

out of office, he receives salaams. But when he goes out of the office, nobody salaams him, then the temptation for sacrificing his conscience, then the self-respect for keeping the office will be reduced to a minimum; and this fact will create endless difficulties in maintaining the discipline of the Government offices. This is what it will come to and this is absolutely lawful. No law compels a man to give a chair to a man who comes to his house. He may give it to an ordinary shop-keeper; he may refuse that honour to the Deputy Magistrate. He may give his daughter in marriage to a poor beggar; he may refuse any alliance with the son of a Deputy Magistrate, because it is absolutely within his rights, absolutely within legal bounds."

The positive part of the movement aimed at setting up a machinery of self-government which may run parallel to, but independently of the Government. There are many admirable social objectives like industrial welfare, medical relief, education, which may stimulate the spirit of self-help, self-sacrifice, and above all of co-operation for national purposes. These institutions may be the training-ground in the art of civic life, in co-operative work for public good and in the art of self-government.

## 22. NATIONAL EDUCATION.

If the essential idea behind the new movement is radically different from the essential idea behind the Liberal and Imperial schools, the methods of attaining the idea will be equally different. Liberalism stands for a policy of progressive assimilation of the British. Hence there were differences only of detail between the official and the Liberal school as regards the methods of carrying out the common ideal. But the object of the new movement is to help the ancient spirit and genius of the Indian

nation to re-assert itself in a suitable form under modern conditions. The Liberal school looks forward to the growth and formation of an Indian nationality by the direct influence of the British administration and Western education. The Nationalist school looks forward not to the formation of a new Indian nation, but to the re-birth of the Indian nation, and that not so much by the action as by the re-action set up by a foreign rule and a foreign system of education against itself. Thus, from this new point of view, the whole work of the British in India has come to be viewed from a different angle and evaluated, therefore, quite differently in relation to the well-being and destiny of the Indian nation. The very things like British peace and British education considered as pure blessings of the British Raj by the Liberal School are here considered as so many curses in disguise, so many attempts of a civilised and refined type to finish the work of destruction begun by the British rule. "One of the most remarkable features of British rule in India has been the fact that the injuries done to the people of India have taken the outward form of blessings. Of this, education is a striking example; for no more crushing blows have ever been struck at the roots of Indian National evolution than those which have been struck, often with other and the best intentions in the name of education."

The importance of education as a factor in the building of a society has been amply recognised by all the schools of political thought in India, both official and non-official, and all the authorities outside India. But the importance of education in India as a foundation for national greatness, both in point of wealth and culture, has not received much attention so far either in theory or in practice. The colossal ignorance and industrial backwardness of India make it all the more imperative for her patriots and

statesmen to turn to education of the right type as the one necessary thing for India. "In a country where the economic circumstances brought about by an alien rule, force the people to look at other countries for even the necessaries of life, where the unlimited resources provided by a bountiful providence are closed to the sons of the soil and are only accessible to clever, energetic, and enterprising foreigners, where the wealth of the country is being daily drained out of the country, and where a fairly intelligent population is, for want of education and opportunities, being reduced to the position of drawers of water and hewers of wood; education, I say, is a question of life and death."

Now the quarrel of the Liberals with the authorities was mainly as regards the quantity and extent of education; but the quarrel of the nationalist is as regards the fundamental ideal behind the present system of education obtaining in India and the methods by which that ideal is attained. The Government was actuated to a great extent by the motive of creating a body of intellectuals trained in Western ideals who can understand the beneficent mission of the West and interpret it to the mass-mind, who can serve as administrative and commercial intermediaries between England and India, thus facilitating the process of exploitation and foreign domination by means of native agency and clearing away the mists of ignorance and superstition, which foreboded unknown dangers to the British Government. The whole Liberal school of Indian politicians was the outcome of this education; and who can say that the Government policy of creating a loyal and subservient India was not amply justified? There was also a secret hope in the minds of the authors of the educational policy in those days that the inevitable result of the introduction of English education into India would serve to Christianise the whole of India. "It is my firm belief," wrote Macaulay (Letter to his mother, Oct. 12th. 1836) "that if our plan of education

is followed up, there would not be a single idolator in Bengal 30 years hence!" The whole minute of Macaulay assumes that India is hopelessly sunk in corruption and ignorance and superstition and had no really useful or inspiring culture of her own; and if this assumption is justified, it would be proper to take the line he took and base all his hopes of Indian regeneration on her complete Westernisation. The Liberals have practically accepted all this and have never missed an opportunity of singing the praises of the new system of education and its wonderful results to Indian life and civilisation.

The nationalists repudiate all the assumptions of Macaulay's minute and boldly assert that the new system of education, motivated as it was by imperial selfishness, could only denationalise and devitalise India. B. C. Pal wrote: "The attempt to direct and control the course of public education in the country, mainly and primarily in the interest of the Government, is not new. It is a universal element of state-craft. The injury and injustice come in only when there is a conceit of separate interests in the governing classes, who seek, in that case, to curb and cripple the normal course of intellectual and social evolution in the community, out of regard for the prerogatives and privileges of their own body. The British Government in India has, from the very beginning, tried to shape and control the course of public education, and the motive has always been to strengthen the foundations of their political authority in the country."

