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SOME AMERICAN OPINIONS  
ON THE INDIAN EMPIRE

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# SOME AMERICAN OPINIONS ON THE INDIAN EMPIRE

THEODORE ROOSEVELT  
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT  
FRANKLIN E. JEFFREYS  
ADMIRAL GOODRICH  
JAMES MASCARENE HUBBARD  
JOHN P. JONES  
and others

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## P R E F A C E .

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Great Britain's methods of rule in India are fully understood and greatly admired by the vast majority of Americans. By the latter the publication of this small volume, presenting the considered and favourable opinions of representative Americans who have actual knowledge of conditions in India, or have studied these and similar problems of government, will be welcomed as a striking confirmation of their own views.

No case can gain by being overstated, and it is no small advantage that in such remarkable tributes of impartial critics to British fair dealing in India the presence of overstatement can hardly be suspected. The opinions, which have been compiled from the most disinterested sources, include those of two living ex-Presidents of the United States.





## CONTENTS.

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| THEODORE ROOSEVELT .. .. .   | 1    |
| W. H. TAFT .. .. .   | 3    |
| SHERWOOD EDDY .. .. .  | 5    |
| YEAR BOOK OF INDIAN MISSIONS .. .. .                                   | 7    |
| BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST<br>EPISCOPAL CHURCH .. .. . | 9    |
| AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR<br>FOREIGN MISSIONS .. .. .        | 10   |
| MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD .. .. .                                 | 11   |
| WILLIAM FRANKLIN .. .. .   | 12   |
| REV. FRANKLIN E. JEFFREYS, D.D. .. .. .                                | 15   |
| W. M. ZUMBRO .. .. .   | 16   |
| ADMIRAL C. F. GOODRICH, U.S.N. .. .. .                                 | 18   |
| JAMES MASCARENE HUBBARD .. .. .  | 20   |
| GEORGE McDERMOT, C.S.P. .. .. .  | 24   |
| THEODORE H. BOGGS .. .. .  | 26   |
| WINIFRED HESTON .. .. .  | 27   |
| REV. J. P. JONES, D.D. .. .. .   | 28   |



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## COLONEL ROOSEVELT.

Theodore Roosevelt. Washington, January 18th, 1909. At the African Diamond Jubilee Mass Meeting in the Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D.C.

(From the "New York Times," January 19th, 1909.)

"In India we encounter the most colossal example history affords of the successful administration by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break up of the Roman Empire. Indeed, it is a greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire. Unquestionably mistakes have been made; it would indicate qualities literally superhuman if so gigantic a task had been accomplished without mistakes. It is easy enough to point out shortcomings, but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and the most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries. On the whole it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the nations of India themselves.

"Suffering has been caused in particular cases and at particular times to these natives; much more often, I believe, by well-intentioned ignorance or bad judgment than by any moral obliquity. But on the whole there has been a far more resolute effort to secure fair treatment for the humble and the oppressed during the days of English rule in India than during any other period of recorded India history. England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes;

she spends for India the revenues raised in India, and they are spent for the benefit of the Indians themselves.

“Undoubtedly India is a less pleasant place than formerly for the heads of tyrannical states. There is now little or no room in it for successful freebooter chieftains, for the despots who lived in gorgeous splendour while under their cruel rule the immense mass of their countrymen festered in sodden misery. But the mass of the people has been and are far better off than ever before, and far better off than they would now be if English control were overthrown or withdrawn. Indeed, if English control were now withdrawn from India, the whole Peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence.”

## W. H. TAFT.

W. H. Taft to the Toronto Empire Club, January 29th, 1914.  
(From the London "Times," January 30th, 1914.)

He said that his experience in the Philippines forced him to study the British Colonial system and the marvellous accomplishment of the Imperial Government in spreading civilization over the world and promoting the happiness of 400,000,000 people. But for English enterprise, English courage, English sense of responsibility in governing other races, human civilization would have been greatly retarded.

