation of wealth is necessary for its prosperity. Now for the creation and accumulation of wealth two things are necessary, labour and capital. Let us consider what is meant by labour. By labour is not to be understood mere physical labour. Mental work, as well as the work of a person who follows a trade which is dependent upon his cleverness, equally

constitutes labour. Land, tools, and accumulated wealth are termed capital. I wish to make the position clearer. Suppose the income of a nation is one hundred rupees. Those who have to toil physically will perhaps say that as this much wealth has been created by their exertions they are entitled to the whole of it. Society will reply to this that, say, nine parts of this wealth must be given to the artists, ten to the soldiers, and so on. We should not forget that in the matter of creation of wealth, an author, a teacher, a singer or a painter has the same important place as one of those who produce the physical necessities of life.

It is difficult to determine the real value of different kinds of labour. On the whole it is convenient for practical purposes to consider the value set upon a particular kind of labour by society to be the proper value thereof. There is no sense in grumbling that this value is not proper; for there is no alternative but to accept the market rate that one can get for one's labour. We have to bend our neck to the existing state of things, viz. that we should serve the society in the best manner possible and that the society should give for it such return as it deems proper.

The amount of wages a particular class of labourers gets for its labour depends on two factors. Firstly, the agreeableness or otherwise in the estimation of society of a particular kind of labour and the consequent demand for it, and secondly the supply of labourers in that field. For instance, if society has a love of singing, singers get higher wages. Similarly if society has need of a good

general, he has to be paid a liberal salary as the supply of good generals is limited.

It should not, however, be understood that because a particular work may not be agreeable to society and because the supply of labourers for that kind of work may be limited, that work has little or no importance.

Should the society consider the work of a statesman as important as the combined labour of 1,000 workmen, the wages of a statesman will have to be proportionate to this importance. Another factor to be considered is the intelligence and industry of a workman. The wages of an individual—whether he belongs to the statesmen's or workmen's class—are dependent on his intelligence and diligence. For instance it will be wrong to suppose that because society has a great liking for jewellery, all jewellers will get high wages. The amount of the income of each of them will depend on his individual intelligence and skill.

With the commencement of civilization, proficiency in the arts and industries acquires a place of importance, and it is but natural that such proficiency should be liberally rewarded. With the progress of civilization and development of the arts the number of articles and things considered desirable by society increases, and those able to prepare these articles will get very good wages. By this process articles that can be produced by the ordinary workmen often lose proportionately in value, and day by day these ordinary workmen receive less and less in return for their labour. Thus a class of such low-paid workmen comes into existence. In a

progressive society the number composing this class is ever on the increase. Philanthropists in all countries show their sympathy for the privations and hardships of this class, and statesmen and economists are constantly considering means of improving their lot. The welfare of the whole society depends on the moral well-being of this class. The greater the divergence between people of this and other classes in a society, and the more the difference of this class from the others is accentuated, the more artificial and faulty the organization of that society must be considered. In such a society, disorder, poverty and vice are constantly rampant. It is my earnest desire that a reasonable love of liberty should grow up in this class. They will then be able to do their duties in life with self-respect and without peevishness. Education and a modification of the social laws are the only two means for achieving this object. Hitherto we have considered the growth of the necessity of service and the formation of different classes of service. We will now proceed to consider how the different classes of workmen systematically co-operate for the common good.

In the family the kinds of service are few and simple as the wants of a family are few and simple. The orders of the head of the family reach the servants easily. It is not difficult to supervise them and it is equally easy to punish a defaulter for his mistake. But in the administration of a nation evolving out of a family these duties of supervision and correction present difficulty. The number of national wants increases and their nature becomes

complex. For this reason classes of persons who administer to these wants come into existence. Owing to their specialized functions these classes gradually separate themselves from other people. A sort of responsibility falls on them and they acquire a kind of power.

It is not possible for a ruler to exercise supervision over all people, and a body of officers has to be created for the purpose. It is the duty of the officers to see whether the orders issued by the ruler are being properly obeyed. For the continuance and prosperity of society, it is absolutely necessary that all should do their duties properly, that the official class should realize their responsibility and act carefully, and that every servant should do his daily task, however insignificant, with attention. Some officers and servants regard their duties as humiliating, put no enthusiasm into their execution, and do not strive to do them as well as possible.

Servants should acquire a correct idea as to how happy they are by the knowledge of having done their duty to the best of their ability. For instance, the servant who attends to my writing-table should derive pleasure by the fact that the said table has been kept neat and tidy and everything on the same is in its proper position. Though he and uneducated persons like him may think this work to be of a low order, it will be well if he realizes how greatly he helps me in his own way.

Similarly, it is not necessary to say how important the work done by sweepers and scavengers is; for on their doing their duty well depend our health

and happiness. Masters and servants alike should remember that no work if well done is degrading and dishonourable. It is not necessary to tell you that there are various grades among servants. High officers are servants of the highest grade, and working under them there is a descending gradation of servants. Below all, i.e. the lowest, is the class of servants who have to do physical labour. I have noted with great regret that the lower the grade of a servant, the less enthusiasm he has. I am of opinion that this happens only owing to want of proper appreciation of the dignity of all labour, high or low, as also of the fact that any labour popularly considered low has its importance in its proper place.

It is first necessary to determine which service is good service and which is bad. From a moral point of view that service which is instrumental in procuring the greatest good of our fellow-beings is the best, and that which entails greatest loss on others is the worst.

If a statesman makes a serious mistake in his duties or exhibits neglect the whole nation has to suffer the consequences thereof. We call this bad service. Similarly if a groom fastens the saddle carelessly on the horse, there is danger of an accident befalling the master. Such service too must be designated bad service. On the contrary, if a higher or lower servant exerts all his power in doing his duties carefully we call both of them good servants.

This proves that morally speaking all kinds of service are of the same importance. Let me remind

you of the saying I have already quoted: 'All service ranks the same with God.' People have not yet realized the far-seeing thought that this utterance contains. If we bear in mind that God does not estimate the value of one's service by one's station in life or by the return one gets for it, but only sees whether morally speaking one does one's duty well or not, that is to say whether one's labours result in pleasure or pain to others—if we only bear this in mind, we shall find negligence reduced in great proportion in this world.

We shall now compare two kinds of servants, a high officer and a domestic servant. Let us first ascertain what sort of ideas people in general have about the duties of these servants. In their eyes, the first—namely the high officer—wields unlimited power and a marvellous capacity to produce awe and admiration for himself in the minds of others. The other has to toil constantly at his daily task, which is considered to be low. His lot does not excite the envy of anybody but produces pity for him in everybody's mind. The consequence is that he is constantly brooding over his condition. He says in his mind that it would have been proper for him to work only if he had been on a higher rung of society. Blaming fate in this manner he is always neglecting his duties.

All this is sad and mistaken. When we realize how very necessary every honest service is to society, we shall not fail to appreciate the equal importance of all service to society. On proper consideration it will be seen that no kind of work is humiliating or degrading. Each of us, whether master or

servant, mistress or maid, king or subordinate, has to do some work for the good of our kind. Supposing that a blade of grass could think, it might say, 'I am insignificant, it is not necessary that I should be full grown'. If all blades of grass thought in this way, it would not be possible for animals who depend upon grass for their food to exist and this in consequence would entail great loss on mankind. This very truth can be illustrated by many other examples. I may make the above point clearer by means of the following illustrations. Cooks must know how necessary it is to tin the utensils they use. Tinning is apparently a trifling thing, but if a utensil the inner tin coating of which has worn off is used in cooking, a poisonous substance like rust is produced which is dangerous to human life. When war breaks out and armies take the field, pickets have to be stationed at different places to warn the whole army at the slightest indication of the approach of an enemy. If a sentry on duty in such pickets allows himself to fall asleep at the critical time, the whole army is in danger of being annihilated and the ability of the general and the valour of the soldiers are of no avail.

There is one particular reason why a person doing duties generally considered to be of a low order by society fails to realize the importance of his work. It is this, that people in higher positions treat such men like straw. Instead of having regard to their labours they treat them as deserving of contempt. Even if the station in society which an officer holds be high in point of wealth or authority, still it is not proper for him on that account to forget the

brotherhood of men in the eye of religion and treat his subordinates contemptuously. On the contrary he should behave towards them sympathetically so as to make them feel that their labours are rewarded. He should not entertain in the least the idea that his subordinates are insignificant beings.

