

Muhammadan electorates they could not then agree, and the question was postponed for further consideration at Lucknow.

An important political event of the year was the announcement, on August 7th, of the intended experiment of raising a double-company of Bengalis for military service. The announcement was received with enthusiasm by all loyal gentlemen in Bengal. The double-company afterwards developed into a regiment.

The last week of December will be for ever memorable in the history of Indian politics, for then it was that the Congress Moderates and academic Extremists proclaimed their reunion, and the principal leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, finally composing their principal differences, alike declared for Home Rule. The proceedings of both bodies were orderly, and the resolutions and speeches had been carefully considered.

The Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee, a Lucknow pleader, announced that leaders of both bodies had formulated a scheme of reforms to be pressed upon the attention of the British Parliament and people after the conclusion of the war, in the name of United India, "in order that we may have a controlling voice in the direction of our internal affairs." Indian patriotism was the greatest guarantee of India's loyalty, for the realisation of her most cherished hopes depended upon the continuance of British rule.

The President, Mr. Mazumdar, in a very long address stigmatised the Morley reforms, for which so much gratitude had been expressed in 1909, as "mere moonshine," and, in a brief historical review, stated that the East India Company, "after a hundred years of misrule," had been at last overthrown by a military rising which transferred the government of the country from the Company to the Crown.

"It was this Government," he said, "which, actuated by its benevolent intentions, introduced by slow degrees various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalised the administration, and restored peace and order throughout the country. In its gradual development it introduced, though in a limited form, self-government in the local concerns of the people, admitted the children of the soil to a limited extent into the administration of the country, and reformed the Councils by introducing an appreciable element of representation in them. It has annihilated time and space by the construction of railways and the establishment of telegraphic communication. It has established a form of administration which in its integrity and purity could well vie with that of any other civilised country in the world, while the security of life and property which it conferred was, until lately, a boon of which any people may be justly proud."

In his qualification Mr. Mazumdar evidently referred to measures adopted under the Defence of India Act,¹ and especially to internments of persons considered by Government, on carefully tested evidence, to belong to revolutionary criminal gangs. In fact, however, had he and his friends ever organised a serious and concentrated non-official campaign against the propaganda which breeds revolutionary crime, no internments would have been required.

He went on to complain that now the Administration had resolved itself into a barren and sterile bureaucracy which was "despotism condensed and crystalised."² But, he argued, this despotism had, in fact, worked up to its own subversion for "from the Queen's

¹ See page 98.

² This is a curiously misleading statement. The administration is subject not only to vigilant criticism and supervision, but to elaborate systems of laws and regulations.

Proclamation of 1858 down to Lord Morley's Reforms of 1909, the British Parliament had not taken a single step which was not calculated finally to overthrow this despotic form of government. The education given to the people, the system of local self-government introduced, and the elective principle recognised in the higher Councils of the Empire, had all tended to undermine the old system of government." He animadverted on the educational policy initiated by Lord Curzon's Universities Act, and condemned the working of the Defence Act. The sovereign remedy for all evils was Representative Government alias Home Rule alias *Swaraj*. Self-government should come after the war because it must pass through a preparatory process. It is through failure that success is achieved in practical politics. As regards the masses, the Congress had always pleaded for their amelioration, *and would there not always be the paramount authority of Government to correct abuses and remedy injustice wherever committed?* The recommendations of the Indian Public Services Commission would be of no consequence, for a bureaucratic administration could in no circumstances be liberalised. (Anarchism had its roots deep in economic and political conditions. It was due to misrule, and could only be removed by conciliation. Repression was useless.¹)

¹ It is instructive to consider Mr. Mazumdar's words in the light of the state of affairs revealed by the Governor of Bengal in a speech at Dacca on July 25th, 1917:

"Last year Lord Carmichael spoke to you very frankly upon the question of revolutionary crimes committed by men whose object is the overthrowing of the existing Government in this country. He gave you figures of outrages which had, he believed, been committed with revolutionary ends in view from 1907 up to that time. He told you that no less than 39 murders and over 100 dacoities had been committed—a sufficiently melancholy tale for any Governor to have to tell, and I regret to say that this gruesome catalogue has been added to even during the

India must have a place in the coming Federal Council of the Empire. Their demands would be—(I enumerate the most important) :

“(1) India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing State as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

“(2) In any scheme of readjustment after the war, India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the Colonies of the Empire.

“(3) India must be governed from Delhi and Simla, and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under-Secretaries of State for India, one should be an Indian, and the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates, as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the Dominions. India must have complete autonomy, financial, legislative, as well as administrative.

“(4) The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain-head of all the local administrations, and unless we can ensure short period of my own rule. . . . Widespread and carefully organised though the conspiracy was there shown to be, the experience of its ramifications and the knowledge of its methods which have been gained during the year that has elapsed have shown that it is even more widespread and carefully organised than was known at that time. The second thing that I would commend to your thoughtful consideration is that without the powers conferred upon Government by the Defence of India Act of 1915, it would have been impossible for Government to have obtained control of the movement and to have given to the people of Bengal the comparative immunity from serious revolutionary outrages which they have recently enjoyed.”

The Report of the Sedition Committee amply confirms these words.

its progressive character, any effective reform of the Local Governments would be impossible. Thus the Services must be completely separated from the State, and no member of any Service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a Service may be utilised in the departments, but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

"(5) The Executive Government must vest in a Governor-General and ministers, half of whom should be Indians elected by the Imperial Legislative Council and members of that body.

"(6) The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council as a money bill, and, except the military estimates, the entire budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

"(7) The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous, each province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution toward the maintenance of the supreme Government.

"(8) A Provincial Administration should be vested, as in the case of the supreme Government, in a Governor with a cabinet not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

"(9) India should have a national militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards; all should be allowed to volunteer for service under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The commissioned ranks of the army should be thrown open to His Majesty's Indian subjects.

"(10) All local bodies should have elected chairmen of their own."

(Mr. Mazundar) would agree to no indefinite postponement of satisfaction of his demands. He concluded with a special appeal to the young among his audience. They were to take their place in the

broodless revolution which was going on. "Widespread unrest would inevitably follow light-hearted treatment of the solemn pledges and assurances on which the people had built their hopes."

There is a discussion of the main principles of this scheme in Chapter VII of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

In the course of his address the President had alluded to the "sufferings" of Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant, and these two persons supported a resolution moved by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee requesting that His Majesty the King-Emperor might be pleased soon "to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date." The Congress should also demand that a definite step should be taken toward self-government by granting the reforms enumerated by Mr. Mazumdar.

Mr. Banerjee had been the leader of the Moderates in the Surat Congress. His speech was remarkable in striking an entirely separate note. The ancestors of the Hindus, he said, had been the spiritual teachers of mankind. Their mission had been arrested. Its retardation must be removed so that they might be able to rescue mankind from the gross materialism and perverse moral culture which had heaped the battle-fields of Europe with hecatombs of dead. But they must be fully equipped before they could fulfil their high commission. The indispensable equipment was self-government. Their work was not political, but moral and religious. Therefore they were invincible. They were now within measurable distance of victory. The promised land was in sight.

Mr. Tilak, who had met with a rapturous reception, both at the railway station and on arrival in the Con-

gress *pandal*, said that the ovation which he had received was obviously intended for the principles for which he had been fighting. They were embodied in the resolution moved by Mr. Banerjee. Mrs. Besant spoke of the intolerable condition of things under which Indians were living. Parliament would pass an Act granting freedom. India's belief rested on England and not on the bureaucracy.

(The resolution was carried, and the President announced that a copy thereof would be sent to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

(I have summarised the prominent proceedings at this most important Congress. It will be seen that they constituted a remarkable leap forward from the position taken up by Mr. Sinha in the previous year, and a remarkable triumph for Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant. They did more. They showed that absolute political independence had become the professed ideal of Moderate and Extreme politicians alike, and that Government was confronted with a more definite situation than any that had hitherto presented itself in this connection.) There was a note in the proceedings which implied that if the Extremists had adopted the ideal of the Moderates, they were leading the latter, so far as the Congress was concerned, into the very paths against which Mr. Gokhale warned his countrymen in 1909—the paths trodden by the new school of political thought to which he alluded. (On December 20th, 1907, Lord Morley had written to Lord Minto—"The news has just come in that the Congress so far from being flat, has gone to pieces, which is the exact opposite of flat no doubt. For it means, I suppose, the victory of Extremist over Moderate, going no further at this stage than the breaking up of the Congress, but pointing to a future stage in which the Congress will have become

an Extremist organisation." This future stage had arrived, but later it led, and was bound to lead, to a renewed split.)

(The Congress agreed to call on Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League for co-operation;) and after long private discussion Congress and Muslim Leaguers reached an agreement as to proportions of political representation on the Legislative Councils of the future. The agreement was supplemented by the condition that if in any province two-thirds of either community did not want a Bill or a measure, that Bill or measure should be dropped by both communities. They could not agree as to proportions on local bodies. The Hindu Sabha, or general assembly, which met in the same week, for the purpose of dealing with religious, communal, and social questions, and was largely attended, protested strongly against any Hindu weakening on this subject.

(The chairman of the Reception Committee of the Muslim League, a Lucknow barrister, enlarged on the determination of Indians to devote themselves to and support the British Imperial cause until it should be triumphantly vindicated on the field of battle. The Muslim League must co-operate with other communities for the attainment of self-government or Home Rule, and the minority must and would be safeguarded. The speaker need not undertake a detailed review of the administrative sins and shortcomings "which, like the poor, have always been with us." He referred to the Press Act, the Defence Act, and certain internments.