"When I think of what England has done in India for the happiness of those people; how she found those many millions torn by internecine strife, disrupted with constant wars, unable to continue agriculture or the arts of peace, with inferior roads, tyranny and oppression, and when I think what the Government of Great Britain is now doing for these alien races, the debt the world owes England ought to be acknowledged in no grudging manner."

\* \* \* \* \*

"To-day impartial historians must look at the British Empire from the standpoint of benevolent, useful, elevating government.

"It must be regarded from the point of view of benefit to the human race. No one can encircle the globe, no one live in the Orient, no one go into the tropics, without seeing the Standard of England floating over the soil of her Empire and without having

it brought home to him what a factor in the progress of mankind she has been."

\* \* \* \* \*

"But not only has your Imperial function had to do with the government of other races and with helping them to peace and the arts and comforts of civilization but the enterprise of the English, Scots and Irish, has carried them into far distant lands, there to establish settlements of white subjects of the Empire, and in the last generation we have seen flower into federated unions great governments, in one case called a Dominion in another case a Commonwealth, and in a third a Union, with every reasonable prospect that in this century their wealth and population will approximate those of the Mother Country."

No nation except Great Britain, he said, had such self-governing Dominions of people tied to her Empire with bonds of loyalty and affection which seemed to grow as the actual control of the Mother Country diminished and lightened.

## SHERWOOD EDDY.

India Awakened. Sherwood Eddy. 1910.

“ We may pause to examine briefly the results of British rule. . . . At least seven benefits have accrued to the people. 1. Peace has been at last established. After centuries of bloodshed from wars of invasion, a stable government bringing protection from foes without and abolishing crime, thief-castes and thugs within, has been an untold boon to the country. 2. The material resources of the country have been developed. . . . 3. Education . . . has been widely extended, and there are now over 5,000,000 pupils in schools. 4. Sanitation and medical relief have been offered to the people; and 2,500 hospitals and dispensaries treated over 22,000,000 patients last year. Plague, small-pox, and other diseases have been partly arrested. 5. Trade has largely increased. In fact it has gained tenfold in the last sixty years. 6. An efficient government, with well-managed executive, legislative, and judicial departments, is in operation. . . . 7. British rule is also marked by religious toleration and the broad philanthropic work accomplished by wise legislation, the alleviation of the wrongs of womanhood, the suppression of obscene abominations and the former unjust oppressions of the people, such as the prohibition of the burning of widows and of the practices of the thugs, infanticide, and other abuses. . . . In a word, Britain has so well governed as to change the most changeless nation on earth, and to awaken the most



conservative of Oriental peoples to a natural desire for self-government on the British model.

\* \* \* \* \*

“What would happen if Great Britain left India to-day? . . . India would welter in blood, with hopeless internal wars. The material resources developed in the country would be neglected, and the clock of India’s history would be put back for centuries. . .

“For the following reasons, however, I believe that England’s position is assured in India. England’s purpose and India’s need are identical in demanding at present a strong, benevolent, foreign government for the good of the people. The Indian people are peace-loving, the masses are loyal and contented. The warlike races, such as the fighting Sikhs, the Gurkhas, and the Mohammedans, are in favour of British rule. Moreover, the people are unarmed and divided in race and religion. . . . Most of all, the wise policy of Lord Morley and the British Government wins the loyalty of the conservative majority, by giving the people self-government as fast as they are really capable of enjoying it. There will be local acts of violence, and a few officials and missionaries may lose their lives, but Britain’s wise policy is making for the uplift of India and the ultimate education and contentment of the people.”