It is my earnest desire that all my servants should bear in mind that the real worth of a man does not depend on the nature of his duties being of a high order; but that it depends on the enlightened idea of his duties which inspires him and the extent to which he is able to put that idea into practice; and that if a servant whose duties may be of a low order performs them with zeal, honesty and intelligence, then owing to his good service his worth must be considered to be of the highest order.

The system of education which I have introduced in my State will enable each man to do his duty with zeal and intelligence. It will enable everyone to know the real meaning of service and to do his daily task with cheerfulness and firmness. People have only to avail themselves of the system of education provided. By education men may know why they should do their task, how they should do it, and how important that task is. For this reason you should see that your children receive the benefits of education.

The importance of the task is realized when one throws one's heart and soul into it, i.e. when a sense of the greatest possible love for it is generated in one's mind. One should feel a constant anxiety as to whether one's task is being well done or not. Nothing but the idea of the work should for the

time being enter one's mind. Tukaram has said: 'Anxiety for the task is the sign of a servant.' A good servant should feel constant solicitude for his task.

In short, each and every servant should bear in mind that he forms an important part of the organism of society and that his real worth in no wise depends on his power or wages, but on sincere and thoughtful service rendered by him. He should do his task, however insignificant or low, with enthusiasm, intelligence and honesty. He will thereby make an easy acquisition of that real happiness of having done his duty which is often denied even to rich persons. As Tukaram has said, by the due observance of the laws of service, even the ceremonial worship of God is not absolutely necessary. He says that merit can be acquired by service.

Men who work with such ideals before them occupy a very high place by nature. In other words God has created them knights from their very birth. God has given every one an opportunity of making his way by his own exertions and attaining greatness. Take advantage of every opportunity and give your all to the performance of your duty.

UNTOUCHABILITY¹

GENTLEMEN,—It is with great pleasure that I rise to address you on the subject of the abolition of untouchability in India, because, as many of you are aware, it has been a subject of great interest and concern to me since my early years, and the subject likewise of many experimental measures in Baroda State. I esteem it an honour to have been chosen President of this All-India Conference, through the courtesy of your Reception Committee. I am here however not to preside over all your proceedings, but merely to give expression to my heartfelt interest in the work you have so courageously undertaken.

The problem of ameliorating the social status and standard of living among the *Atiśūdras* or 'Untouchables' of India is one that indeed calls for rare courage, breadth and freshness of mind. For its solution you must breast the currents of popular prejudice, and ultimately achieve a reversal of social theories that have dominated Hindu life for untold generations. The problem not only touches the material condition of some 50,000,000 of our fellow-countrymen, but goes to the root of our social philosophy, and demands a transformation in mind

and heart of all our people—a transvaluation of values—a universal quickening of conscience. Depth of conviction and unyielding perseverance are the prerequisites of those who aspire to lead a movement of such magnitude.

Yet the vitality of the Hindu people is so great and their devotion to ideals so tenacious, that I for one have no doubt of the ultimate outcome. Ignorant prejudice and class fanaticism cannot for ever withstand the pressure of scientific thought and the forces of social regeneration, which are remoulding the outlook and temper of thousands of our countrymen. Once the leaven of modern social idealism has begun to work there is no power in an outworn orthodoxy to resist the transformation. Such is the testimony of the times with regard to the religious, social, economic and political aspects of society.

One peculiar difficulty in India is that there is no one political or religious unit which can decree the abolition of a universal social wrong by an imperial enactment, under the inspiration of a few enlightened minds, as was done for example in Japan a generation ago. Let me remind you of the nature of the Japanese Reformation of 1868-71. It was not only political, restoring to the rightful sovereign his ancient prerogatives which he has chosen to exercise under the restrictions of a modernized constitution; it was also economic and social. For the whole fabric of social restrictions and hereditary occupations was completely changed in the course of a few years. First the lords of the land, the Daimios, voluntarily surrendered their feudatory rights to

¹ An Inaugural Address delivered at the All-India Conference on the Abolition of Untouchability, at Bombay, on the 28th of March, 1918.

the Crown, and accepted in lieu thereof peerages carrying no political power beyond that of members of the Upper House in the Diet. The Samurai, or fighting men, were constrained to give up their hereditary pensions and caste privileges and to seek for livelihood as farmers, artisans, shopkeepers, or professional men; and today the sons of the Samurai, once classed at the top of the social hierarchy, are to be found in every walk of life. Following close on the heels of the abolition of feudalism came that of caste by the imperial edict of July 1871. There is a striking analogy between the old Japanese concept *Hin-in* (not human) and our *Atiśūdra* (born low). Both arose probably from the superimposition of a higher culture upon an inferior aboriginal stock, combined with infiltration of traitors, criminals and outcasted families. Both gave rise to the notion of untouchability and of a pariah class, once not counted in the census, nor permitted to live in the village. In both countries the fear of defilement on the part of the 'twice-born' overcame every sense of pity or even humanity.

This parallelism well illustrates how cognate were the religious ideas entertained in Japan, China and India, and how often they flowed in the same channels. It may not be out of place here to quote an exact translation of the pertinent Japanese Edict of 1871 :

The designations of *Eta* and *Hin-in* are abolished. Those born under them are to be added to the general registers of the population, and their social position and methods of gaining a livelihood are to be identical with those of the rest of the people.

(Sd.) Council of State.

Thus by a stroke of the pen, the boy emperor being guided by the clear heads of Ito, Okubo and other leaders, the pariahs of Japan were emancipated, enrolled in the population on terms of legal equality, transformed from squatters into landlords, admitted to the new citizen army, and guaranteed access to all the avenues of promotion formerly closed to them. The Edict of 1871 was for Japan what the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln was for America; and the Ukase of Czar Alexander in 1861, liberating the serfs, was for Russia. It testified that civilization consisted in progress from status to contract. It removed all legal restraints to the fullest individual freedom, and confirmed in social institutions that conception of the worth of all humanity upon which modern civilization bases itself. This does not mean that social privilege has not survived in Japan; it does survive in the three classes—nobles, gentry and commons. But these are classes, not castes, and the humblest citizen can and does rise through these fluid social strata to the highest positions in the business, professional and public services, contingent upon his personal abilities alone. The social system is as flexible as that of England and America. Is there any reasonable doubt that this social policy is in a large measure responsible for that abounding energy and zeal which enabled Japan, in two generations, to rise from obscurity to so large a measure of economic and political importance in the family of nations?

Now it is not possible in India for a handful of far-seeing *literati* to frame and promulgate an Imperial Edict removing the disabilities of the

untouchables and abolishing the concept *Atiśūdra* once for all. We can only appeal to the slow processes of education and public enlightenment. The idea of untouchability pervades the various grades of the Hindu community, and its ludicrous ramifications through the daily routine of life cannot be correctly understood by anyone who is not a Hindu. Brahmins would not touch Muslims or Christians, whom they regard as aliens. A Brahmin after a bath would not touch any other Brahmin who had not bathed, and even among Brahmins of the same caste they would not touch each other at their meals. These gradations in the social hierarchy of the Hindus caused no resentment in olden times, as they were believed to be of divine ordainment. The old Hindu Law recognized certain unions which were neither approved nor condemned, but tolerated according to the exigencies of the times. As time passed by and reason assumed sway over faith, practice over theory, as the castes came to be recognized as man-made and conventional, there was probably a revolt against the hierarchy, so that each lower caste also became as it were a self-centred and self-sufficient republic. Thus the taint of untouchability began to cause bad blood and sore feeling as an undeserved mark of degradation. Against this state of affairs, all of us can bring such influence as we possess towards extending the same educational and other opportunities that exist for the higher classes to the low-caste people. All of us can agitate the fetid pool of orthodoxy by preaching liberal doctrines within our respective circles.

I have on several previous occasions argued the case for abolition of hide-bound social restrictions, and I shall not condemn my hearers today to an elaborate argument. Permit me, however, to review very briefly the more pertinent considerations that seem to bear on our subject. Let us consider first the negative aspects of the subject.