(The address of the president, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a Bombay barrister, was,) in spite of some rapid skating over thin ice, (one of the ablest speeches delivered during these days of oratory.) He said that the Muhammadan gaze was, like the Hindu gaze, fixed upon the future. The decisions which they then

arrived at would go forth with all the force and weight that could legitimately be claimed by the chosen leaders of 70,000,000 of Indian Muhammadans. He commented in moving terms on the war and on the issues at stake therein. (He remarked on the necessity for reconstruction after the war and on the difficulties of the Indian problem.

"There is," he said, "first the great fact of the British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, which, while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction, and decision, has maintained for many decades unbroken peace and order in the land, administered even-handed justice, brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thoughts and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people. . . . Secondly, there is the fact of the existence of a powerful, unifying process—the most vital and interesting result of Western education in the country—which is creating, out of the diverse mass of race and creed, a new India fast growing to unity of thought, purpose, and outlook, responsive to new appeals of territorial patriotism and nationality, stirring with new energy and aspiration, and becoming daily more purposeful and eager to recover its birthright to direct its own affairs and govern itself. To put it briefly, we have a powerful and efficient bureaucracy of British officers responsible only to the British Parliament, governing, with methods known as benevolent despotism, a people that have grown fully conscious of their destiny and are peacefully struggling for political freedom. This is the Indian problem in a nutshell. The task of British statesmanship is to find a prompt, peaceful, and enduring solution of this problem.")

He described the internal situation in the following terms :

"We have a vast continent inhabited by 315 millions of people sprung from various racial stocks, inheriting various cultures, and professing a variety of religious creeds. This stupendous human group, thrown together under one physical and political environment, is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose, and endeavour." Indian Nationalists were not afraid of frankly admitting that difficulties beset their path, but these difficulties were "already vanishing before the forces which are developing in the new spirit."

Indians, he concluded, were determined to prove their fitness for self-government. The Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement* was the sign of the birth of an United India. The scheme of reforms promulgated by the Congress must be adopted, and a Bill must be introduced into the British Parliament to give effect to it. He entirely identified the Muhammadan political objectives with those of the Hindus, and he urged that no decisions should be arrived at by supreme authority without the publication of proposals in India for public criticism and opinions. He briefly asked that Muhammadans might be allowed to choose their own Caliph. He thanked Government for the assurance that the Holy Places of Islam would receive special consideration. He concluded by applying the recent utterances of the Prime Minister regarding Ireland to the Indian situation. Muhammadans must work and trust in God, so that they might leave to their children the heritage of freedom.

The resolutions adopted by the League closely corresponded to those passed by the Congress. It is remarkable that Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, a well-known Bengali Hindu agitator, was asked to speak on the subject of the Defence Act, and was received with enthusiasm. He remarked that there were no anarchists in

Bengal. There were revolutionary patriots. Revolutionary patriotism would never have been born if there had been no attempt to stifle evolutionary patriotism.

It is important to notice that in spite of the ambitious character of some of the resolutions passed at the Congress and Muslim League meetings, the behaviour of the audiences was generally unexceptionable. The Lieutenant-Governor was present for a brief period on one day of each session and was well received. The proceedings were characterised by orderliness, good humour, and absence of unpleasant demonstrations. The League audiences were far smaller than those of the Congress, and consisted partly of persons who seemed hardly to comprehend all the speeches or subjects referred to by the various speakers. In fact, Mr. Jinnah's representation of himself and his friends as the chosen leaders of 70,000,000 of Mussulmans was decidedly misleading. They had been elected by a small fraction of the 70,000,000. The sessions had been preceded by a regular split among the Muhammadans of the Punjab, and by signs of a split among those of the United Provinces. But the Lucknow Leaguers worked the machine and the finances. They were solid for union with the Congress and carried the meetings, but their action was disapproved by many of their co-religionists, who consider that, whatever politicians may agree upon, the Hindu and Muhammadan masses will, for years to come, need an unbiased arbiter; for in the ordinary life of the ordinary Hindu or Muhammadan, religion and religious susceptibility still play as vigorous a part as they played years ago.

Special efforts had been previously made by the

¹ The great bone of contention is cow-sacrifice by Muhammadans on the occasion of the Bakr-Id festival. This is abhorrent to Hindus, who are taught by their religion to hold the cow sacred.

politicians to enlist the sympathy and help of the students. These efforts naturally obtained a wide success, and the behaviour of all the "volunteers" enlisted was excellent. Many Indian ladies attended the Congress meetings. A noteworthy outcome of the week was the declared determination of Indian Nationalists to push their demands for self-government by introducing a Bill into the Imperial Parliament. There can be no doubt that favoured by the sense of self-esteem produced by the loyal and gallant conduct of Indian soldiers in the war, the general effect of these meetings was to extend the influence of nationalism in the country.

On his return journey to Bombay Mr. Tilak lectured at Cawnpore to a large mass meeting on Home Rule, and met with a remarkably enthusiastic reception ascribed by one of his principal hearers to "the sacrifices that he had made."

CHAPTER V

THE DECLARATION OF AUGUST 20TH, 1917

WHILE the politicians had been concentrating their energies on the attainment of constitutional changes, and Mrs. Besant had been declaiming against the "intolerable condition of things in which Indians lived," the country had been profoundly calm. Although for more than two years the Great War had distracted the world; although in other countries bloodshed and misery, oppression and civil dissension had reigned supreme; India, the ancient battle-ground of Asia, had, in spite of the intermittent and malignant efforts of desperate revolutionaries, throughout remained free from any sort of serious disturbance. The masses had followed their customary callings with their customary placid contentment; the aristocracy had lived their usual sheltered lives; the lawyers had pocketed their fees; journalism had thriven; trade, commerce and business had suffered only from such disturbance as was inevitable during a great world-strain. Markets had at first been affected, but had improved; industrial activities were expanding. The seasons had been good, and the rural population was prosperous.

Only from the martial classes, and especially from the martial classes of the Punjab, was the war exacting sacrifices of severity. The provision of recruits, labour, supplies, railway material, munitions, was adding to the ordinarily heavy tasks of the Government of India,

but had not prevented it from taking thought for the removal of Indian grievances and the promotion of Indian prosperity. And among grave preoccupations, it had been seeking means for the practical solution of the difficult problems presented by the much-desired furtherance of Indian industrial enterprise.

(Since the beginning of this century a popular demand had grown up and increased in India for the development of industries and for vigorous action by the State to produce this development.) (The demand is an expression of political, social, and economic needs.) For many reasons greater industrial activity is desirable. Young men of the English-educated classes are increasingly crowding into the traditional professions of their order, government service, law, medicine, and teaching. Commercial openings are comparatively few, for commercial enterprise on a considerable scale has hitherto been rare among Indians. Economically greater national wealth is desirable, not only for itself, but as a condition necessary for the development of national life.

India was and is mainly an agricultural country. Only 9·5 per cent. of her population are found in towns as against the 78·1 per cent. of England and Wales in pre-war days. Agriculture is her great industry, though it is yielding a far smaller return than it should and, with more skill and applied knowledge, would yield. But India had once, and has still to a shrunken extent, her own minor industries. In rural India, before the days of the steamship and the railway, the village was more or less self-sufficing. It grew its own food and supplied its own simple wants, its agricultural implements and household utensils; and beyond the village in a few larger centres of trade, situated on important land routes, navigable rivers or the coast, a market existed for rarer and costlier articles which largely

found their way to foreign countries. Traders and artisans clustered round the courts of Indian princes; rich silks, jewellery, articles of wood, ivory and metal, were manufactured, sometimes of exquisite workmanship. Communications were difficult, however, and industries of this nature were mainly confined to the manufacture of commodities the costliness of which was sufficient to counterbalance the expense and risk of carriage to a distance. The invention of steam power wrought a complete revolution in this simple economy. The opening of the Suez Canal and the extension of communications by rail and sea encouraged the import of foreign machine-made goods, while it stimulated the cultivation of raw materials for export. The market for the products of the Indian artisan declined. The nature of his calling was modified.

In the application of machinery to industrial development, India has begun to follow Europe, but tardily. Europeans introduced and have practically monopolised the jute manufacturing industry of Calcutta. The first cotton mill in India was set up by a Parsi; and in the cotton spinning and weaving industry in the Bombay Presidency Indians have always occupied a prominent place. There was no systematic investigation, however, of the problems peculiar to India, and there was no attempt on the part of Government or the people to make India economically self-supporting. The general policy was to procure from abroad what could be obtained thence more cheaply and to accept the situation.

As already remarked, however, Indians have been prominent as mill-owners in Bombay, and there it was that the late Mr. Justice Ranade, the social reformer, in a paper read in 1893 before an Industrial Conference at Poona, observed that some of his countrymen were recognising the importance of adopting modern methods

of manufacture and the necessity of reviving and encouraging indigenous industries. His expectations of progress were over-sanguine. (Early in the present century, however, the demand for "Swadeshi" or indigenous industries, which started in Bengal in association with Bengali politics, was considerably intensified by observation of the economic progress of Japan) A number of factory enterprises were undertaken, especially in Bengal, mostly on a small scale, but being devoid of business knowledge or direction, as well as of substantial pecuniary support, these generally failed. For some time the Government stood aside from the effort, content to trust to technical education and the example of British industries, but rapidly it grew obvious that India possessed materials for a large and varied industrial output, and that to call forth these materials would be a great and beneficent work for which far more capital and enterprise were urgently needed. Money, competent managers of labour, expert guidance, were all essential. It became equally plain that unless a strong lead were taken by Government, these would not be found, even though the possibility of the large-scale enterprise in India had been established by some jute and cotton mills as well as by the Tata Iron Works, "a veritable steel city with trans-Atlantic completeness of equipment," which has sprung up within the present century.¹ (Progressive Indians frankly expected material State assistance toward commercial and industrial progress.)