## YEAR BOOK OF INDIAN MISSIONS, 1912.

“The new influx of power given by the State to Indians in the Government itself and in its legislative bodies removed much of the dissatisfaction which existed in the minds of the educated, who, indeed, were the only ones who represented ‘unrest’ in India. For it should always be remembered that the common people of India were never more satisfied than they are under the British regime, or had such reason for being contented.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Many are questioning whether the National Congress is any longer needed when the popular voice (if voice there be) is so well articulated in all the legislative bodies of the land. Even the Presidential address of the last National Congress reflected this changed sentiment by its unprecedented, even if qualified, approval of the British Raja as the great Indian opportunity of the ages.

“But nothing has happened this year in India which is in any way comparable in its significance and wide-reaching influence, to the Royal visit to India the last month of the year. His Imperial Majesty, King George V., and Her Majesty, Queen Mary, landed in Bombay, December 2nd, 1911, and spent thirty-nine days in the land, mostly in the three cities of Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta, and the reception which they received at all points was extraordinary in its cordiality and enthusiasm. It may well be said that the whole Peninsula was never before so moved from one end to the other by loyal enthusiasm for the crowned head of the British Empire.

“The irrigation works of India have been carried on by the State from time immemorial. It is during the British period, however, that it has been expanded and developed beyond all precedent and far beyond the irrigation projects and enterprises of any other country on earth.”

## BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST-EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Annual Report, Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist-  
Episcopal Church. Gonda District, 1908.

“In November, 1907, the Government declared famine, and, acting promptly, lent over a million dollars to farmers at very low interest, gave living wages to all who appeared at the relief-works, and hunted out and relieved the indigent and helpless (mostly women) among the better classes in their homes. To all its menial servants whose pay was under 10 rupees (\$3.33) per month, the government gave an extra rupee (33c.) and other help. In the cold season blankets and clothing were given to the destitute, and throughout the famine temporary hospitals were maintained within the reach of all.”

## AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Annual Report, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

1914.

“ There used to be a time when it was felt that a war would mean the loss of India to England, or at least that a war would mean serious trouble for her in her largest colony. Could those who held such views now come to India and see the loyalty which all classes of the people have shown they would indeed be surprised. Though it was known by close observers that India, as a whole, was loyal and would stand by the Empire in case of danger, yet all have been surprised at the depth and sincerity of the loyalty that has been expressed. Ever since the outbreak of the war, princes and people have vied with each other in giving aid to the throne. Not only has much money been given for the war itself and for the relief of suffering caused by the war, but many princes, as well as people, have given their personal services. Not less than 200 lakhs of rupees (about \$6,500,000) have been subscribed to various war funds, and already more than 70,000 soldiers have gone from India to the seat of war. Indians are counting it a glory to fight side by side with British soldiers, and have given a good account of themselves on the battlefield.”

## “MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD.”

“Missionary Review of the World,” April, 1909.

“Rev. L. S. Gates, a missionary now in this country, says : . . . I have lived near the border of one of the largest native states for thirty-three years, and have had the superintendence of schools and other mission work in two of them as well as in British territory. Never have I heard a preference for native rule expressed by the common people. The common term for one of the largest native states is *Mogalai*. This has come to be a synonym for misrule. It makes a native in British territory indignant to have the term *Mogalas* applied to his town. Men who own farms in native states and in British territory have told me that the taxes are about the same in both places *nominally*, but actually more has to be paid in native states. Also that in times of distress, like famine, the taxes in British territory are sometimes remitted, while in native states they are not. A statement was recently published in a first-class American paper that the taxes of the British Government in India are fifty per cent. of the values produced. The taxes are eight times as great in Russia as in India, twenty times in England, and twenty-five times in France.”

## WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Benefits of British Rule in India. Wm. Franklin. "The Alliance Weekly," December 9th, 1911.

"We cannot say that perfect righteousness is enacted even under British rule, but a great advance has been made in that direction. Every town and village has its officers, who are instructed to administer justice to all alike, be he, according to their idiom, 'Raja or ryot,' 'King or subject.' Peace has been so long preserved that in many parts of the country not a shot has been fired in battle for more than sixty years. Forts and walls have been allowed to crumble to pieces. People go about in comparative security unarmed. The highest government officers have no right to take even a pie—one-sixth of a cent.—contrary to law. The inhabitants of India enjoy an amount of liberty which even some nations in Europe would envy. They are free to travel unmolested. They are granted privileges for meeting to discuss public affairs. They are allowed to publish their own papers and magazines. Indeed, they have all the privileges of British subjects.