There is, I believe, no ground for the current notion that the rigid caste system with its concomitant outcastes was a part of Hinduism in the old Vedic times. I am told by competent scholars that there is little, if anything, of the kind in the *Vedas* and nothing to prove fixity of status in the *Purāṇas*. And there is abundant expert opinion that the Laws of Manu, especially those verses dealing with the *Atiśūdras*, contain many interpolations and spurious passages not found in the utterances of the ancient teachers.

Neither can it be said that the principle of rigidity of classes at all conforms to reason, nor that caste subsists by birth and not by acts of occupation. In ancient times men could believe—even so great a mind as Aristotle brought himself to declare—that permanent servitude was an institution of nature. Until recent times even orthodox Christians have gone further and pronounced it a law of God. No modern philosopher or scientist would support such a contention, or such a supplanting of contractual freedom by iron-riveted status. The science of heredity as worked out by Mendel, Galton, Bateson, Kidd and others offers no ground whatsoever for the notion that whole races or classes of society are permanently degraded *en bloc*. The sociologists find

the causes of group degradation to lie in the physical and social environment, rather than in inherent and hereditary disabilities. Further, there is no scientific justification for the doctrine of aura, according to which the mere proximity of an untouchable is supposed to impart pollution.

It is easy to point to empirical proof here in India of the fact that the new so-called Antyaj people, or Panchamas, as they are termed in Madras, are not uniformly feeble in spirit or mentality. It is a commonplace that the depressed classes in every part of India have produced saints of nation-wide reputation respected even by Brahmins; for example, Nanada in South India, Ravidas in Oudh, Chokamela in Maharashtra, Haridas Thakur in Bengal. There are current examples too numerous to mention of outcaste boys who have passed the highest tests of the universities both in India and abroad. I have heard of a striking case of an outcaste family in Gujarat which, brought within the reach of education, produced a youth who was a successful member of the Indian Education Service, and wrote many textbooks for the Indian High Schools. The written testimony of many visitors to the Antyaj Boarding Schools at Baroda goes to show that three or four years of refined surroundings and education so transform the boys and girls in appearance that they are not to be distinguished from children of higher caste. It is indubitable that widespread education among *Atiśūdras*, coupled with freedom of access to the trades and professions, would raise the standard of economic efficiency of the whole and enable a portion of them to

achieve outstanding positions. However, the point is so clear that it is useless to labour it further.

That this idea of untouchability is only a later refinement, born of ignorance and conceit and nurtured by self-complacency, which the luxury and ease of a settled life of peace and order rendered possible, is well illustrated by the manner in which it was allowed to be smoothed over and ignored on the battle-field. The story of the Shilledar Shidnak, who was a Mahar, whose tents were pitched amongst those of the Brahmin and Maratha officers, and who rubbed shoulders with them on the plains of Kharda, proves the adage that necessity knows no law. Religious scruples of untouchability were cast to the winds when the people were hemmed in under enemy pressure. You remember Hiroji Patankar's words at the time: 'We are not met here to dine, but to fight; therefore there is no objection to the Mahars being in the middle. This is a line of warriors holding swords; there is no question of caste here. He is a true warrior who holds a strong sword.' Shidnak greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Kharda, again illustrating the principle that if the depressed people are given an opportunity they are capable of rising to the occasion. Opportunity often makes the man.

There are considerations also of a more positive character, which I will touch upon but briefly. The first is the utter inhumanity of the institution. The spirit of civilized peoples rose so strongly against slavery during the nineteenth century that it was practically abolished throughout the world. And yet the state of untouchability, which in some of its

aspects is worse than slavery, is permitted to survive without effective protest on the part of a majority of our people. Wherever slavery has existed there has been a certain amount of contact between master and slave. In Greece and Rome we know that trade was despised and industrial and commercial enterprises were given over to helots. The Romans used their slaves not only as personal servants but as agents, managers, bailiffs, book-keepers, etc., so that the slaves had opportunity of rising to relatively high social functions. But the Indian caste peoples have doomed the untouchables to a condition of servility and humiliation which is even more subtly cruel than the physical tortures practised by the slave-hunters in Africa, and the poignancy of which will increase with education.

Their dwellings shall be outside the village, and their wealth shall be dogs and monkeys. Their dress shall be the garments of the dead, they shall eat their food from broken dishes. Their transactions shall be among themselves and their marriages with their equals. At night they shall not walk about in villages or towns.

Such are some of the rules prescribed in the Laws of Manu. When the law of the land sanctions so harsh an ostracism, and that in perpetuity, we are not surprised to find in practice that outcastes have been bought and sold as chattels, and universally they are treated with less consideration than cattle. When I was touring in Southern India I was shocked. The outcastes are not even allowed to use the common streets or come near the houses for begging. It is said that they have to bawl out at a distance lest their shadow fall upon a Brahmin,

and that they are made to carry earthen bowls suspended from their necks as spittoons lest their impurities should defile the road to be trodden by Brahmins. If these (so-called) outcastes curse and execrate the 'twice-born', the latter, it is said, take it ironically as a benediction! Such is the depth of ignorance and such the perversity of human reason under the theocracies of Southern India.

The next consideration relates to the social, political and economic effects of servitude on the body politic. Cairne has shown (in his *Slave Power*) that servile labour is uneconomical in comparison with the labour of freemen. One of the wisest of the historians, Mr. Cunningham, delivers the judgment that the downfall of the ancient civilization of Egypt, and later of Greece and Rome in turn, was in considerable measure due to the fact that the economically productive functions were in all of those States imposed upon large masses of men in various degrees of bondage, so that the free spirit of the masses was crushed; and in their dejection they had no genuine interest in the perpetuation of the existing order. A close-knit self-sacrificing national spirit can only be fostered in a community of freemen. The Great War in Europe is an object-lesson to us on the importance of individual freedom in the maintenance of a national morale, and on the dangers of disintegration that beset a State which has failed in the past to foster a rational measure of individual liberty and initiative, and to bind the average plain citizen to itself in passionate patriotism. As Napoleon's empire fell in ruins because the mass of Frenchmen had lost heart in

his grandiose projects, so it would seem that the people of India in the last six centuries have failed to maintain national unity partly at least because of the subjection and disaffection of large masses of the people. The obvious teaching of modern history is that the moral standards of any race are dangerously compromised by servitude, and not the least of the proofs of this is the failure up till now to repress lynching in the southern parts of the United States.

Disaffection towards *Varnāśrama Dharma* on the part of the depressed classes has been referred to, and there is another positive danger involved in that situation. I am informed that in some parts of India whole villages are going over to Christianity *en masse*. My warning is not against Christianity, nor Islamism, for we have many things to learn from those religions, as both the Christians and Muslims have set us a healthy object-lesson in their theory of brotherhood. The missionaries have done great service in their care of the depressed and in teaching the value of manual labour, in which most of these people are engaged. My warning is rather against our Hindu self-satisfaction and *laissez-faire* in the face of social theories and institutions which degrade a sixth of the population and render alien faiths and practices agreeable to them. Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity have been responsible, we must admit, for the uplifting of millions of the depressed, and our wisest course is not to lament the fact, but to set in motion those ideas and practical reforms within our own society which will make the ministrations of a foreign religion

superfluous. Otherwise there is danger today of widespread disaffection, just as in a former age Buddhism led the revolt against the excessive forms, ceremonies and sacrifices of Brahminism.

It is a standing reproach against us that wherever the word 'Brahmin' has been carried, the concomitant word 'Pariah' has likewise been found. Nothing else has so alienated the sympathies of the world from Hinduism, so attractive to many on its esoteric side, as our own treatment of the depressed classes. We can hardly expect the voters of England, for example, to take the hearty interest in our aspirations which would otherwise be ours if our own house were in order. The same principles which impel us to ask for political justice for ourselves should actuate us to show social justice to those supposed to be untouchable amongst us. Those who seek equity must practise equity.

The ideal of social justice in our society is susceptible of much painstaking analysis and elucidation; but I have perhaps already wearied you with this disquisition, and will leave the subject with the simple reminder that the system which divides us into iron-clad castes is a tissue of injustice, separating men, equal by nature, into innumerable divisions based only on the accident of birth. The eternal struggle between caste and caste has been, is and will be a source of constant ill-feeling. There is disunion and disaffection where unity and patriotism are so eminently needed to enable us to take rank as a nation. While the whole world is engaged in a mighty conflict over fundamental issues, we falter and waste breath over petty differences.