With the outbreak of the war the political and economic importance of raising India from the position of a mere exporter of raw produce was soon emphasised.

¹ "The really great and typical advance of industry in India has been the Tata Iron and Steel Company." Evidence of Sir John Hewett before the Parliamentary Committee.

The success of practical demonstration following on investigation had been previously evidenced in the case of agriculture. It was obvious that this process might be extended to industries. (The question of industrial improvement was raised in the Imperial Legislative Council Sessions of 1915, and it was decided that a Commission should be appointed to consider how it could be effected.) (Some Indian members were anxious for measures of tariff protection, but these were specifically excluded from the terms of reference, although tariff protection is one of the main objectives of Indian Nationalists.) A strong British and Indian Commission was constituted under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland, K.C.I.E., who had been Director of the Indian Geological Survey, and after retirement from office had taken up work as Professor in the University of Manchester and as a consulting geologist.

The proceedings of the Commission were followed with considerable interest. Recognising their lack of technical knowledge and of instruction in the business side of industry, as well as the difficulty of raising funds, the advocates of indigenous enterprise asked for an extreme measure of Government help in regard to both technical education and the grant of special facilities to particular industries. They also requested financial assistance by way of subscription of shares or guarantees. The leading business men made practical suggestions regarding individual difficulties, and a great deal of information of all kinds was obtained. (There were, however, some complaints that the Commission was a device on the part of Government for postponing the grant of solid assistance to Indian industries, or for providing openings for British capital, and very strong exception was taken to the exclusion of tariff questions from the terms of reference.)

One important result early accrued from the investigations of this Commission. A Munitions Board was constituted, under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland, which worked toward co-ordinating Government demands for all war supplies, except food and forage, as well as assisting manufacturers to deal with these demands. Organisation had been needed both among Indian industrialists and among the consuming departments of Government with reference to war conditions. There had been considerable lack of knowledge among manufacturers as to the present and probable requirements of Government; and supplies had been purchased, both by public departments and by private firms, from the United Kingdom and elsewhere which could with more contrivance have been provided in the country. All these shortcomings were vigorously combated, and Government indents began to pass through the hands of the Munitions Board, who, with the help of local controllers in all provinces, obtained information as to the possibilities of manufacture, passed on to industrialists information regarding Government demands, and assisted them, so far as possible, in meeting requirements which could be dealt with by some modification of the existing machinery or process. It was hoped that by the conclusion of peace this Board would have created a Government Stores department, and have itself developed into an industrial department which would ensure the placing in India of the largest possible number of Government and private orders for manufactured articles while, by affording information and advice, it would assist manufacturers to meet those orders.

The Report of the Commission was published late in the year 1918, is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State, and should lay the foundation of

an advance in Indian industries which may greatly extend the field of employment for the Indian professional classes.

(The Government had also been examining another question much debated by politicians, the possibility of substituting a less objectionable scheme for the system of indentured emigration of Indian labourers to certain British Crown-Colonies. There had long been some confusion in the political mind between abuses arising from this system and the exclusion of free Indians from the self-governing Dominions.) In fact no Crown-Colony has ever imported Indian indentured labour and simultaneously restricted free Indian immigration, and (no self-governing Dominion except Natal has ever imported indentured Indian labour. Export of such labour to Natal was stopped some years ago by the Government of India, as they were dissatisfied with the treatment of free Indians by Natal colonists. In declaiming against the export of indentured labour to Crown-Colonies, Indian Nationalists have been influenced partly by the exclusion of free Indian immigrants from self-governing Dominions.) Lord Hardinge had said that the then existing export arrangements must be maintained until the new conditions under which labour should be permitted to proceed to the Colonies had been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Colonies concerned. But some politicians were pressing for early solution, and their representations were being considered by the Government of India in a sympathetic spirit. A temporary solution was found during the February sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, which took place in February 1917.

These sessions require careful notice, for they were of exceptional interest and importance. They commenced, in fact, a period which has not yet concluded,

a period of strenuous efforts by the Government of India to pacify political excitement. These attempts have met with considerable disappointment. The arbitrament now lies with the Imperial Parliament.

The sessions were opened by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, who announced that the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services, appointed in 1912, which had just been published, would be carefully considered. The major questions, among which the increased employment of Indians in the higher branches of the services was one of the most important, would not be prejudiced or delayed by lesser problems. He also announced that the expediency of broadening the basis of government and the demand of Indians to play a greater share in the conduct of public affairs were receiving attention. Progress must be on well-considered and circumspect lines. Subject to these considerations, sympathetic response would be made to the existing spirit of progress. The Government of India had addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State on this subject in the previous autumn. The Viceroy had noted that the reforms proposed in the Memorandum of the nineteen members had received endorsement by resolutions passed by the National Congress. His Majesty's Government were at present entirely occupied on matters connected with the war, and would not be able to give speedy attention to the despatch.

A further opportunity of service had been offered to India by the announcement of an Indian War Loan which would soon be launched. His Excellency referred to the devoted and loyal assistance given by the Ruling Chiefs towards the prosecution of the war, to the flow of contributions, and offers of service from their States. He concluded by announcing the impending organisation of an Indian Defence Force, which would include

Indians, and the representation of India by three selected members at the coming special War Conference in London. These announcements were received with enthusiasm.

On February 21st, the Commander-in-Chief introduced the Defence Force Bill. Its provisions included voluntary enrolment for Indians of the non-martial and political classes. They were welcomed by Indian members of the Council.

The Finance Member, Sir William Meyer, announced on March 1st that, in pursuance of two resolutions moved by Indian non-official members and carried in the Council on September 8th, 1914, and February 24th, 1915, the Government of India had informed the Home Government of their willingness to borrow the largest sum that could be raised as a War Loan, to make a special contribution of £100,000,000 to the war, and to put forward proposals for increasing Indian resources in order to meet the consequent recurring liabilities. Sir William Meyer pointed out that this contribution amounted to nearly double the total Imperial revenue as it stood before the war. He announced that one method of meeting the contribution would be the raising of the import on cotton fabrics from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the general Indian tariff rate. But the cotton excise duty would remain $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. A grievance of twenty years' standing,¹ which had virtually meant protection in favour of Lancashire, was thus removed, and the removal was not effected without a strong and bitter protest from the Lancashire cotton trade. But the action of the Government of India was powerfully upheld by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, both in replying to a deputation and in the House of Commons. It was finally agreed

¹ See page 53.

there that the arrangement should stand, but should be subject to the review of the fiscal system of the whole Empire which would follow the war. Some passages from Mr. Chamberlain's reply to the Lancashire deputation show how much depended and depends on a just settlement of this and similar questions. "Do not underrate the strength of Indian feeling on this question. You said: 'If indeed it was necessary to raise the Customs duty, why ~~did~~ not you also raise the excise'? Well, you have been satisfied for twenty years with the arrangements made by the late Lord Wolverhampton, and afterwards modified by Lord George Hamilton. For all those twenty years the settlement which you have found satisfactory has been an open sore in India. It is twenty years ago that Lord Lansdowne used words which were quoted in the debates of those times by Sir Henry Fowler, and I venture to read them to you to-day, for, if they were true twenty years ago, they are of tenfold greater force and truth to-day. He said: 'There has never been a moment when it was more necessary to counteract the impression that our financial policy in India is dictated by selfish considerations. It is a gross libel to say, and I hope this is true to-day, that either of the great political parties of this country will for the sake of passing advantage deny to the people of India the fair play which they expect.' "

Sir William Meyer's words regarding the raising of the cotton import duties were welcomed with warm enthusiasm, and his announcement of the £100,000,000 loan was received with a single questioning murmur.

In a speech which wound up the Sessions His Excellency the Viceroy invited non-official members to co-operate with the Government of India in organised efforts to stimulate industrial and agricultural develop-

ment, reminding them of the unlimited possibilities of usefulness in these directions, and impressing on them the importance of securing a maximum response to the War Loan. He recommended the new Defence Force measures. He referred to the imposition of the extra duty on cotton goods, reminding them that the Home Government had decided that this would be considered afresh when the fiscal arrangements of the Empire were reviewed as a whole after the war, but stating that what had passed in England should inspire confidence that when that review took place, Indian interests would be stoutly defended.

His Excellency further reminded the Council that, as a consequence of a recent *communiqué*, indentured emigration to Fiji and the West Indies, the only colonies for which the system had survived up to the war, was now at an end, and would probably not recommence. Free labour emigration to Ceylon and Malaya must be restricted by war exigencies. He announced that a Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the educational problems presented by the Calcutta University would meet in the following November. He concluded by reading a message of gratitude from the Premier of the United Kingdom for India's financial contribution to the war. Thus closed a pleasant and harmonious session.