"It is difficult to separate social life from religious life in India, as the two are so combined that religion enters into every part of social life. This makes it exceedingly difficult for the British to deal with reform of any kind—social, civil, governmental or industrial. The treaty with India permits freedom to all religions and protects all. . . . The British have interfered by legislation in matters of this kind only where they have affected the life or disfigurement of the persons



participating, viz., in suttee, human sacrifices, infanticide, hook-swinging, tongue and body piercing, and the Juggernath festival.

\* \* \* \* \*

“The British Government has brought great benefit to India through land improvement and public works.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Irrigation is another of the great benefits India has derived from the British. Our readers are familiar with the famines in India during recent years, causing untold suffering and the death of many thousands. It is remembered that America gave noble assistance to the famishing sufferers. The British Government also were alert to avert starvation by opening relief works, and to take measures to prevent the liability of the recurrence of famines.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Government test farms have been established in many places in the Empire. The tests made here are reported in the vernacular literature. Farmers are encouraged to meet together for mutual help and to use improved methods and implements. This has been slow work because of caste prejudice, superstition, and ignorance.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Now there are institutions of learning of all kinds, owned and supported by Government, and in some of the lower grades even books, slates and pencils are supplied. To-day India boasts of Primary, Intermediate, Grammar, High, Normal, Art, Medical, Engineering and Surveying, Industrial, Technical, and Agricultural Schools, as well as separate schools for girls. Some native princes, taking lessons from America, have made education in their states. This would not have been done, however, had not the British taken the initiative in introducing education.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ In the early days of war, inter-communication was slow and insecure. Now under Government control there is as fine a system of mail and telegraph communications all over India as in any other part of the world.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Every city and town of any size has its Government hospital, where the people are treated free.

“ Under native rule the people were literally robbed. Now the taxes are reduced to a minimum, not exceeding an amount equal to one dollar per head.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ If the British had failed to respond to India's appeal for help, protection and control, India would undoubtedly be to-day where it was a century ago.”



## REV. FRANKLIN E. JEFFREYS, D.D.

Rev. Franklin E. Jeffreys, D.D. Industrial and Political Situation in India. "Missionary Review of the World," September, 1908.

"The British in India have done a splendid work along many lines in raising the people to a higher standard of civilization. They have introduced trunk lines of railways connecting the great centres of population with the seaports and, like a net-work, they have thrown out a system of splendid public highways reaching to the remotest jungles. They have fostered and developed a thorough educational system, with a curriculum perhaps a little too English, but one that has worked powerful changes in the thought condition of the people. More than 3,000,000 of the Indians are to-day able to speak the language. Perhaps the two greatest blessings brought to India have been the strong central government and the growing spirit of nationalism. In the history of man nothing in the way of alien rule has been so vast in its magnitude or so difficult in the carrying out as the attempt of our English cousins in India, and their splendid success challenges our highest admiration. In all India there is but a handful of English to rule, and they have been training a complex people, made up of 43 different races and nationalities, divided into 2,378 main castes, more or less antagonistic each to the other, and holding a number of distinct religions. These are the people they have been fitting for self-rule!"

## W. M. ZUMBRO.

W. M. Zumbro, President of the American College, Madura, India. India : A Nation in the Making. "Review of Reviews," October, 1907.

"The members of the Congress belong for the most part to the 'Moderate' party. They maintain an attitude of confidence toward the British Government and believe that in the end they will gain what they ask by persistent agitation. They do not on any account wish the guiding hand of the British Raj to be withdrawn, for they know full well that the people of India are not yet ready to take the government into their own hands.