We need a Wilberforce for the emancipation of these slaves of Hindu society. There are other concepts which likewise have a bearing on the subject in hand, namely, transmigration and *karma*. But an analysis of these ideas would take us into the field of metaphysics, into which I shall refrain from leading you today. I am perfectly certain, however, that a reasonable view of cause and effect can be maintained as a doctrine without in the least implying the subjection of whole classes; and that the principle of transmigration, even if it bear the test of scientific analysis, cannot bolster up a social system so cruel and unjust from every other point of view. The highest knowledge is knowledge of the self, and it is this knowledge that reveals to us the essential unity of the Supreme Being manifesting Himself in various embodiments which it is only an illusion to regard as inherently differing in kind. It is unwise to over-emphasize differences. Nowhere is there any authority for the view that *varna* is by birth and that, whereas personal merit counts for nothing, the accident of birth is everything. I exhort you to seek inspiration from the noble teaching of the *Bhagavad Gītā*: 'To me all creation is equal; there is no like or dislike.'

But you are no doubt wearied of argument, and I hasten now, in conclusion, to tell you that I have been endeavouring in my own humble way to ameliorate the lot of these Cinderellas of our society in Baroda. I have had to encounter a host of difficulties. I called for Hindu teachers for the Antyaji schools, with promises of attractive pay, but up till now none has turned up, only Muslims and Arya

Samajists have come forward! The success of my efforts largely depends upon the whole-hearted support and co-operation of my people. I do not believe the Hindu mind is perverse or incorrigible. We have to appeal to the sense of reason and of justice, and I have every hope that the community will soon perceive the equity of enfranchising these depressed classes. What is it that I expect of my countrymen? Not that they will go in for intermarriage or inter-dining against their convictions, but that they will at least remove the taint of untouchability. As one goes towards the south one finds that ceremonialism and inter-caste prejudices tend to increase, so that the problem of untouchability is more acute in South India; and I believe you will find that the Mysore and Travancore Governments are also undertaking some measures for the relief of the *Panchamas*. We should not delude ourselves into thinking that the abolition of untouchability will bring the millennium, but it will at least partially restore their natural rights to a class of people who have hitherto been deprived of them. We may not in the past have done all that we might have done, but I hope that this appeal will not have been in vain, and that in our conduct as well as in our speech we shall in future show forth our convictions on this subject.

BREADTH OF LEARNING¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—
It is to me a very real privilege to address you as Chancellor of this our Hindu University of Benares. In inviting me to preside over Convocation you have done me an honour which I sincerely appreciate, for which I am most grateful.

It is but fitting that, occupying my present position as your Chancellor, I should voice my deep regret that by the death of the great Gujarati Brahmin we have been deprived of your first Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sunder Lal, and so of the aid and advice of one who was whole-heartedly devoted to our welfare, who was the most staunch of friends and the wisest of guides. Nor should I omit to record my delight in being afforded this opportunity of again meeting my friend Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. In him we have a guiding spirit who is possessed by a youthful energy which never grows old, to whose courage, tenacity of purpose, and imagination, we owe much more than we can ever repay. This university is indeed fortunate in the possession of wise counsellors for the present and future, bitterly though it has to regret the Nestor who has passed from us to the beyond.

¹ Convocation Address delivered by His Highness as Chancellor of the Benares University, on the 19th of January, 1924.

The act which established this learned Foundation declares that it shall be a teaching and residential university; and that while it will always be open to all classes, castes, and creeds, it will make special provision for religious instruction and examination in the Hindu religion. I am especially glad to emphasize the ideals conveyed by the words 'teaching and residential', for they represent a return to ancient custom and practice. In the seventh century before Christ, in the famous university of Taxila, princes, Brahmins, and pupils of all classes from the length and breadth of this ancient land sat at the feet of their *gurus* to acquire all kinds of knowledge. Jivaka, an orphan from the capital of Magadha, went to Taxila and there became proficient in medicine and surgery; so much so that he returned to Magadha as royal physician to the king Bimbisara. Four hundred years later, in the reign of the great Asoka, there was a residential university of Pataliputra, the modern Patna; and long after, in the seventh century of the Christian era, the well-known Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, was attracted to the famous university of Nalanda and there received instruction in the sacred books of Buddhism and Brahminism. In those ancient days our universities were residential, and students of all classes and creeds were admitted and encouraged to study the Hindu religion. Later, from the eighth century, that is, from the Purāṇik period, there came a change which, I cannot but feel, has had results detrimental to our culture and to our realizations of nationality. There were, during this last period, universities at Navadvipa in Bengal and here in

Benares; but in both admission was confined to Brahmins, students of any other caste being sternly excluded. Surely such exclusion of the great majority, in favour of a privileged few, goes far to explain our decadence in modern times.

Let us be careful to avoid the error of confining our learning to any particular class; let us throw wide open the doors of this university as did our predecessors at Taxila and Nalanda. Let all freely come in to drink of the waters of our learning without stint. Then surely we should be able to make the magnificent gesture of brotherhood, embracing all the Hindu world with affectionate enthusiasm, welcoming every genuine effort to obtain more and more light and learning from our ancient and sacred scriptures.

We Hindus have good reason to pride ourselves on our glorious past. Is it not a fact that, while most of Europe was yet groping in the gloom of barbarism, our forefathers had achieved a flourishing civilization? The *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Sūtras* describe a condition of society in which there existed law, order and culture; in which wise statesmen attempted to give successful effect to the benevolent orders of rulers bent upon the good of their subjects; in which poets and philosophers gave of their best for the æsthetic and intellectual advancement of enlightened courts. Mighty were the empires of ancient Hinduism—and great was their fall! While we boast of our glorious past, let us remember that there must have been in it the seeds of our decline to our present inglorious position.

I believe emphatically that it is very wrong for us Hindus to follow blindly those who continually din into our ears the perfections of our past; who attribute our present weakness to our failure to live up to our past. Let us be frank, looking facts squarely in the face, sternly refusing to be blinded by any sentimental appeals. If this ancient civilization of ours led us to a weakness which prevented us from successfully defending our country against invasion and capture, then there was in it something far from perfect. Let Hinduism arise from contemplation of past glories to a vigorous and practical determination to cope with the difficulties of the present. By all means let us be enthusiastic students of the past, determined to wring from it all its secrets; but with equal, if not greater enthusiasm let us prepare for the future. It is my ambition for our university that it shall become a fount of inspiration as regards both past and future.

I earnestly trust this university will take care to avoid that most terrible of errors, the narrowness of thought which in the end stifles thought and individuality. In my travels I have come into contact with the magnificent Buddhistic culture of Japan and China. Learning that the great religion had originated in India and that for centuries it had spread throughout our motherland, I found it difficult to explain to myself why we in the country of its origin knew so little about it. Buddhism went from India to be a vitalizing force in far-distant lands; yet we Indians know practically nothing of it. I have since striven to encourage a study of Buddhistic culture in my State. The University of

Bombay, in which culture struggles to make her voice heard in the midst of the roar of machinery and the clamour of commerce, has included in its curriculum Pali, the language of most of the extant literature of southern Buddhism. Throughout Gujarat and the Deccan there is a significant and steadily increasing interest in Buddhist thought. In the Jain Library of Patan, an ancient city in the north of my dominions, two most important books of Mahayana Buddhism have recently been discovered, and are now being prepared for publication in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. My Library Department has fortunately been able to persuade our learned Pro-Vice-Chancellor to edit one of them. I trust that the Hindu University, in order that its studies in Hinduism may be complete, will include in its curriculum research work in Buddhist and Jain cultures, and will adopt indeed a sympathetic attitude of inquiry towards all cultures.

As the Hindu University has declared as one of its chief motives, devotion to the Hindu religion, it will be careful to give to the priests of the future an education which will fit them to be a real help to society. We need, and we must by all means have, learned *purohits* and pious priests. What are priests worth to us, or to anyone, who chant the *Vedas* ignorant of the transcendent truths contained therein? Before they can minister to our innermost needs they must have taken up the duties of their sacred office from inclination rather than by reason of their birth; they must know the scriptures and their real meaning; and they must have an understanding of the world in which they and we live, its

realities and difficulties. They must study other religions, in order that they may know and sympathize with the efforts which all are making to find an answer to that most fundamental of all questions: What is truth? And, in order that superstition may be defeated, they must have a good general knowledge, including at least the elements of Science.