The policy of the Government had been markedly conciliatory and the barometer seemed set fair. But the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council generally reflect the least turbid political moods. There are always persons busy outside whose unceasing object is to prevent the confidence and co-operation for which His Excellency had so earnestly appealed. (On March 5th he had received a deputation which asked for repeal of the Press Act, and his reply to this body ex-

poses so clearly the slanders and misrepresentations with which his Government was wrestling, that I give its prominent passages in a separate appendix.¹) Unfortunately the appeal with which it concluded fell on ears slow to hear.

(Dissatisfaction was expressed with the conditions for recruitment of Indians under the Defence Force Bill;) and for some time very few took advantage of the new opportunities offered. It had been announced that 6,000 were required. Within the first two months after the passing of the Bill only 300 were enrolled. Then a further appeal was issued by Government acknowledging that the conditions were open in some respects to criticism, stating that the question of Commissions was under consideration, and promising sympathetic treatment to all who should come forward. The conditions were to some extent altered, and the period originally fixed for enrolment was extended. The later response to this call on the part of the educated community was disappointing.

In the meantime the Home Rule campaign, which had been approved by the Congress and Muslim League, continued under the leadership of Mrs. Besant. The arguments which she employed in pleading her cause were published in her paper *New India*. Their nature will be apparent further on. Their influence upon the political public and Press was assisted by various speeches and lectures.

(In June a *communiqué* was issued by the Government of Madras stating that, in the exercise of the powers given him under the Defence of India rules, the Governor in Council directed the service of orders on this lady and her two principal lieutenants, prohibiting them from attending or taking part in any meeting, or

¹ See Appendix IV.

from delivering any lecture, from making any speech, and from publishing or procuring the publication of any writing or speech composed by them, placing their correspondence under censorship, and directing that after the expiry of a brief prescribed period, they should take up their residence in one of various specified healthy localities, ceasing to reside at and near the city of Madras.)

(Mrs. Besant took leave of her public in a letter to the Press, describing herself as having been "drafted into the modern equivalent for the Middle Ages *oubliette*." Her real crime was that she had awakened in India national self-respect.)

("Indian labour is wanted for the foreign firms. Indian capital is being drained away by the War Loan, which is to bring no freedom to India, if the autocracy has its way. Indian taxation to pay the interest on the War Loan will be crushing. When that comes, India will realise why I have striven for Home Rule after the war. Only by that can she be saved from ruin, from becoming a nation of coolies for the enrichment of others.")

(It is possible—and I have heard it asserted—that the internment of Mrs. Besant would not have awakened the excitement which it did awaken among her friends and followers had it not followed on speeches by the provincial heads of the Punjab and Madras which had been directed towards allaying the excitement and moderating the expectations caused by the Home Rule propaganda. These speeches¹ were construed as heralding a course of repression, and it was represented that Mrs. Besant's internment was the first step on that road.)

¹ See Appendix V for an extract from the speech by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

(A non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council announced in a Press interview :—" I take it she (Mrs. Besant) will be allowed to go on with her work. If she is exposed to suffering in that cause, thousands of Indians who have not been able to see eye to eye with her in all things will think it their duty to stand by her and to follow her." The same note was struck by many newspaper articles. An appeal was made to the Government of India to procure a reversal of the Madras orders; and when this failed, a wide agitation followed among the political classes both in the Madras Presidency and elsewhere. " Passive resistance " even was proposed and discussed. And while the sentiment was sincere among those who genuinely shared Mrs. Besant's creed and were aware of her considerable gifts of money to Hindu interests, it is probable that numbers of persons attended meetings on the subject who knew and cared little or nothing about Mrs. Besant and her proceedings. The issue of the *Non-Brahman* newspaper of Madras, dated July 15th, thus described some methods employed :

" We can also assure the Government that Home Rule emissaries go about convening meetings and sending telegrams and cablegrams all round. It is this false nature of the agitation that detracts from its value. . . . But the newspaper accounts exaggerate, and there is the inevitable leading article."

And yet what were the facts? To what work had Mrs. Besant devoted her energies at a time when the Government by law established had particularly appealed for loyal assistance from all classes?

What spirit had she expected to call forth from impressionable young India when she published the following passages referring to Indian revolutionaries?

"Desperate they broke away from all control of their elders, began to conspire, and numbers of them have conspired ever since. Some have been hanged; some were sent to the living death of the Andaman Islands; some were imprisoned here. Now the students watch with amazement the Premier of Great Britain rejoicing over the results of the similar action of young Russian men and women who conspired and blew up trains and assassinated a Tsar, and who are now applauded as martyrs, and the still living of whom are being brought back in triumph to the Russia whose freedom they have made possible. The names which were execrated are held sacred and sufferings are crowned with triumph."¹

And again, when she published her article, "The Great Betrayal,"² in the *New India* issue of May 2nd, 1917, was her action calculated to promote loyal

¹ Extract from the issue of *New India*, dated May 23rd, 1917.

² "That vote (at the Imperial War Conference) compels India to remain a plantation, that which the East India Company made her, destroying her indigenous manufactures to that end, the manufactures which had created her enormous wealth, the wealth which lured the Western nations to her shores. . . . The policy which reduced the Indian masses to poverty and brought about the Rebellion of 1857, consisted of keeping India as a reservoir of raw materials. . . . The Imperial Conference now proposes to continue the process, but to deprive India of the small advantage she possesses of selling her raw materials in the open European market, and thus obtaining a price fixed by the need of competing nations. She is to sell her cotton within the Empire at a price fixed to suit the colourless purchasers of England and the Dominions, fixed in a market controlled by them, fixed to give them the largest profit and reduce her to the lowest point. . . . She will be paid the lowest price which her necessities compel her to accept, and will become the wage-labourer, the wage-slave of the Empire. . . . Such is the great betrayal of India by the Government of India nominees, But they have made one thing clear. Unless the coming of Home Rule be hastened, so that India is freed before the great battle for Imperial preference is fought out, India will be ruined. The trio of Government delegates, in concert with the Secretary of State for India, have voted away all hope of India's industrial regeneration."

support of the State in an hour of great need? What had been the limitations imposed on her? She had been asked to take her choice of several healthy places of residence, to desist from political activities, and to submit to restrictions on her correspondence. It is difficult to see how she was wronged by the action of the Madras Government.)

The internment of Mrs. Besant had been shortly preceded by the return from the Imperial War Conference in England of the delegates selected by the Government of India, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and Sir Satyendra Sinha, member of the Bengal Executive Council. For the first time a ruling prince and an Indian member of Council had "shared in the innermost deliberations of the Empire."

The meaning and results of the occasion were explained by Sir James Meston in an eloquent speech to his provincial legislative Council, which concluded with an appeal for political patience and an assurance that those who were directing the affairs of India were not hostile, but favourable to her advance toward greater freedom in her national life.

Agitation, however, continued among the Home Rule Leaguers, and meetings were held in various towns. On August 22nd, however, a new direction was given to political meditations by two memorable pronouncements made by the Secretary of State for India. The first was to the following effect:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual develop-

ment of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

"Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

The second ran as follows :

"The Secretary of State for India has announced in the House of Commons the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar which has hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to commissioned rank in His Majesty's Army, and steps are accordingly being taken respecting the grant of commissions to nine Indian officers belonging to Native Indian Land Forces.

who have served in the field in the present war and whom the Government of India recommended for this honour in recognition of their services. Their names will be notified in the *London Gazette*, and in the same gazette they will be posted to the Indian Army.

"The Secretary of State and the Government of India are discussing the general conditions under which Indians should in future be eligible for commissions. In due course the Army Council will be consulted with a view to the introduction of a carefully considered scheme to provide for the selection of candidates and for training them in important duties which will devolve upon them."¹

It is remarkable that these announcements had been shortly preceded by the death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji,² the veteran Indian politician, who had sat in the British Parliament and had done as much as any other man to achieve the result which had been at last obtained. The ideal so often put forward by the Congress had been accepted as practicable, and steps would be taken to secure its achievement.

The September Sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council opened with a speech by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, which carefully reviewed the work accomplished by his Government, including a remarkable record of war activities and the efforts already made to meet political objectives. The Viceroy concluded with an earnest appeal to leading politicians for co-operation. The speech had been preceded by the announcement made by the Home Member of Council that the Government of India were prepared to recommend to the Madras Government the removal of restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant and her coadjutors, if the

¹ On June 21st, 1918, the results of this consultation were announced.

² See Appendix VI.

Government of India were satisfied that these persons would abstain from unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation during the remainder of the war. In taking this course the Government of India were actuated by the confident hope that the recent announcement of His Majesty's Government and the approaching visit of Mr. Montagu would have such a tranquillising effect on the political situation as to ensure a calm and dispassionate consideration of the difficult problems which were to be investigated during his stay in this country. The Government of India were prepared, subject to the same conditions, to take the same course in regard to other persons upon whom restrictions had been placed under those rules merely by reason of their violent methods of political agitation.

Both speech and announcement were well received by the political public, but before Mr. Montagu's arrival notable events occurred which sharply impressed on all concerned that there is another and a far larger public always present in India. Its needs may be elemental, but can at times become loudly clamorous.

It is, after all, the India which pays by far the larger share of taxes. It is also an India with which we may hazard too much.