\* \* \* \* \*

"There can be no doubt that England means to do the fair thing with India, sometimes slowly perhaps, and rather grudgingly in some matters, not infrequently, when the interests of India cross those of England, as in the matter of an import duty on English textiles, sacrificing the former to the latter, but yet in the long run determined that India shall have a square deal and when the time comes a government of her own.

"The fact that unrest exists is no discredit to England; rather it is the best possible testament to the excellence of her work. . . . Probably nowhere in the world is there a more efficient, upright, faithful body of men set to rule a country than is to be found in India. Sympathy with the ruled there may not always be, misunderstandings there are a-plenty, and the Britisher is too often inclined to look with proud disdain upon the

people over whom he exercises lordship, but he cannot be accused of neglect of duty, inefficiency or graft.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ While there are possibilities of serious difficulty in the future, there seems good reason to believe that the present discontent is but the normal sign of healthy growth, and that out of the womb of the past a new India is being born fairer, brighter, truer, nobler than anything that the past has ever known.”

## ADMIRAL C. F. GOODRICH, U.S.N.

Admiral C. F. Goodrich, U.S.N. Letter from Bombay. "Nation,"  
May 18th, 1911.

"To our democratic ears the cry: 'India for the Hindus,' sounds as the yearnings of an oppressed nation for self-government, and it enlists our sympathy and something of our support. What does this cry mean to the Hindu himself? Individual freedom, the equality of all, the opening up of all avenues of progress to all natives of every creed, race, and cast indifferently? To the Hindu who lectures in our cities on Indian affairs, and who stirs our blood by the recital of his alleged wrongs, it means nothing of the sort. It means the handing over to the Hindus of the reins of government that they may rule in their own fashion—the upper castes holding all offices, handling all public moneys, dispensing their ancient substitute for justice.

"Every American must wish that Indians may, sooner or later, enjoy real self-government, although the failure of true republics to maintain themselves within the tropics should make him doubtful of immediate success. If he visits their land and uses his eyes, he will recognise the magnitude of the task of fitting this congeries of people to guide their own destinies. They have, speaking generally, always been ruled by others—an experience which has left its mark on their character, and which has sapped their political backbone. They are hopelessly ignorant. Out of above three hundred million men, less than fifteen million men, less than one million women, can

read or write any language. What this nation of agriculture requires is peace, order, universal education, unbiassed and unbought administration of justice for a foundation stone upon which any lasting economic and social structure may be reared. All these, except universal education, the British rule (or raj, as it is called) has given to India, besides other benefits in the way of industry, commerce, irrigation and higher education. In addition, there is an earnest effort to take the natives more and more into its councils and to trust them with more and more of the actual workings of the administration. . . Much is made of an assumed determination on the part of the British to treat the natives with contempt, and especially to have nothing to do with them socially. Put yourself in the place of the British officials before condemning them. How can they enter into friendly relations with a Brahman who looks upon them as unclean, their very touch pollution; who cannot eat with them; who regards their wives and daughters as lost to all shame, and characterises them in words that may not be translated; who will not receive them in his house or permit them to cast their defiling eyes upon the female members of his family? . . . The British acquired India by conquest—not from the peasant and landholder, but from their masters, substituting a just and kindly rule for the tyranny and oppression of their predecessors. What they have done to raise the standard of living, to educate, to fight the plague, to mitigate the horrors of famine, to irrigate, to develop, should be remembered to their credit—for they were under no obligation, other than moral, to do these things.”



## JAMES MASCARENE HUBBARD.

James Mascarene Hubbard. The English in India. "Atlantic Monthly," June, 1908.

"Fifty years ago, on November 1st, 1858, at a great durbar at Allahabad, it was proclaimed that Queen Victoria had assumed the government of India. This fact is of more than mere historic importance, for it marks the beginning of the greatest experiment in government which the world has ever witnessed.