This "outlandish and rootless" system of education has destroyed the very springs of national life and energy. It has taught us dependence upon an alien power and an alien culture as the one hope of our national life. It is a denationalising system in every way. It has no reference to Indian life, to the actualities of Indian history, to the realities of our physical environment. It teaches us how to

repeat words without understanding them at all. The greatest pity of it is "that it has divorced our minds, our hearts, our spirits, our character and manhood from our national life... The grass-covered fields, the paddy fields, the mango-groves, the flowering *champaks*, the flowering *bakula*, the *ashoka* tree; all these do not awaken in us any intellectual quickening, or emotional movement, because from our childhood onwards we have lived apart from the actualities of our life."

The manufacture of loyal citizens—loyal to the British Empire—can never be the educational ideal of the Indian nation. The moment the Government saw that a by-product of this education was the "discontented B. A.", the political agitator of the new brand, it began to revise its policy. This was the meaning of the University Act of Lord Curzon. Writers like Burke were eschewed from the University; and if passion for freedom flows from the reading of European history, its study may be tabooed at the University. The officially-controlled education thus led nowhere. It was condemned by officials and non-officials alike. "It was shallow and rootless. It imparted the shadow but not the substance of modern culture to the youths of the nation. It was artificial because foreign in both spirit and form. It led to a fearful waste of youthful time and energy by imposing the necessity of learning a foreign language, to receive instruction through the medium in all higher branches of study. It was controlled by an alien bureaucracy, in the interests mainly of its own political position. It was excessively literary and detrimental to the industrial and economic life of the country."

Hence the demand for "national education" in the country. National education is education conducted along national lines and under national control. It should attempt to bring home the culture of the world to the Indian mind through an Indian language, and in terms of Indian life

and experience. The facts, the illustrations regarding all appeal to nature and history should be drawn from Indian environment and culture. The object of the whole system should be the realisation of Indian national destiny. It should aim at creating genuine Indians and not lifeless imitations of Englishmen, because its main function is to draw out the characteristics and qualities of the taught. It should not be based on the delusion that Indians are savages and its mission is to "convert the heathen", "to civilise the superstitious and caste-ridden mind of India." It should on the other hand, base itself on the actualities of Indian culture; for if we have to reach the Indian mind, it can only be reached through Indian ideals.

The necessity of Indian agency also cannot be over-emphasised. The teachers should be inheritors of Indian traditions and full of reverence for them. Others can be teachers of particular subjects; but not true educators. "The most denationalised Indian is still more Indian than a European... There is one true service, and one only, which England can render to the cause of Indian education; it is the placing of the education budget and the entire control of education in Indian hands... It will be for us to develop the Indian intelligence."

Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer thus summarises the new ideal of national education: "What is a national system of education? It should be a system of education which, while giving us full and efficient training in all practical pursuits of life, will prevent us from being denationalised, will keep us in touch, in spirit as well as in form, with our ancient civilisation and national characteristics, and will make us a patriotic and self-respecting nation. It will enable us to assimilate all that is useful to progress in these days, in Western civilisation and at the same time preserve our distinct nationality. Under such a system of education as I conceive it, more attention will be paid in schools and

colleges, to western science than to western literature, more attention to our past history, to our religious and secular literature, to our national habits than to those of other countries. It will be in complete sympathy with and a faithful reflection of the inner spirit of the people, their thoughts and aspirations. It will respect, revive, and cultivate our arts and industries, our literature, our music, our sports, and pastimes. It will inculcate habits of simplicity, greatness, reverence, and charity. It will inspire the minds of our youths with reverence for our ancient and immortal sages and for their teachings. It will expound the divinity of our Mother and the hallowed land of our Rishis and Munis, the first preceptors of mankind, and instil a feeling of the profoundest reverence for her person and name and a filial gratitude for her unspeakable suffering and sacrifice for her multitudinous children and for the tenderness with which she has nursed them on her vast bosom during centuries of trouble and turmoil. Such is national education as I understand it. It is impossible that we can receive such education from foreigners. In their hands it has made us a nation of quill-drivers and coolies. Our educated classes have added neither to the wealth of the country, nor to the moral strength of the nation. We have reason to feel ashamed of some of our educated countrymen in official service. They are corrupt, cowardly, and unfaithful to the mother that gave them birth. They have sold their soul for a mess of pottage. They deliberately injure their country and bring trouble to their brothers simply that they may be in the good graces of their official superiors...To perpetuate such a state is the inner meaning of the policy of the present system of education."

23. *INNER SIGNIFICANCE OF HINDU NATIONALISM.*

During the troubled years from 1905 to 1910, India