Persons who observe the generally docile and law-abiding habits of the masses in India, are slow to realise that these same people can be worked up to an extraordinary pitch of fanatical fury, and that if captured by insidious appeals, especially appeals made in the name of religion, they are prone to act with unreasoning and brutal violence. Intensely credulous, they are also, if astutely approached, when they have reason to believe that the Government dare no longer restrain them, extremely excitable. The close of the year 1917 was marked by a rude reminder of the possibilities which

this circumstance involves.) A situation arose, and was later to arise even more abruptly in another part of India, for which the only immediate remedy was force applied in time by strong and resolute authority unbiased by any sectional influence. (The story of the Arrah riots should be clearly understood by those who wish to form an idea of the emergencies for which Government in India must always be prepared)

The area in which these disturbances occurred is the flat tract of the Patna division of Bihar which lies north of the Kaimur Hills, south of the Ganges and adjoining the eastern districts of the United Provinces. The western portion of this tract belongs to the Shahabad district, and the eastern portion belongs to the Patna and Gaya districts; Arrah is the headquarters town of the Shahabad district.

The tract is for the most part a stiff clay country covered with rice-fields and poorly endowed with means of communication. It is interspersed with a network of ditches, drains, and village channels. Rapid movement is impossible to persons unversed in local geography.

The inhabitants are mainly Hindus, but there is also a considerable Muhammadan population. The Hindu landed proprietors there are extremely conservative, jealous of any agrarian measures or legislation that seem likely to lessen their powers over their tenants, and deeply imbued with the old Hindu reverence for the cow and aversion to all who sacrifice or slaughter that useful animal. In Shahabad alone of Bihar districts was there any indigenous rising during the Mutiny. Long after 1857, Kuar Singh, a Rajput landlord of Jagdispur in Shahabad, waged war against the British Government in the very country which is the subject of the following narrative and in the eastern districts of the United

Provinces. His exploits are well-remembered in Shahabad, and his family is present there.

During the early nineties serious opposition was offered to cow-killing in the Patna division, and culminated in riots which spread into the Benares and Gorakhpur divisions of the United Provinces. The people of these parts in races and character largely resemble their Bihar neighbours. The Bakr-Id Muhammadan festival of 1893, which was as usual celebrated by sacrifices of goats and cows, was signalled by the collection of mobs of Hindus organised with the intention of forcibly putting an end to cow-killing. In some, but not in all, cases considerable provocation had been given by Muhammadans, and there can be no doubt that the riots which occurred resulted from a roughly organised Hindu movement. One of its manifestations was attacks on cattle which had been purchased in Bihar for Army Commissariat purposes. This violent agitation was repressed by the Government, and has since subsided in the United Provinces, but in Bihar it again became prominent in 1911, when various disturbances occurred in the Monghyr and Patna districts. In the latter disorderly mobs of low caste Hindus collected and prevented cow-sacrifices at various places. Similar disturbances occurred in 1912. Some of the riots were organised by Hindus of the higher castes. Strong police forces were quartered in the more disturbed areas, but in 1915 precautions were relaxed, with the result that on the Bakr-Id day a large armed Hindu mob appeared at a village named Kanchanpur, and declared their intention of forcibly preventing cow-sacrifice. The local authorities could only prevail on this force to disperse by persuading the Muhammadans of the village to sell their cows to the Hindus and to abandon their sacrifices. Emboldened by success, the

mob on the following day plundered another village. Their successful defiance of law and order led to further outrages in the following year. Meetings were held at which riots were carefully organised, and although a large force of military police had been drafted into the Patna district before the Bakr-Id of 1916, an armed mob of about 5,000 Hindus, arrayed in rude formation, attacked the military police at Kanchanpur who were protecting the resident Muhammadans after the conclusion of the sacrifices. The police were compelled to open fire, and several rioters were killed or wounded.

A more serious riot occurred in another police circle. Eight thousand Hindus collected from forty villages and, besieging the village of Jadupur, which was held by police, seized cows intended for sacrifice and dispersed. In a few cases, too, Commissariat cattle were rescued. About 150 of the rioters were convicted and punished, but Hindu and Muhammadan feelings were deeply stirred throughout Bihar. Hindus had become familiar with organised attacks, which had achieved considerable success. They had seen reason to think that if they could terrorise Muhammadans and force them to desist from sacrificing cows, the Government would not intervene, provided that the public peace remained unbroken.

In 1917 careful precautions were taken, but no information was received which pointed to the likelihood of disturbances in Shahabad, where there had been no anti-cow-killing riot for nearly a quarter of a century. Yet this district was to witness an outbreak beside which all the previous disturbances which we have mentioned were insignificant trifles. Each of these consisted of a single riot at a single village, and on the conclusion of the trouble the rioters dispersed to their homes. But the Shahabad or Arrah riots of 1917,

many of which were equal in magnitude to any of the Patna riots, broke out simultaneously over the greater part of the district, and "to find any parallel to the state of turmoil and disorder that ensued, it is necessary to go back over a period of sixty years to the days of the great Mutiny."¹

The first outbreak was at Ibrahimpur, a village near Piru, a large bazar and a station on the light railway, twenty-five miles south of Arrah. Information had been received by the District officials at Arrah on September 22nd of a Bakr-Id dispute, but this seemed to terminate in a compromise arranged between the parties by the good offices of the Muhammadan subdivisional officer and a local Hindu barrister land-owner, the Muhammadans agreeing to sacrifice goats as well as cows, and the Hindus undertaking to provide the goats and make certain other concessions. In defiance of this compromise, on the morning of the 28th, a large mob of Hindus attacked Ibrahimpur and two neighbouring villages where cow-sacrifice had till then been performed without dispute. They drove off cattle and goats belonging to Muhammadans and plundered houses. As the Hindus had thus grossly violated the terms of the compromise, the authorities allowed the Muhammadans of Ibrahimpur to perform the cow-sacrifices which they had originally consented to forgo, and the Hindus of the village acquiesced in the justice of this decision. The sacrifices were thus performed on the 29th, but in private, and with precautions to avoid wanton offence to Hindu feeling.

On the morning of the 30th Ibrahimpur was attacked by a large Hindu mob, and houses were plundered before this mob was driven off by armed police,

¹ Resolution of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, dated June 13th, 1918.

who were on several occasions compelled to fire. On the same day extra police arrived under the Commissioner and the Deputy Inspector-General. Quiet was obtained for the time, but the air was full of alarming rumours, and the Muhammadans were in a state of terror. Two days later rioting began throughout a large tract of about forty miles square which passed into the hands of Hindu mobs. These attacked and plundered every Muhammadan house or village which they could reach. It was necessary to seek aid from the military, and British and Indian cavalry, in conjunction with British infantry, were pushed out in bodies to protect the affected villages. For some time riots continued, and Arrah itself was threatened with attack. In most cases the Muhammadans fled as the mobs approached, but in two villages, though hopelessly outnumbered, they offered a fierce resistance, beating off repeated attacks before they were finally overpowered. By October 7th 129 villages had been plundered in Shahabad, and it was only when troops had arrived in sufficient strength, and had established thirteen posts throughout the disturbed area which were connected by cavalry and motor-car patrols along the main roads, that the rioting ceased. Even then the country remained for some time in a state of ferment. The disturbances, too, spread to Gaya, where between October 8th and 13th over thirty villages were plundered.

During the days of mob-ascendancy, those Muhammadans who could not reach secure shelter were exposed to sufferings which it is unnecessary to detail here. They are set forth in the judgments of the Commissioners who tried the cases arising from the attacks on various villages.

Six days elapsed before the local officers were able

to get complete control of the situation. The police forces at their disposal were entirely inadequate, and the military forces within easy reach consisted only of one weak garrison. Troops from more distant places were only obtained with delay and in detachments. The wide area and indifferent communications of the tract concerned made it difficult to move the soldiers. But the rioters, on the other hand, moved freely about over narrow embankments between the waterlogged fields, and generally melted away on the approach of the troops, only to collect again at a safe distance and loot fresh villages. They took good care to disperse at once whenever the military appeared, and thus avoided being fired at.

All the time the Muhammadans of Patna and Gaya were in a condition little short of panic; and there can be no doubt that further continuance of the riots would have set the whole of Bihar ablaze and seriously affected the eastern districts of the United Provinces.

The disturbances had been organised with great care and skill. The religious dispute in Ibrahimpur, which was subsequently adduced as their cause, had been amicably settled, and nowhere had the Muhammadans offered any provocation. Numerous snowball letters inciting Hindus to loot certain villages on fixed dates came to light, and in many cases there was evidence that bands of rioters were operating on a definite plan. They had evidently been instructed as to the lengths to which they were to go. Murder was not committed except in overcoming resistance. Damage to Government property was avoided except in a few cases where the telegraph wires were cut so as to hamper the transmission of intelligence. Although the area concerned contains many post offices, canal headquarters, and other places where Government money was kept, these

were left untouched. The object of the organisers appears to have been to convince the authorities that the movement was purely religious and anti-Muhammadan. According to a statement made by a convicted rioter, their plans were carefully elaborated. Their following was assured by the welding potency of the call to protect the cows, which appeals most strongly to all Hindus, and especially to those of the higher castes. The rioters apparently believed that they could deal such a blow at the Muhammadans as to end cow-sacrifice decisively. They had been captured by war-unrest, and had imbibed the idea that the moment was opportune because British rule had sunk into weakness and decline. A perusal of some of the snow-ball leaflets shows that assurance was given therein of German and Bengali succour. The rioters of Piru attacked with cries of "British rule is gone," and at first believed that no troops were available to suppress them. When the troops arrived, it was rumoured that they had no ammunition or had been forbidden to fire.