\* \* \* \* \*

"From this rapid survey of the conditions it will readily be seen that there is not a conceivable problem of any importance relating to the government of an oriental people which has not been presented to the British rulers in India for solution. Consequently, a knowledge of their methods, with their successes and their failures, is of unsurpassed importance at the present time. . . . Every point of view can be found presented, from that of the viceroy to that of the educated native; from that of those who will present any subject in the most favourable light, to that of those who will show the profoundest hostility to the foreign raj; from the plea of the missionary, who sees in the continuance of the present rule the only hope of the Indians, to the rabid outpourings of the native vernacular press, which lives upon its denunciations of the British for their rapacious tyranny. In this great mass of evidence the sincere searcher after the truth will find little difficulty in discovering the fundamental principles upon which the Indians have been and are still being governed. For the history of

the last fifty years is a record of true growth, of gaining and acting upon, wisdom from the grievous mistakes as well as from the great administrative successes of the previous hundred years.

“ The grand underlying principle, I have no hesitation in asserting, though the statement would be vehemently denied by members and supporters of the Indian congress, is to govern in the interests of all the people, the peasant as well as the rajah. It is, in other words, to raise those three hundred millions to the same level upon which the self-governing Christian peoples stand, where the rights of the lowest are as sacred as those of the highest. This is a distinction which it is well to bear in mind, for the natives who clamour for independence are not men who have the interests of the low-born peasant at heart, but men who simply desire to perpetuate and strengthen the power of the native ruling classes, those who have kept the peasants for ages in practically hopeless servitude.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ This fundamental principle is shown in the policy which distinguishes English colonial administration from that of France and Germany, the ruling so far as possible through the native forms of government, which ages have developed and to which the people are accustomed. The aim is to continue the present regime, exercising only the supreme power of preventing war, of prohibiting customs contrary to natural rights, as suttee, and to endeavour to secure justice between man and man.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Another thing which characterises the British administration is that the first duty impressed upon the Englishman entering the Indian civil service is that he shall endeavour to understand the people among whom his work lies.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Though it is often said that there is little sympathy between the Englishman and the Indian, and that the Russian and the Frenchman assimilate more readily and completely with the people whom they govern, I do not believe that they understand so well the needs and aspirations of the people under their rule.

\*                    \*                    \*                    \*                    \*

“What are some of the results of these methods of government? What is the present condition of the country? It is enjoying a peace which has been undisturbed for fifty years, so far as the main body of the people is concerned: a peace which, I have no hesitation in asserting, is not maintained by force of arms, but which arises from pure contentment. Nowhere in the world is there exhibited such contentment by people under a foreign yoke. The ground for this statement lies in the fact that . . . . for every four thousand of the natives there is one English soldier (seventy-four thousand men). If the force were proportionally as great as that with which we keep peace in the Philippines, it would be four hundred and fifty thousand strong.

\*                    \*                    \*                    \*                    \*

“The fundamental aim of the British rulers, however, has been the education of the people in self-government. What progress has been made in this direction? In 1905 there were seven hundred and forty-six municipalities, with a population of over sixteen millions governed by committees, the majority of whom are natives, and in many cases all are natives elected by the ratepayers. These bodies have the care of the roads, water supply, markets and sanitation; they impose taxes, enact by-laws, make improvements and spend money, but the sanction of the provincial government is necessary before new taxes can be levied or new by-laws brought into force. . . . There are also representative assemblies or parliaments in two of the great native states. . . . Two of the ten



members of the council of the Secretary of State for India are Indians, and they are to be found in considerable numbers on the councils of the Governor-General and the provincial governors. Indians also hold commissions in the British army."

## GEORGE McDERMOT, C.S.P.

George McDermot, C.S.P. Anarchism in India and its Consequences.  
“American Catholic Quarterly Review,” July, 1909.