A well-known classification of the universities of the world groups them according to the mission fulfilled by them, be it the advancement of truth, the development of character, the making of the perfect man through the harmonious cultivation of his personality, his good taste, or his efficient training for his vocation in life. It is good that our university aims at combining all these ideals; and that, while here we very properly lay great stress on the spiritual, we have not neglected the useful and practical. One of the greatest of the world's teachers has urged us to recognize the fact that the useful is to be identified with the Good and the True. 'Culture is only the passion for sweetness and light', and it is possessed by all who work honestly, who study diligently, be they priests or peasants, poets or engineers, historians or chemists.

I am very glad to know that this university provides, side by side with the humanities, faculties of mechanical and electrical engineering; and that you are constantly endeavouring to improve the facilities which you possess for the imparting of scientific and technical training. We have vast resources in the soil, and indeed under it, in the mines of our country; and we need as many thoroughly trained men as we can obtain to assist

us in utilizing these rare and rich possessions for the good of our country, and for the furtherance of the happiness of our immense population. Faced as we are by keen competition from all over the world, it is high time that we resolved to make the fullest possible use of Nature's gifts to us.

We must face the world like men, proud of our ancient heritage. Too long has the epithet 'meek' seemed appropriate to us Hindus; too long have we put into practice that which others preach, the turning of the other cheek to the smiter. The merely meek man may inspire love; he certainly cannot command respect. Aristotle preached the golden mean, and we should be well advised to learn from him that, while selfishness, ferocity and pride are very wrong, excessive timidity, meekness and the refusal to make the best use of the aids and comforts which civilization offers, are equally so. Let us as Hindus boast ourselves of our ancient past, at least to this extent: that we are determined to be men, even as our far-distant ancestors who lived when Chandragupta, Asoka or Vikramaditya reigned, were men. In the words of the famous Lincoln, 'With malice towards none; with charity for all—let us strive on'.

The purpose of all education is to fit men to play their parts on the stage of the world with efficiency; and indeed if they have no parts to play, the efficiency with which their education has endowed them is likely to become atrophied. On the Indian stage our young men will be called upon to play parts of a far greater importance than were permitted to their fathers; more and more, as that

day which has now dawned grows towards maturity, their parts will be those of leadership, not merely those of insignificance and inferiority. As they realize this, naturally enough a wave of excitement passes through their hearts. But in days of change, of social and political enfranchisement, we especially need in our universities to study to build up in our young men a character which will enable them to cultivate restraint in word and deed. For there can be no rights, no privileges, no genuine freedom, without corresponding duties, obligations, and self-restraint. I trust that you, members of this great university, will ever in your lives and conversation show that your influence and effort are on the side of order; that you know as a truth which cannot be denied, that practical service is far more patriotic than mere eloquence, however glib the tongue; that you appreciate the fact that freedom, if allowed to degenerate into licence, is worse than the most rigorous tyranny.

Fate compels us, whether we like it or not, to play our part in the struggles of the nations; and we must, as men, use all our energies and powers if we would survive the cataclysms which rage beyond the seas and beyond the mountain passes. To say that we are living in a period of transition is so true today that it cannot too often be insisted upon. We are 'wandering between two worlds; one dead, the other powerless to be born'. I appeal to you young men, future citizens, to follow those leaders who aim at practical achievement.

It is a real pleasure to me to know that our university does not close her doors to women. Especially

here in northern India, where the seclusion of females is so strict a custom, the fact that a few have been found seeking and receiving admission to our lecture rooms is a most welcome sign of a rapidly approaching change. It is almost incredible that Hindus, who in ancient days prided themselves on Gargi and Maitreyi, regarded with reverent admiration Jain and Buddhist nuns, who did much for the literature and general culture of the country, could yet, in a degenerate time, so far forget as to utter curse upon curse against any woman attempting to study the Hindu religion.

To a yet more marked extent there is another very large section of our people appealing to our intelligence to free them from disabilities to which a hard custom has condemned them—the *Śūdras* and *Atiśūdras*. It is impossible for us to justify our treatment of these unhappy millions. I am glad to know that the Hindu Maha Sabha has undertaken a solution of this pressing problem; and I beg of you, members of this enlightened university, as you value our good repute amongst the learned of the world, to put no bar in the way of any Hindu of good character and high motive who desires here to learn our ancient ritual and our holy scriptures. Neither sex nor caste should be a hindrance to the acquirement of Hindu culture.

Yet another matter which I desire to place before you for consideration is concerned with foreign travel. It is, I think, most important that we should encourage our people to travel abroad, to make themselves acquainted with other lands, other races, other cultures. Why have we acquired the

dislike to travel over the seas? It is a comparatively recent growth in our opinion. Our ancestors, the Indian traders, the Buddhist missionaries and teachers, travelled far and wide spreading our ancient culture throughout Asia. We had, so far from remembering their achievements with pride, forgotten them so completely that, but for the efforts of European archaeologists and orientalists, we should know nothing about them. This mediæval attempt of ours to keep ourselves in dignified seclusion has cost us more than we shall ever know. The proverbial toad in the well had not its vision more confined than have those who refuse to contemplate the pulsing life of the countries overseas. Intercourse with the great trading nations is necessary to us for the extension of our resources, for the enlargement of our horizon, and for the recovery of that initiative which we are said to have lost. Let us go abroad again to recover it. Some will reply that there are many Indians of a world-wide reputation for their great gifts in all branches of intellectual achievement who have never visited the lands beyond the seas, whose knowledge of other countries is and has been based on their reading, or on information derived at secondhand from others. I cordially agree. But I am convinced that, had they added to their great natural talents the breadth of mind and elasticity of imagination which must result from travel, from personal experience and observation of the manners and customs of other nations, they must have increased enormously their powers for good.

Finally I ask, what place in the whole of India could serve so well as a fountain of inspiration to a

Hindu university as Benares? Here it was, in the Deer Park, that the Divine Buddha preached the first sermon on the law of Righteousness, and from this spot the mighty religion of Buddhism spread far and wide. To Kaśi came the mighty Śankara, and triumphantly preached his transcendent doctrine of a cosmic *māyā*. To Kaśi still come pilgrims, from all parts of India, from Tibet, China, Japan, Siam, Burma and Ceylon, to seek purification and redemption. The neighbourhood of Kaśi is still rich with a chaos of ruins amidst which the wandering pilgrim is sure at every step to stumble against recollections hallowed by age, 'to hear tongues in trees, sermons in stones, and books in the running brooks'. Kaśi echoes and re-echoes our ancient glories. She has withstood the march of centuries upon centuries; still she survives, and Hinduism with her. I pray that this eternal city may be rich again with a new *Jñāna-vāpī*, the spring whence shall rise a constantly flowing stream of culture for the infinite refreshment of our people. May the Almighty preserve this *Viśva Vidyālaya* under the shelter of His powerful wing, secure against all the changes and chances of the passing years. And may

The world's great age begin anew,
The golden years return.

TO THE MEMORY AND PRAISE OF FAMOUS MEN¹

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—There is no greater power, there is no more enduring force among men, than the influence of prominent personalities. Even though their names be forgotten, the effects of great men pass on from mind to mind in the ever-flowing stream of humanity. This influence of human character is untouched by the ravages of physical decay. There is no honour too great that we can show to those who have led and guided us to happiness and peace. Above all, we would keep them in remembrance. Their memorials should inspire to still higher ideals.

So mankind has thought in all ages. Today, in assembling here to establish a *Kirti Mandir*, a Temple of Fame, or a Hall of Remembrance, we are joining with the best sentiments of all the great-souled peoples of the world. Whether we pass from China, with its historic tablets to the memory of its great men, to Egypt with its Pyramids and Rock Tombs, or from Central America with its vast monumental ruins to the temples and mausoleums of our own beloved India; or still again, from the Pantheon

¹ An Address delivered on the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the *Kirti Mandir*, or Temple of Fame, on Friday the 15th of January 1926, in connexion with the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of His Highness's reign.

of ancient Rome to the Pantheon of modern France, or the Westminster Abbey of England, we find memorials to the saints, prophets, poets, philanthropists, philosophers and kings, and to many other distinguished leaders of the race. During the last few years there have been memorials without number to the heroes of war. Let us remember with the poet that

Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.