The brutalities practised on the unfortunate victims of these riots were the theme of indignation meetings in many mosques in northern India, and collections were made in aid of the sufferers wherever there were Muhammadans. The organisers of many meetings came from classes which from indifference and fear of controversy had hitherto remained silent in politics. They expressed a deep and widespread sentiment. Relations between the two great communities were tense and uneasy throughout the concurrent Ram Lila and Muharram festivals in many districts of the neighbouring United Provinces. Serious disturbances occurred at three well-known places.

CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMS REPORT

THE object of Mr. Montagu's visit was to determine, on the spot and in consultation with the Viceroy, what steps should be taken in the direction of establishing in India government responsible to the peoples of the various provinces. The London Cabinet recognised that such establishment must be gradual, that progress towards it could be satisfactorily effected only by stages; but they considered that no time should be lost in making substantial steps toward the goal. What these substantial steps should be was the problem; but it was desired that a considerable advance should be made on the Minto-Morley Reforms which had been in operation for eight years only.

Mr. Montagu and his party arrived in India late in the year 1917, and after preliminary conferences with the Government of India and heads of provinces at Delhi, they toured to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. They were accompanied by the Viceroy and the Home Member of His Excellency's Executive Council, and everywhere consulted leading non-officials and officials. On the conclusion of the tour, further consultations were held, and it was not until near the end of April 1918 that the Secretary of State and his party returned to England.

The tour attracted universal attention. The European non-officials and other communities had appointed

representative councils to draw up petitions for the protection of their interests. Addresses were presented by numerous associations ; the landlords, the depressed classes, the Deccan Ryots, the Indian Christians, and many other sections of an enormous population claimed earnestly that in the new era that was dawning their peculiar interests might be duly safeguarded and not left to the unfettered arbitration of any numerical majority.

The Congress and the Muslim League urged the adoption of a constitution which would embody the provisions framed at their meetings of 1916. In December 1917 both bodies assembled at Calcutta. Mrs. Besant presided over the Congress, which was described by a leading Indian paper as " the Congress of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak, of Mrs. Besant more than Mr. Tilak."

The attendance was large ; but the Moderates were becoming surfeited with the dominant political powers, and the Muhammadans were establishing dissenting Muslim associations.

The British reverses in France arrested the attention of the country ; and in April 1918 the Viceroy, at the instance of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, summoned the ruling chiefs and the leading non-official representatives of British India to a conference at Delhi. The object was to arrange that all possible assistance, in the shape of men, money, and supplies, should be given to the cause of the Allies at an hour of supreme need.

Sub-committees were appointed to devise ways and means, and speeches were delivered which breathed a spirit of energetic loyalty to the British Crown. Opportunity, however, was taken by the Honourable Mr. Khaparde, a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and of the Home Rule League, to bring forward a

resolution recommending to the British Government immediate introduction into Parliament of a Bill "meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible government in India within a reasonable and specified period." The Conference was also to advise the immediate removal of all racial distinctions.

This resolution was disallowed by the Viceroy as foreign to the purpose of the Conference.

Among various eloquent utterances on a great occasion, those of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar and of the late Mr. Ironside, the representative of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, were particularly memorable.¹

Conferences were also held at provincial centres. A great impulse was given to war-efforts of all kinds, especially to recruiting, which made remarkable progress in the United Provinces and the Punjab; but simultaneously it became increasingly clear that some elements of Indian society were bent on turning the difficulties of the hour to political advantage. On June 10th, at the Bombay Provincial War Conference, the Governor, H.E. Lord Willingdon declared that certain gentlemen, many of whom were connected with the Home Rule League, had not only not given the help to Government which it was fairly entitled to expect from them in such critical times, but had even endeavoured to increase its difficulties and embarrassment wherever and whenever they could.

His Excellency refused to allow Mr. B. G. Tilak and another Home Rule leader to offer observations which he characterised as political, although these gentlemen asserted that they and their League were loyal to the King-Emperor. Three of their sympathisers left the hall. The Conference, however, passed, with acclama-

¹ See Appendix VIII (a) and (b).

tion, a resolution authorising the Governor to convey to His Majesty an assurance of the determination of the Bombay Presidency to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire was passing.

On June 16th Home Rule day was celebrated at Madras. That date was selected as it was the anniversary of the internment of Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants. The meeting was presided over by Sir Subramania Aiyar, who had once been a judge of the Madras High Court, but had later earned fame as the author of a letter to President Wilson which described India as a subject-nation held in chains, forbidden by alien rulers to express publicly her desire for the ideals proclaimed in the President's famous war message.¹ The meeting was addressed by the chairman, who advocated "passive resistance" as a constitutional method of enforcing the claim for Home Rule. Agitation, he said, was not enough. What was required was a promise of Home Rule at a definite period. Mrs. Besant, who was present, protested against the "insult" levelled against members of the Home Rule League by the Governor of Bombay, and stated that the share of India in the Empire was the giving of men and money. How could Indians be asked to fight for a liberty in which they would not share? Life without liberty was a poor and contemptible thing.

All these proceedings were repugnant to reasonable politicians who were disposed to do their best as loyal citizens, but found themselves frequently pushed aside. Passages in newspapers from time to time expressed their sentiments. These are best illustrated by a quotation :

"In nearly all parts of India where political life is

¹ See page 36.

earnest, certain persons have of late been preaching a crusade against the older leaders. The younger Congressmen have been made to believe that, if only they crippled these and laid them on the shelf, the principal obstacle in the way of India's progress would be removed. We do not grudge the new leaders their success. Far be it from us to do so. But it is much to be wished that their success was attained by methods which left the young heart pure and tender and chivalrous, and which did not rob it of the rare jewel of ancient Indian culture, the quality of reverence. The renovated polity of the future cannot lose it except at its peril."—*Servant of India*.

A stronger protest appeared in the *Times of India* from Mr. N. Tilak, a cousin of Mr. B. G. Tilak and an ex-member of the Home Rule League, who wrote as follows:

"One characteristic difference between the two parties of Indian politicians, the Extremists and the Moderates, is that while the former have little faith in the sincerity of Government, the very fact of Government sincerity is the great hope of the latter. 'With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.' The cardinal fact in the whole situation is that the Home Rule Leaguers have not yet realised their country's vital relation to the war. They are blind to the all-important fact that the time has already come to prepare seriously for the defence of their own country. Consequently they are under the delusion that whatever is done by the Indian people to help the cause of the Allies is done by way of obliging the British Government. The question with them is thus whether their countrymen should oblige Government or should receive in advance the price of the service they render for Government. To yield to so utter and so grave a misunderstanding of the whole situation would be the

greatest possible danger to India in this critical hour. In expressing his opinion of the Home Rulers I think His Excellency the Governor meant this and nothing more."

"We here in India are not sufficiently aware of the gravity of the situation, a complete knowledge of which would surely be enough to make us lay aside all petty considerations, bury deep all differences, and place ourselves and our resources at the disposal of our defenders without the least reserve and absolutely unconditionally. If the worst fears are realised with the Home Rulers having done nothing save raise their party cry, it will then not be Government so much as we, the Home Rulers' fellow-citizens, who will pronounce them to be India's worst enemies. The changed times give us a very clear message, which is that we should forget every self-centred problem and, summing up all the powers we possess, stand by our Government loyally and heroically. Times like these are simply putting us to the test, whether we are really fit for Home Rule, and, if we are fit, then to what extent. This great question of our fitness will be decided not by our own opinions, still less by our party creeds, but by the opinion of those British people who are determined to fight for victory till their last drop of blood is spilt and by the whole civilised world, which has become Britain's comrade in this war for justice, equity, and liberty. To secure the good opinion of liberty-loving Britain and the world we must rise above the turmoil of political agitation which at present rules our hearts."

Mr. Tilak added that he did not wish to be understood to mean that India did not look for any form of self-government. What was certain, however, was that the vast bulk of the Indian people did not want the Home Rule proposed by the Extremists.

"It is indeed," he said, "an extremely difficult hour

for those high-souled Brahmans, who, abhorring the course proposed by the Extremists in politics, are genuinely loyal to their country and their king. As for the non-Brahmans, they have only one idea, one purpose, one goal, and that is the safety, permanence, and continuity of British rule in India."

The intemperate political tendencies of the hour were further rebuked by a person who has since become conspicuous in a less happy connection. His antecedents had been remarkable.

{ Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is now an elderly man, and belongs to the Hindu Vaishya or merchant caste. He is a native of Guzerat, in the presidency of Bombay, and has been called to the English Bar. Returning to India, he began to practise in the Bombay High Court, and was retained by a firm of his native town Purbandar to conduct a lawsuit in Natal.

While in South Africa¹ his sympathies were stirred by the disabilities suffered by his countrymen there, both indentured labourers and others.

He initiated strong protests, and in 1896 visited India, but returned to South Africa and assisted to organise Indian ambulances during the Boer War. Afterwards he enrolled himself as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Pretoria, arranging also for the purchase of a press and the starting of a newspaper. In 1906 the Government of the Transvaal enacted a law which required all Asiatics to register by means of thumb-impressions. The object was to prevent unlawful immigration. This law was stubbornly opposed by Mr. Gandhi and his followers on the ground that it degraded them. They combated its operation by

¹ I have taken the incidents of Mr. Gandhi's South African career from the only source available to me, a book called *Heroes of the Hour*, published by Ganesh & Co. of Madras.

passive resistance, refusing to register ; and Mr. Gandhi himself underwent two short terms of imprisonment. The struggle, which lasted some time, excited the keen sympathy of educated India ; and when in March 1912 Mr. Gokhale moved in the Imperial Legislative Council for the abolition of indentured emigration to Natal, the resolution was accepted by Government. After the accomplishment of the Union of South Africa, the British Cabinet, at the instance of the Government of India, endeavoured to procure repeal of the registration law ; but repeal, when it came, was followed by the passing of an Immigration Act which was repugnant to Mr. Gandhi and his followers. At their invitation, and with the approval of the Home Government, Mr. Gokhale visited South Africa, but agitation continued for the removal of certain disabilities.