“What I wish to do is to clear the ground in the beginning by a statement which may cause astonishment to the American reader and to the Irish politician, who looks on English rule everywhere outside the great self-governing colonies as an unmitigated despotism.

“This certainly is not the case in India. The land laws are excellent. When the administration of them is oppressive—and it is that most frequently to a frightful extent—the native landlords and native magistrates and deputy collectors are the cause. There is a greater degree of local self-government in the four great provinces called the Presidencies and the Central Provinces, the latter under one Governor and his lieutenants, than in English counties before the last Education Act.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Educate the natives for the work of self-government has been the policy all along. It was under this idea that a very high grade of education was set up; that the Civil Service examinations were opened to Indian students; that they were encouraged to flood the Inns of Court, and get called to the Bar; that the prizes and prestige of Oxford and Cambridge were dangled before their eyes.

\* \* \* \* \*

“They (the tillers of the soil) are aware that taxation under the native princes, who hold semi-independent

States under the protection of the Crown, is higher than what they are required to bear. In one instance at least this has been proved when there was an offer of exchange of lands between the Imperial Government and a native prince. The ryots proposed to pay increased taxes rather than consent to the exchange. Now, the ryots constitute the population, for the educated classes to which reference has been already made so often are only one per cent. of the Indian people. They are a disastrous product of a vicious system of education; they are the criminal associations whose methods are those of European Anarchists, whose activity can be checked at any moment by the offer of places, however subordinate, and salaries, however trifling, under the Imperial Government. To deal with factitious and interested discontent, with the native army loyal and the native feudatories attached to the greatness of the Empire, cannot be beyond the resources of statesmanship."

## THEODORE H. BOGGS.

Theodore H. Boggs. The Government of India. "Political Science Quarterly," June, 1911.

"The extension of Indian political reforms ought to be cautious and deliberate, for in India there is no notion of representative or elective government, except among a relatively small number of educated men. For this reason, with the growth of a representative system of government, the vast masses of ignorant and poverty-ridden people may conceivably suffer at the hands of their educated and ambitious fellow-countrymen. The landlord and lawyer classes in India have fattened upon the rack-rented and litigious cultivators of the soil. In the past it has been the disinterested British administrator who has defended the rights of the helpless masses. Tenancy laws, for instance, assuring to the peasants certain rights of occupancy and fair rents, have been passed by the government authorities in the face of determined opposition on the part of the non-official members of the councils, who usually have been of the landlord or lawyer classes. . . . But, despite a possible decrease in administrative efficiency, which is not wholly certain, Great Britain is meeting the demands of its national conscience in seeking to develop self-government, which, exotic though it be, is believed by many Englishmen to be possible of cultivation in India."

## WINIFRED HESTON.

Winifred Heston, Kolhapur, India. What Western Civilization Has Done for British India. "Charities and The Commons," March 7th, 1908.

"Only a superficial observer could say that Western civilization had been an unmixed blessing to the East, but that it has been a blessing and the evils attendant upon it are tremendously over-balanced by the good must be granted."

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"The time has passed when Occidentals are trying to squeeze Orientals into a European mould. Perhaps they are beginning to realize that between the East and the West a great gulf is fixed, but this does not mean that the squeezing efforts of by-gone days have gone for nothing. Western education, Western opportunity, Western good government, Western ideals have made the new India possible, have given her dreams of unity, of political independence, of future greatness. The West in the East has awakened the aspirations of women after a broader life, has given a hope that the 40,000,000 zenana victims may yet be free, that the conditions of disgrace and suffering of 27,000,000 widows may be mitigated. It is changing the attitude of men toward women and their sphere in life, it means flesh to dead bones, life to corpses, it means political, physical, moral and spiritual completeness through the introduction of a complete ideal."

## REV. J. P. JONES, D.D.

Rev. J. P. Jones, D.D., Missionary of the American Board at Pasumalia. "Missionary Review of the World," April, 1907.