We are privileged to join in noble appreciation of noble men. Let us, therefore, do homage to those illustrious souls of all times and of all places who have helped to promote the welfare of mankind.

It is, however, our special duty to recognize our personal debt to those of our own State who have in particular contributed to its progress. You, my loyal subjects, at this time, when I join with you in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of my reign, will allow me to think first of those who, in their day and generation, ruled and guided the destinies of this State. We can know only a fraction of the good they did, for it has always been a characteristic of the dignity and reserve of the best of Indian rulers to perform acts of charity and goodwill without ostentation. As all men, they had their limitations; nevertheless they were men of power, of force of character, of energy. We in our times have built on the foundation of their achievements. It is, therefore, in instituting a memorial of the past rulers of this State and devoted members of their families that I ask you first to join with me. In private duty bound, I would raise here a *Chhatra*

in their honour, in which the purpose of *śrāddha* may be realized in lasting sequence.

And let us try now and in the future to realize that *śrāddha* is not meant to be mere empty form of obsolete and antiquated rites. It may and should be given a significance which will enable it to express and cultivate some of the noblest feelings of mankind. It may and should enshrine the best of filial love, of reverence for virtue, and be an inspiration to faithfulness to one's kith and kin. In it we are to be raised above passing conflicts and oppositions. It is sad to find that trivial strife has often in the past led to such neglect that, of some memorials, at the present time hardly one stone remains upon another.

After fifty years of sincere care for the progress and well-being of my people, I like to remind myself that this reverence for my ancestors has existed since my earliest youth. This Hall of Remembrance will be the fulfilment of a long-felt desire to found an enduring memorial. I recall how long years ago, almost as a child, I was impressed by the old Indian paintings of my forefathers, as, time after time, I looked at them through the long hot days in the basement of the Motibagh Palace. In later years, to ensure a continued record, I had these photographed. Still later, these photographs were enlarged, and in the course of time bronze busts were made and studies in relief. Thus, through my life, my respect for my predecessors has continued, and continues. I have endeavoured to learn from their achievements. I have endeavoured to learn from their failures. I hope

that this building will embody an expression of a true sentiment, which it will promote in the hearts and minds of all those who visit it.

In all ages the ruler has looked for counsel and aid, and he has been able to achieve his noblest aims, through the devoted and meritorious activities of his subjects. The long past of the history of mankind has been marked by great leaders in thought and in practical affairs. In religion, in knowledge, in the arts, in political administration, in agriculture, in industry and in commerce, the main advances have been made by men whose memory is an everlasting inspiration to our activity. Civilized mankind is becoming so interdependent that we see now, in a way our forefathers did not see, that our welfare depends on the merits of men of all times and climes. But greatly as we must all regret it, to make a memorial here to all of the greatest names in human history is impossible. Our aim is a more modest one. It also lies nearer to our personal affections. Our aim is to keep ever fresh the remembrance of the distinguished persons and benefactors of our State.

It is not part of the present task to enumerate any of those whom we may expect to be included in this *Kirti Mandir*. Some names must already be impressed upon the minds of those who take a living interest in our history. There are others whose memory has faded, whose achievements and character may be brought to clearer vision and their fame established. Many others there must be whose names are forgotten for ever. There can be no doubt that the tomb to the unknown warrior, in all

countries in which it has been established, has been a memorial which has appealed strongly to public sentiment. We may ask whether we ought not also to place a monument to those glorious dead whose names are forgotten, who by their lives and work strove meritoriously for the benefits of the times of peace.

Intent as we are upon honouring the great, the time is appropriate to ask in what true greatness consists. Difficult as it is to answer that question fully, it is fortunately possible to enumerate some of the essential features of those who are truly great. Greatness is fundamentally of character. Sincerity and unselfishness, far-seeing wisdom and untiring energy are its never-failing qualities. With these the great man stands unbroken and undaunted in face of physical misfortunes. To him, health and wealth are twin opportunities for unceasing service. To him, sickness and poverty are twin occasions for invincible courage. Greatness knows no caste. Seen vaguely in the child, it reaches full expression in the adult. It is as impressive in woman as in man. Well has the Sanskrit adage put it, that 'Merit alone is adorable in the great and not their age or sex'.

Almost all religions have their special days in each year when they commemorate the great ones who have departed from this life. So also, as year follows year, it should become a definite practice to hold an appropriate assembly in the *Kirti Mandir* we are founding. For here we shall gather the memorials of all our great men and women. In their impressiveness, thus brought together, their

remembrance will give a social significance to the ceremonies performed. We need not decide for the present the form these gatherings should take. But perhaps it would be appropriate, as each year comes round, to have as part of the proceedings a Golden Jubilee Memorial Lecture upon some great personality.

Surroundings such as these we have here, and the inspiration of the thought of those commemorated, should be conducive to rest and to the rejuvenation of the weary in body and in mind. In order, therefore, that this benefit may be attained, it is our hope in the course of time to include a *Dharamsala* within our foundation.

The recognition of the benefactions received from those now dead should make us more appreciative of the virtues of those now living. Let us do honour and homage also to the living whose character and conduct arouse our admiration and gratitude. Let us honour moral excellence of deed and of personal character, independent of all consideration of social status and worldly circumstances. I have already established an Order for the recognition of literary, artistic, and scientific merit.

Loyal subjects, this foundation is the beginning of an institution the purpose of which can reach satisfactory fulfilment only with the utmost care and most sympathetic co-operation. It is appropriate that we should dedicate ourselves to its service. To us there can be no words more fitting for this, than those enshrined for centuries in the heart and mind of every great religious Hindu, the *Gayatri Mantra* :

'We contemplate the refulgence of the Sun, the God of Light : may He guide our intellects.'

Let us join, therefore, in the sentiments so admirably expressed many centuries ago by the Hebrew writer of the book of *Ecclesiasticus* :

Let us now praise famous men,
And our fathers that begat us.
The Lord hath wrought great glory by them
Through his great power from the beginning.
Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms,
Men renowned for their power,
Giving counsel by their understanding,
And declaring prophecies:
Leaders of the people by their counsels,
And by their knowledge of learning meet for the
people,
Wise and eloquent in their instructions:
Such as found out musical tunes,
And recited verses in writing:
Rich men furnished with ability,
Living peaceably in their habitations:
All these were honoured in their generations,
And were the glory of their times.
There be of them, that have left a name behind them,
That their praises might be reported.
And some there be, which have no memorial;
Who are perished, as though they had never been;
And are become as though they had never been born;
And their children after them.
But these were merciful men,
Whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.
• With their seed shall continually remain a good
• inheritance,
And their children are within the covenant.
Their seed standeth fast,
And their children for their sakes.
• Their seed shall remain for ever,

And their glory shall not be blotted out.
 Their bodies are buried in peace;
 But their name liveth for evermore.
 The people will tell of their wisdom,
 And the congregation will shew forth their praise.

I declare this stone well and truly laid, for the establishment of a *Chhatri* and a *Kirti Mandir*, to the Memory of my Ancestors and to the Remembrance and the Praise of the Famous and the Worthy.

MAY PEACE REST FOR EVER ON THIS PLACE.

CO-OPERATION¹

GENTLEMEN,—You are aware that I am always glad to come into personal contact with you, individually as well as collectively, so that you may know my views and I yours on some aspects of the larger principles which we have, in our respective spheres of action, to put into operation in the governance of the State. On the present occasion I shall briefly address you on the value of co-operation as a cohesive, consolidating and creative force. The term simply signifies mutual efforts to attain the common good. Its implications may be summed up in the words 'each for all and all for each'.

The underlying purpose of the multifarious activities which the Huzur Central Office typifies, and which are set in motion throughout the State on a basis of co-ordinated co-operation, is the good of my people. The pithy metaphor of an oriental poet compares a ruler to a tree and his subjects to its roots. Unless the roots are watered and nourished, the shade and fruit for which a tree is most valued will cease to exist. Taken separately these two vital parts of a living organism cannot function, whereas in combination and co-operation

¹ Delivered to important officers of the State at the Laxmi Vilas Palace, at Baroda, on the 28th of March, 1930.

the highest purpose of their co-ordinated existence is achieved.