Another big effort of passive resistance and a strike of Indian labourers in the coal mines of Natal excited renewed sympathy in India, which was expressed by the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, in a public speech. A Commission of Enquiry was appointed, and resulted in the removal of an obnoxious tax and other grievances.

Mr. Gandhi returned to India with a considerable reputation, and began to interest himself in affairs there. He first interfered in disputes between the indigo planters of Bihar and their tenants, championing the cause of the latter, and serving on the Commission appointed by Government to investigate their complaints. He then took up the case of the revenue-payers of the Kaira district of Bombay, who complained that the Government demand was too rigorous in view of scarcity.

His history gave him a unique position among the political classes, and latterly he had acquired a reputation among some persons of humbler position. To all

he preached the doctrine that *satya griha* (insistence on truth, popularly translated as passive resistance) would conquer all difficulties. He was invited to and attended the Delhi War Conference. There he spoke briefly in favour of the loyal resolution moved by the Gaekwar of Baroda.

Now also, appealing to the Kaira people in whose affairs he had recently shown interest, he urged them to qualify themselves for Home Rule by helping the Empire. Again, at a Home Rule meeting convened in Bombay in order to protest against Lord Willingdon's speech of June 10th, he advised unconditional co-operation with Government on the part of educated India as more likely than anything else to bring Home Rule in sight.

The above criticisms and appeals did not affect the Extremist attitude; and when, on July 8th, the Reforms Report was published, the scheme which it proposed was promptly condemned by Extremist politicians and newspapers as inadequate and disappointing. The Moderates, however, welcomed this scheme, although they proposed to ask for some alterations; and as the Extremists persisted in their attitude of disdain, the Moderate leaders decided not to attend the special Congress arranged for discussion of the proposals, and resolved to call a subsequent conference of their own. Before, however, proceeding further with this narrative, it is desirable to give some account of the Reforms proposals. The Report was in two parts, the first headed "the material," and the second headed "the proposals."

The first part was a fine exposition of the situation; but interest, as was natural, mainly settled on the second part.

The most important proposal was the provision for

the major provinces of India (excluding Burma) of dyarchies or governments consisting of two wings, the first composed of a governor and two executive councillors, an Indian and a British official, appointed by the Crown, the second composed of a minister or ministers nominated by the Governor from among the elected members of the provincial Legislative Council and holding office for the term of the council concerned.

The Governor and Executive Councillors were to hold charge of the major or essential departments. These would be called "reserved."

The minister or ministers would take charge of other departments. These would be termed "transferred." The Government, thus constituted, would deliberate generally as a whole, but the Governor would have power to summon either wing for separate deliberation.

Decisions on the reserved subjects, and supplies for them in the provincial budget, would rest with the Governor and his Executive Council; decisions on and supplies for the transferred subjects would rest with the Governor and the ministers. The Governor was not to be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to the proposals of ministers. He was to be guided by an instrument of instructions issued to him on appointment by the Secretary of State in Council, or by the Secretary of State should the Council of the Secretary of State fail to survive reform. The Governor was, however, to advise his ministers, and could refuse assent to their decisions "when the consequences of acquiescence would clearly be serious."

Distinction between "reserved" and "transferred" departments would be drawn by a committee which would be appointed for inquiry into and report on this difficult question. The guiding principle should be "to include in the transferred list those departments

which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes that occur, though serious, would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development."

Provincial legislatures would be greatly enlarged and would contain substantial elected majorities. Election was to be on as broad a basis as possible, for the authors of the scheme did not intend that the result of their labours should be to "transfer powers from a bureaucracy to an oligarchy." The franchise and the composition of the various Legislative Councils would be determined by regulations to be framed on the advice of a committee to be hereafter specially appointed.

The provincial Governor was to be able to certify that a bill dealing with a reserved subject was essential for the peace or tranquillity of the province or for discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The bill would then be referred to a Grand Committee of the Legislative Council, of which the Governor might nominate a bare majority. The bill as passed by the Grand Committee might again be discussed by the Legislative Council, but could neither be rejected nor amended except on the motion of a member of the Executive Council.

All provincial legislation would require the assent of the Governor and Governor-General, and would be subject to disallowance by His Majesty. The Governor could reserve provincial laws for the royal assent.

The annual budget would be laid before the Legislative Council. If the Council refused to accept the proposals for reserved subjects, the Governor-in-Council would have power to restore the whole, or any part, on the Governor's certifying that, for reasons to be stated,

such restoration was essential either to the peace or tranquillity of the province or any part thereof, or to the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. Except in so far as he exercised this power, the budget would be framed so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council. Standing committees of the Legislative Council were to be attached to all departments. Resolutions of the Council (except on the budget) would only have effect as recommendations.

Thus the system would imply arrangements by which one half of the provincial Government had independent charge of "reserved" subjects, the land revenue, the police, law and order, etc. Its policy in administering these departments would be ultimately one of which the British Parliament had approved. The other half of the Government would be in independent charge of "transferred" subjects, local self-government, medical and sanitary work, vernacular education, etc., its policy in regard to which would be one dictated by the provincial Legislative Council. Association was, of course, desirable between the two halves of the Government in so far as this was practicable without obscuring the responsibility of each half for taking its own decisions and for abiding by the consequences. The Governor, the Public Services, a common Treasury and Audit, would be the links between the two halves of these *provincial* Governments.

The entire field of provincial administration would be marked off from that of the Government of India which would preserve indisputable authority on matters adjudged by it to be essential for the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order, and good government. As the popular element of the provincial Government acquired experience, transferred subjects would be added to and reserved subjects would be transferred

until no reserved subjects remained, the need for an official element in the Government vanished, and the goal of complete responsible government was attained. Such transfers would be admissible at intervals of five years, when they might be considered on application from a provincial Government or provincial Legislative Council.

In the Government of India there was to be no dyarchy, but the Indian element in the Viceroy's Executive Council was to be increased.

The Legislative Council was to be replaced by a Legislative Assembly and a Council of State. The former would consist of about 100 members, and would be the popular body. The latter would consist of fifty members, exclusive of the Viceroy, who would be President with power to nominate a Vice-President. Not more than twenty-five members of this Council would be officials, but twenty-nine would be nominees of the President. The President of the Legislative Assembly would be nominated by the Viceroy. The Council of State would act as a second chamber. It would be possible on emergency to pass a bill through the Council of State in the first instance, merely reporting it to the Legislative Assembly. Ordinarily, bills would go first to the latter body. If passed, they would go on to the Council of State. If amended there, they would be laid before a joint session of both houses, unless the Governor-General in Council was prepared to certify that the amendments were essential to the interests of peace, order, and good government, including sound financial administration, in which case the Assembly would not have power to reject or modify such amendments. Resolutions of either the Council of State or Legislative Assembly would only have effect as recommendations. A council of Ruling Princes was

to be established, and would be able to deliberate with the Council of State on matters of common interest.

Racial bars that still existed in regulations for the public services were to be abolished. In addition to recruitment in England where such existed, a system of appointment in India to all the public services was to be established. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite ratios of increase, were to be fixed for all the services.

In the Indian Civil Service the percentage would be 33 per cent. of the superior posts, increasing annually by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. until the position was reviewed by a Commission appointed by Parliament. Such a Commission would be appointed ten years after the first meetings of the new legislative bodies in order to examine the constitutional position both in the Government of India and in the Provinces. Similar Commissions would be subsequently appointed at intervals of not more than ten years.

The authors of the report expressed the view that "so far in the future as any man can foresee, a strong element of Europeans would be required in the public services." The continued presence of the British officer was vital, if the Indian people were to be made self-governing.

The authors very strongly condemned communal electorates as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. They would concede them, however, to the Muhammadans in provinces where the latter are in a minority, and to the Sikhs in the Punjab. In the case of the Muhammadans, they felt themselves bound by previous pledges. The Sikhs are everywhere in a minority, but supply a very valuable element in the Army.

The following principles underlie the main proposals above detailed :

(a) Indians must be educated and stirred into becoming a nation.

The present ideal of a small class must be generally adopted. It should be lifted up and held in front of all classes, races, and languages. It should draw all. The masses, who from the earliest ages had been absorbed entirely in their private affairs, and accepted ruler after ruler provided that he was strong enough to govern and protect them, must be educated into taking a share in a system of parliamentary government. The address to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State from the Deccan Ryots had described the sole purposes of ordinary persons of the tenant class to be "commerce, agriculture, menial service, and so on." If we add to these purposes attendance on religious fairs and occasional litigation, the description is complete. The authors of the Reforms scheme decided that contentment with such a limited horizon was pathetic, and must be disturbed in order that nationhood within the Empire might be achieved.

(b) The required goal must be achieved by pre-arranged measured stages. Every five years proposals would be admissible for the transfer of some Government department to the direction of a minister. Every ten years a Commission from England would see how things were going, and, if they were satisfactory, would presumably recommend a further advance.