"The British Government in India has carried forward the whole people with it in a mighty current of progress. It has educated millions; it has breathed within them the spirit of unrest; it has made them capable of much greater things than their ancestors ever dreamed; in brief, it has brought to them the first dawning sense of national existence and the desire for independence and power. And it has been quieting the spirit which it has thus roused by adding more and more to their privileges and powers. It is to the everlasting credit of Great Britain that she made the present agitation a possibility. Imagine such a movement as this in Russia to-day, or even in more advanced European countries! For it should be remembered that the native of India has absolute liberty of speech, and that the press is unfettered so that it may attack all the institutions of the land and the powers that be. Indeed, many natives to-day are abusing the Government in the most shameful way. Many of us believe that this is far too extended a privilege for a people so little developed in responsibility as Indians.

"To Americans, who have long lived in India, the recent diatribes of Mr. Bryan against the British in India have produced mingled sorrow and indignation. There is a sense, I admit, in which the English have been selfish in the administration of India. It is also true that this government is neither ideal in its form



nor perfect in its achievements. But Mr. Bryan ought to know that his wholesale charge against the people of Great Britain of injustice and cruelty to India is grossly false. Mr. Bryan could not have stabbed England in a more tender spot—tender because there is nothing concerning which she more justly boasts of and takes merited pride in than her achievement in India. The best native papers of India have denounced Mr. Bryan's charges as false, while the meanest sheets of the land have been quoting his charges by the column."

India, Its Life and Thought. 1908.

"In other words, the most urgent need of India at present is social reform, which depends entirely upon the people, and not political reform, which must come from the State. And yet the social reform movement in India is less rapid to-day than at any time during the last quarter of a century. And those who cry loudest for political rights are the ones who cast a sinister eye upon the social reform movement.

"And it must be remembered that the people who cry most loudly for national independence to-day are the very ones whose antecedents and whose fundamental conceptions of life and of society would forbid them to grant even the most elementary social, not to say political, rights to one-half of the population of the land. The way the Brahman and the higher Sudras, who are clamouring for what they regard God-given rights from the British Government, deny

in principle and practice to their fellow-citizens, the so-called outcasts and other members of the community, the most elementary principles of liberty and privilege which they themselves now enjoy, is a significant comment upon their political sanity and sense of congruity.

“In connection with this same problem Indians should not forget that in the multiplicity of antipathies which exist between the many races of India, and in the religious conflicts, which too often arise, there is need, and there will be need for many years, of one supreme power which has the ability to hold the balance of justice evenly between race and race, and to command social and religious liberty to the three hundred millions of the land. And this is what Great Britain has done and is doing for India. *Pax Britannica* has been one of the greatest boons that the West has conferred upon the East.

“It may also be well to add that Indians should have regard to the limits of the rights of a subject people. It is useless to talk of self-government until they are able to exercise the same; and even the most rabid Hindu cannot dream that India is ripe for self-government and could maintain it for a month if the British were to leave the country. And if the British must remain here at all, it must be as the dominant power. Canada and Australia, in their independence, may be ideals for India to pattern after, but India cannot enjoy the rights of those two independent colonies until her character becomes as steady, her ideals of liberty and her practice of social equality and her conception of human rights become as clarified, as they are in those two countries.

“The recent proposal of the Government of India to enlarge the Legislative Councils and to create an Imperial Advisory Council reveals the purpose of the State to grant to the people all that is consistent with the paramountcy of the British in India. But it is this very paramountcy which the extremists deny to



Great Britain. Herein lies the gist of the trouble. It will ere long create a serious impasse.

“Great Britain cannot remain in this land and efface herself. At the same time, when India is prepared for absolute self-government, she will receive the blessing, and Great Britain will leave the land with a blessed consciousness that she has wrought for India the greatest blessing and the noblest achievement that any people has wrought for another and a foreign people in all the history of the world. And until that time comes both India and Great Britain need to thank God that He has so strangely blended together their destinies for the highest elevation of both races.”









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