The evolution of human civilization is the gradual growth, stage by stage, in the course of ages, of the spirit of co-operation, whether in a family, a tribe, a community or a nation. The most civilized and advanced nations of today are those that have consolidated and unified their strength by co-operation. Co-ordination and co-operation lead to unity, in which lies a people's strength. Unity of aim and purpose combined with concerted method in action are essential to great achievements.

In the Great War success quickly followed the co-ordination of all military activities under the command of a single generalissimo. This principle touches almost every point in the whole range of human activities and is as applicable to the unimportant concerns of a small group of persons as to the momentous affairs of a great nation and to international intercourse. The Great War has been developing this spirit on a vast scale.

Its most striking and comprehensive manifestation is the League of Nations—a sturdy infant born only a few years ago, who is already spreading out his hands to mould the destiny of the world for the benefit of all humanity. The Kellogg Pact and the Naval Conference have in view the same beneficent object attainable by co-operation only and not by force. In India, the Chamber of Princes, which has been co-ordinating its purposeful efforts with greater vigour recently, exemplifies the practical application of the co-operative and corporate spirit to the affairs of the States concerned.

We are living in an age of mass production, large combinations of manufacturing, banking and other business concerns, trade unions, associations of employers on the one hand and of employees on the other, co-operative societies and other federations, all of which are founded on the same principle of united effort.

This fundamental truth applies with equal force to the component parts of our administrative machinery, with the smooth working of which each one of you is concerned. Its efficiency depends on your well co-ordinated endeavour, inspired by a genuine spirit of effective co-operation. Take a few concrete instances. Can our criminal courts function without the contributory activities of our Police Department? Can the Police Department again do its work properly unless the people come forth boldly to furnish evidence and tell the truth? Would it be possible for the Judicial, the Police and the Military departments to exist without the sinews of war for which they have to depend on our Revenue and Financial departments? Is not the work of the Agriculture Department of vital importance to our Land Revenue? Is not irrigation the life-blood of agriculture, which is not wholly dependent on the monsoon? Does not the Forest Department contribute its quota to our requirements? Do not the activities of our big spending departments, namely, Public Works, Education and Railways, converge towards the development of our resources in innumerable ways, direct and indirect? The same may be said of the creative and productive efforts of our Pragati, Commerce

and Industries departments. Can all these departments or the whole machinery of Government work efficiently unless there is improvement in the character and intelligence of the people from whom all the servants of Government are recruited? You will find this golden chain of inter-dependence and inter-relation running through all the departments of the State, major or minor. It is your privilege as well as your duty to put forth your energy and do your best to strengthen each link of this connecting chain by purposeful mutual co-operation.

Furthermore, co-operation must not be confined within the restricted limits of a particular department, but must essentially extend beyond to the wider sphere of inter-departmental activity. Individual co-operation between the members of a department is obviously necessary if such department is to render efficient service; but the pace of progress in the State will be accelerated in proportion as co-operation between each department and all the others is cordial and effective in due accord with what is aptly termed the team-spirit and with due regard to the characteristics and limitations peculiar to each. Herein lies the measure of a nation's greatness.

Failure to offer such co-operation freely, wholeheartedly to the limit of his powers must be considered a grave dereliction of duty on the part of every responsible citizen.

From a military point of view such delinquency is rightly punishable with all the rigour of the Military Code.

In my opinion the civilian should also suffer just punishment for neglect of duty, which, though the consequences of his fault may be less directly and immediately apparent, may yet work such insidious havoc as to amount to criminal culpability.

In the sphere of education, for example, failure to adopt and pursue efficient methods of administrative procedure may so adversely affect the course of popular education as to require a whole generation to remedy.

Thus also may public funds be squandered on unproductive objects, thus may the welfare and material progress of the masses be needlessly retarded; and the effective energies of the State so immensely capable of human service, be tragically diverted to serve inferior ends. Such delinquency, if it be due to negligence and mental apathy which refuses recognition of the obligation to exercise personal initiative and to accept responsibility, should be punished in the interests of the State with the sternness which the offence undoubtedly warrants.

I would here observe that the exercise of personal initiative, the acceptance of responsibility, the instinct to co-operate and combine should be the natural and spontaneous manifestations of the common sense wherewith it is surely not unreasonable to believe that the majority of individuals are endowed. It is not by the precept of rules and regulations that such qualities can or should be summoned to action.

It is incumbent on heads of departments to realize how deplorable is the effect on the State of apathy and negligence in the performance of public duties,

and to direct every effort to counteract the mentality which gives rise thereto.

Modern India requires the inculcation of a sterner sense of duty and self-sacrifice, fuller realization of the essential need of the effective co-ordination of means to ends in the collective interest of the community.

Let me now take a cursory view of the reverse side of the picture I have tried to depict in broad outline. We have been hearing a great deal about the efficacy of non-co-operation. For obvious reasons I do not wish to say a word on the political and controversial aspects of this question or on its merits and demerits, but only to make a few remarks from a purely academic standpoint. Paradoxical as it may seem, the non-co-operators have been demonstrating to us the reality of their belief in the potency of co-operation. Their leaders have kindled in them a fiery spirit of co-operation amongst themselves. Remove this cementing force and the whole movement will collapse in a moment like a castle built on sand. This is only a further illustration of the fact that those who believe in the possibilities of non-co-operation are convinced of the efficacy of co-operation within their own circle. Conversely, the primitive and semi-civilized races have not fully realized that it is solidarity resulting from mutual co-operation, which lies at the root of organized society and human progress. Lack of co-operation leads to disorganization, dissensions, indiscipline and chaos. Society breaks up into fragments, each seeking its own ends, and all are devoid of the power inherent in inter-connexion.

Parts of Africa and Asia furnish instances of such tribal isolation resulting in the exploitation of the weak by the strong. The physical strength and courage of such small tribal units cannot be utilized in the higher spheres of human advancement for want of the solidifying effect of co-operation. Another Eastern poet compares human beings with the limbs and organs of the same body politic and says that if one of these is diseased or is in pain the whole physical structure suffers. The truth enshrined in this simile is that the entire fabric of society is so closely inter-woven and inter-dependent that unless all its parts act in harmony, restlessness and suffering are unavoidable.

In the whole scheme of creation you will find, if you look closely, that co-operation and co-ordination are synonymous with strength and safety. Take the animal kingdom. The wild dog, a small animal, knows the value of concerted and simultaneous action, and by encircling a tiger or a lion and tightening the noose kills that fiercest and most powerful of the larger carnivora. Some of you may have read in books on the habits of wild animals fascinating descriptions of this spectacle. It conveys to us a lesson on the incalculable power of co-operation, the implications of which you should take to heart and give effect to for the benefit of the State. The bee with its marvellous and disciplined instinct of productive co-operation, teaches us another lesson of pregnant import. If you put forth your energies to imitate the example of the humble but busy bee, the honey of your labours will sweeten the relations between you and the

people and enrich the State. Those of you who are slow or slothful should specially seek this stimulus.

Nature is described as 'red in tooth and claw'. This is true where co-operation is displaced by tendencies of an antagonistic or selfish character. Co-operation can thrive only in an atmosphere of love, humanity and sympathy. It cannot prosper when the air is charged with wolfish instincts. I may say in passing that a pack of wolves by close co-operation intensifies its strength for gaining its object. For goodness' sake do not learn this lesson also! Otherwise my subjects will fall a prey to lupine depredations. We all know that a few wolves among the servants of the State masquerade in sheep-skins. It is your duty to me, to my people, and also to yourselves, to lift the skin and expose what is underneath so that the Services may be purged of this noxious element.

Let us now turn for a moment to inanimate nature. The same eternal law of co-ordination prevails there in larger measure. For instance its working is apparent in the inter-relation between the seasons. The rainy season, which is of vital importance to an agricultural State like Baroda, is dependent on the evaporating activity of the hot months. The vapour which is then sent up is later on precipitated in the form of rain to fertilize the soil, to revivify Nature and to clothe the earth with a green mantle. Similar phenomena regulate the manifestations of inanimate energy.