The proposal for five years' transfer was abandoned subsequently. The whole idea that it is a promising arrangement to transfer departments of government in India to popular control by measured stages was entirely novel.

(c) From the very first, Government responsible to

the various legislatures would be conceded to a definitely marked extent. The object was to give the electorates which would now be created and their leaders a genuine sense of responsibility. To secure this, the responsibility would be clear-cut and unmistakable.

The adoption of the first two principles clearly involved the undertaking of a very difficult and critical enterprise, the results of which cannot be foreseen. The last objective is obviously desirable, provided that it can be attained without damaging the ability of the British Government to secure order, progress and content in India. The Report did not notice the obstacle which the nature of the Hindu religious and social system offers to the establishment of democratic government. Nationalists talk as if this obstacle did not exist. But it does exist in a very solid form, although it is a delicate matter for discussion in a published Government Report. The marked ascendancy which it confers on the Brahman is the reason for the strong desire of non-Brahmans in Madras for separate communal representation. Theirs is by no means the only community that craves this privilege. In fact, it may be said that if the scheme of reform insists on representative government without some degree of communal representation, it will in actual working be far from agreeable to large bodies of the population of India. Whatever may be the case in the future, at present the great majority are accustomed to regard themselves as members of such and such a community, sect, or faith, and if they are to learn to think differently, they should not be hurried. Widely diffused education and not abrupt intervention is the real remedy.

The authors invited reasoned criticism, official and non-official. The proposals would be examined by the

Local Governments, who had not seen them in their matured form. This examination ended in a condemnation of dyarchy by the large majority of Local Governments. Five heads of provinces proposed an alternative plan for unified government with an official majority of a Governor and two Executive Councillors (one an Indian) against two ministers. The ministers would not exercise the separate clear-cut responsibility in certain departments contemplated by dyarchy, but would exercise a joint responsibility in all departments.

Reasoned criticism of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals took time to mature. But two noteworthy manifestos appeared with little delay. The first was a pronouncement issued by the Bengal Moderates, the text of which contained the following passages :

“Till a few days ago it looked as though the two schools of political thought in the country might yet come together in compromise, and that a united Congress could consider and pronounce a verdict on the official proposals of reform. The cry of total rejection with which they were greeted in some quarters on publication weakened somewhat after a few weeks were over, and a general disposition to consider details and offer specific criticisms manifested itself. Unfortunately, however, it has become apparent from writings in certain organs of the “home rule” press, manifestos issued here and there by that party, and the proceedings of the conferences held in various provinces within the last few weeks, that their attitude is still hostile. Disappointment and dissatisfaction are the notes invariably struck ; the ideals that responsible government should be introduced at the very start and widened by successive stages, embodied in the Imperial Cabinet’s declaration of August last, are unheeded if not expressly set aside ; and the modifications demanded amount to a practical rejection of the official scheme in fundamentals. We are constrained to say, therefore, that

the Extremist attitude is still one of rejection though thinly disguised. To make good this criticism, it is necessary to examine at some length the manifesto signed by Mrs. Besant and several other persons in different parts of the country and the resolutions passed by the recent Madras special provincial conference. To those who have watched how the Home Rule Leagues and their branches have captured the various Provincial Congress Committees in the country and the All-India Congress Committee, there is now little reason to doubt that the Special Congress to be held in Bombay will repeat, with perhaps a few alterations, the resolutions of the Madras conference.

“ The speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and of the President of the special session of the Madras Provincial Conference, held early this month, clearly indicate the spirit in which the reform scheme is looked upon by the Extremist Party. Mrs. Besant has chosen to characterise the scheme as ‘ leading to a line beyond which its authors cannot go — a perpetual slavery which can only be broken by a revolution.’ Mr. Vijayraghava Chariar described the scheme from the chair of the Conference as ‘ a monster fondling of *Round Table* politicians,’ and the attempt to secure support for such a contrivance as ‘ simply ludicrous, if not disingenuous.’

“ Now there is good reason to believe that Moderate views are held by much larger numbers than generally appear on the surface. But the very nature of their views disposes them as a class to be more acquiescent and less demonstrative than the others. If a referendum could be taken on the subject of the official scheme of reforms, not only among those who habitually give vocal expression to their political thoughts, but among all in the country who may be brought to form intelligent opinions on the issues involved, it is not improbable that the majority would be found to be on our

side. However that be, owing to the activity, as has already been mentioned, of the Home Rule Leagues and their branches, it is certain that in all Congress organisations we have been reduced to a minority."

For all these reasons they decided not to attend the special Congress to be held in order to discuss the Reforms.

The second notable manifesto was a statement issued by the Secretary of the European Association on behalf of his Council.

"Until," he wrote, "it can be roughly ascertained what proportion the potential electors bear to the whole population, on what classes of subjects the electorate is tolerably qualified by education and the sense of the public good to pronounce, and in what spirit the electorate may be expected to deal (a) with special European interests in India and (b) with those of classes too backward to share in the franchise--until all this can be ascertained with some approach to accuracy, it is impossible to say dogmatically what powers can be entrusted to the representatives of the electorate. The eminent authors of the report, however, have left the whole question of an electorate to be settled by a committee to be appointed hereafter. In these circumstances the Council of the European Association must express itself with some reserve on the essentials of the scheme.

"The Council has been struck in perusing the report by the failure of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to realise the importance of the European non-official community in India. In many passages of the report it is tacitly assumed that the European official and the Indian non-official are the only parties to any political settlement, and when the report does expressly refer to the European non-official community, as in paragraph

344, it is mainly to offer some respectable platitudes for consideration.

"The Council of the European Association is emphatically of opinion that European non-officials are entitled to substantial representation as a community in the Provincial and Imperial Legislatures in addition to the representation already given through Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations and Planters' Associations. Representatives of those specialised bodies naturally cannot receive any general political mandate from their constituents, and that is a strong reason for according an adequate measure of communal representation to Europeans. But there is a further reason in the fact that so long as representation is merely through a Chamber of Commerce and sectional bodies, a considerable number of Europeans engaged in the legal, medical, journalistic, and other professions, or resident where specialised bodies do not exist, are denied all representation.

"The hostility of the report towards communal representation for Indians, other than Muhammadans, and in the Punjab Sikhs, appears to the Council to be without justification. Nationhood can never be achieved by placing minorities or a backward majority under the heel of a clique excessively intolerant in social relations and avid of political power. And even if it were otherwise, the problematic future blessing of nationhood would not compensate the Indian masses for their suffering during the transitional period. Immense differences exist between various sections of the population in race, religion, culture, tradition, and vocational bent, and practical recognition of these differences is a condition of success in any political development. To initiate representative Government by means which deny representation to many classes of the population is inconsistent. Communal representation may not be equally necessary in all provinces, and it may not be permanently needed, but at any rate in the early years of the experiment it is essential. For if minorities

and backward classes are thrown back on nominated representation, how are they ever to acquire the capacity for the use of the franchise which the authors of the report desire to evoke? . . . European opinion and sober Indian opinion may be prepared to support a marked increase in Indian control over policy if the execution of policy remains largely or very largely in British hands. On the other hand, European opinion and sober Indian opinion may be willing to support a rapid increase in the Indian element in the public services if the inspiration of the policy remains mainly British. But to effect these changes simultaneously, to alter hastily the racial composition of the public services, and to do this as if each of the changes could be rightly decided upon without reference to the other, is not statesmanship."

Shortly after the publication of the Reforms Scheme, a report of a different nature was published in India.

At the instance of the Government of Bengal, who were much concerned at the difficulties encountered in coping with revolutionary crime in their province, the Government of India, with the authority of the Secretary of State, had appointed a committee of five :

" To investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India ;

" To examine and consider the difficulties that had arisen in dealing with such conspiracies, and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them."

The President of the Committee was the Honourable Mr. Justice Rowlatt of the King's Bench ; the members were the Honourable Sir Basil Scott, Chief Justice of Bombay ; the Honourable Mr. Justice Kurnaraswarni

Sastri of the Madras High Court; the Honourable Mr. P. C. Mitter, Pleader of the Calcutta High Court and Member of the Bengal Legislative Council; and the author of this book.¹

(The Committee sat in Calcutta and at Lahore, and examined a number of witnesses, official and non-official, as well as a great variety of records of trials and other documents.) In April they had submitted a unanimous report to the Government of India, which gave a full account of the origin and growth of revolutionary conspiracy in India, tracing the ramifications of the movement and the interconnection of its varying phases in different provinces. The Committee also submitted recommendations regarding the legislative measures required for coping with the difficulties encountered in dealing with the movement. (Publication of the Report was announced on July 19th. As was to be expected, the book was hailed with showers of abuse by the Extremist Press. The Moderates generally reserved comment.)

The country at large was in no way disturbed by all these political events. The people generally were interested in the abnormal delay of the rains and in rising prices. So far the war period had been marked by good harvests; but in 1918 the monsoon broke down disastrously. The high prices, first of salt and afterwards of cloth and oil, caused considerable hardship as the months advanced; and for one of the people who in the least understood the Reforms proposals, there were many thousands who, as the rains persisted in holding off, looked anxiously for Government measures to enable them to buy salt, oil, and cloth at prices within their means.

The days of civil officers were occupied by heavy routine duties and extra war work. Recruiting for the

¹ We were all entirely unknown to each other.