There are maxims and aphorisms in all languages illustrative of the power accruing from co-operation or union. These two words connote an association

of analogous ideas and are often interchangeable. I shall quote here a Sanskrit maxim as an example :

अल्पानामपि वस्तूनां संहति कार्यसाधिका ।
तृणैर्गुणत्वमापन्नैर्बध्यन्ते मत्तद्वन्तिनः ॥

'Union of even small things accomplishes the end: Grass woven into a rope binds mast elephants.'

The moral to be drawn from what I have said is that the Ruler of a State, his officers and his people, whose collective aim is the greatest good of all, must act in ordered co-operation and co-ordination, each in his respective sphere. We are all a combined entity like the cupola, the body and the foundation of a symmetrical edifice. Each part is indispensable to the other two. Your loyalty and allegiance to the head of the State and your duty both to him and his subjects will not achieve the highest result, unless you fully realize in practice the great potentialities for good of concerted and helpful action in an enthusiastic spirit.

In the spirit and by the means which I have indicated let us all in our respective degrees bend our energies to the glorious work of enhancing the prosperity of the State. Thus shall we hitch our waggon to a star; thus and thus only may we aspire to the attainment of our highest ideals in Government.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA¹

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is my pleasant duty on this occasion when we are assembled here as the guests of this eminent Association, to say a few words on behalf of the States' Delegation expressive of our deep appreciation of the abundant hospitality extended to us, and our sincere thanks, therefore, to my old friend Lord Lamington, and the Council.

It has been my good fortune to be connected with the East India Association and the Northbrook Society for a great number of years, and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my warm appreciation of their unremitting efforts to promote mutual understanding between the best elements in British and Indian society.

Much of what has been accomplished in regard to reform in India, whether political, economic or social, has derived encouragement from this Association.

I am sure you will not expect me to refer at any great length to the problems which confront the Round Table Conference. I will confine myself, with your leave, to just one or two observations which occur to me.

¹ Speech delivered at the East India Association, on the 15th of November, 1930.

The delegates chosen to take their part in the Conference have come from every part of India and represent in all their external variety, her manners and customs, her races and dialects.

Yet, I am tempted to ask, 'Are we not all citizens of our Motherland, fashioned and moulded by the same forces of Nature, united by the desires and aspirations of our common nationality?' I am convinced that we are all equally united in our determination to reach an agreement which will serve the best interests of India as a whole. This I believe to be a sure guarantee of the ultimate success of the Conference.

His Excellency the Viceroy with the concurrence of the present Government here, has pronounced Dominion Status to be a natural issue of the constitutional progress of India. I consider that such a policy marks a high degree of statesmanship.

In what does the safety and the greatness of the British Empire lie? Surely in this, that the people who constitute it are allowed freedom to develop, according to their individual genius, while they share in the ideals and the material advantages which are inherent in their common citizenship. Owing to the vast extent of the far-flung dominions of this great Empire, it must necessarily be thus. This freedom to develop is the urgent need of India. This is her earnest desire.

The British *Raj* has done much, but how much more remains to do! The whole fabric of India, political and economic, moral and social, calls for reconstruction on a basis which will recall her ancient traditions and foster a

manly spirit in her peoples and a greater sense of national solidarity.

Let all classes lagging behind in the race of progress be given temporarily greater facilities to overtake such as are ahead of them, but not so as to cause any permanent cleavage in the body politic.

Great is the contribution which the Indian nation can still offer to the world's thought; great is the part which it can play on the stage of Empire.

Give them freedom for so great a role that they may realize their aspirations; give them freedom to shape their destinies in accordance with the old-time genius of their race, in co-operation with the best traditions of the West.

In a word, let India now at long last find her soul and take the place which is not only her privilege but her due as a self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations, representing as she does one-fifth part of the whole of the human race.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer. We are confronted by issues pregnant with fate. The future of India and the Empire is at stake. Let us go forward in a spirit of mutual trust and collaboration, conscious of the greatness of the task imposed upon us. So shall the aspirations of India find realization—the sooner, to my mind, the better—and the fabric of Empire be secured.

FEDERAL INDIA¹

MR. PRIME MINISTER,—We are approaching the end of this Conference and the conclusion of a most momentous chapter in the history of India, and I have been asked to say a few words on this occasion.

When our deliberations began, Federation for all India was little more than an ideal, dim and distant, and vaguely comprehended. It is now a live political issue, supported with a remarkable degree of unanimity, not only by the Princes and the States, but by British India and political parties in Great Britain. For myself, I may say that the idea of Federation has for very many years impressed me as presenting the only feasible means of securing the unity of India. Some of the Princes will doubtless recall that in 1917 I expressed the view that the future constitution of India should be fashioned on these lines.

But ideas—even the happiest—require for fruition the opportune moment, and this was then to seek. I am content to believe that in the present circumstances realization is at hand of an ideal I have long cherished.

When the results we have achieved are reviewed by the historian, I think it will be conceded that

¹ Speech delivered at the conclusion of the session of the Round Table Conference, in London, on the 19th of January, 1931.

this Conference has made a notable contribution to political thought. I refer to the conception of a United India wherein British India and the Indian States will as partners co-operate for the common welfare of India as a whole, while each unit will retain its individuality and its right to develop in accordance with its own particular genius. We shall have, in other words, unity without uniformity—a prime requisite of true Federation.

Before the Federal Sub-Committee began its work and during the course of its deliberations there were many to whom the idea of Federation and its implications appeared so novel as to create a feeling of dread that the States might be pledging themselves to irrevocable and perilous courses. Even now, such sceptics are to be found. It is therefore a matter of gratification that His Majesty's Government has been so wise as to leave time for doubts to be resolved after greater familiarity with the subject by refraining from the elaboration of details at the present stage. The constitution will be evolved in due time, when consideration has been given to the many interests concerned, when the various schools of thought have had occasion to state their views. The fullest facilities should be given to develop the federal idea in all that it implies.

I have spoken of unity without uniformity. It is my deliberate conviction that to strain after uniformity in the federal structure would be a mistaken policy.

There should be perfect freedom given to each unit to develop along its own peculiar lines. Healthy and friendly rivalry is beneficial to the State

as to the individual. Thus alone hitherto have many fruitful ideas been fostered in the Indian States.

In what spirit will the Indian States enter such

• a Federation?

In the first place, they cherish their internal independence and they insist on this being maintained intact, and on the removal of restrictions which are injurious to this development and are out of date. Secondly, they would advocate the establishment of responsible government at the Federal Centre with a view to facilitating the solution of problems which concern British India and the Indian States alike, and the evolution of a policy which will be for the good of India as a whole.

- India has before it economic and other problems, the difficulty of which it is impossible to exaggerate.
- The success of our labours will be judged by only one test. Have they resulted in producing a Government which will be capable of facing these problems boldly, and adopting wise measures and policies which will enable India to take her place amongst the advanced countries of the world?

Forms of Government undoubtedly possess importance; but they are merely a means to an end. The importance therefore to be attached to them must be estimated according to the end in view, which should be the happiness, the contentment, and the prosperity of the people. If the future Government is to be 'of the people, for the people, by the people', then the provinces as at present constituted seem too large for the end in view. The machinery

of Government should be simple, inexpensive, and easily intelligible, and there should be intimate personal contact between the people and those in authority.

One more word, and I have done.

It is all-important that in the new policy which we hope to see established in India, the education of the people should be made our earnest endeavour. No truly democratic system can effectively operate unless the mass of the citizens be alive to their responsibilities.

Our greatest efforts should therefore be concentrated upon the uplift of the people by this means. It is very necessary that, as Robert Lowe expressed it on a well-known occasion, we should 'educate our masters' that they may be able to judge between right and wrong, and avoid the excesses and errors of democracy.

I pray that all those who in the future will have the shaping of our country's destinies, may have the gift of courage, wisdom and statesmanship for such a task.

Mr. Prime Minister, I cannot conclude without expressing our indebtedness to you personally, to the other members of His Majesty's Government and generally to the British delegates who have already contributed, by their cordial and whole-hearted support to the development of the Indian constitution.

I trust that the Conservative Party will, by an announcement of their generous recognition of India's right freely to mould her own destinies, set the coping-stone on the constitutional structure.

We now await from you, Mr. Prime Minister, a declaration which, I hope, will be of such effect as to satisfy the aspirations of our people in India, and put an end to their present grievances and unrest with the least possible delay.

I wish, sir, that you will convey to Their Majesties an expression of our deep affection and loyalty.

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