

INDIA
AND
THE DÜRBAR

INDIA AND THE DURBAR

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The articles here reprinted formed part of the 1911 Empire Day Edition of *The Times*. The series was designed with special reference to the visit of their Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Emress to India. It does not profess to give a complete conspectus of Indian problems, but explains, in a manner not too technical, certain present aspects of Indian politics and conditions.

The articles are issued in book form in the hope that they will be of interest and value, not only to visitors to the Delhi Durbar, but also to the far greater public which will watch that unprecedented event from afar. It should be understood that they do not necessarily express the editorial policy of *The Times*, with the exception of the first chapter, which was originally published as a leading article.

Several of the articles were curtailed in the Empire Day Edition owing to lack of space, but are here restored to their original form. All have undergone slight revision where necessary, to bring them up to date.

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CHAPTER I.

THE TWO EMPIRES.

Two distinct traditions, of equal greatness, have made the framework of the British Empire that we know. One is the tradition of self-government, grown and tended first on English soil, but now sown broadcast on three other continents, and gathering strength with every year. The other is a tradition of trusteeship for subject-peoples of darker race, whose interests we have taken by gradual steps into our charge. The recent history of the Empire, culminating in the Conference on Imperial Defence which met two years ago, has focussed attention more closely upon the growth of the self-governing nations and their relations each with each than on the changing problem of the Dependencies. The political instinct which has caused this movement of thought was the natural product of the events of the period ; and few will question that it was sound. The national Governments of the Empire have, without doubt, to develop within the next few years some better mechanism of co-operation, if the natural processes of individual expansion are not to cause them to drift apart. With that problem more than any other the Conference which recently sat in London was concerned. It was a Conference of Governments, equal in *status*, assembled of

their own motion, and competent to speak for all the free peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown. The Conference was concerned, in the proper course of things, mainly with the direct responsibilities of the Ministers attending it to their own electorates; its most pressing problem was to establish the basis of a joint foreign policy satisfactory to all and of what would be impossible on other terms, a joint system of defence. And yet the self-governing peoples of the Empire cannot, if their co-operation is to be lasting and complete, forget their joint responsibility to that other Empire, whose peoples owe the same allegiance and share the influence of the same political ideals but do not, and for the present cannot, govern themselves.

**India
and Imperial
Defence.**

The Indian Empire is only one of many vast Dependencies, but it is the vastest and most complex of all. Upon the roll of those who have served it are many of Great Britain's greatest names; and in its administration we need not hesitate to claim one of the most striking achievements of our race. Striking it is indeed, for the Government of India was not built up, and could not have been built up, by the efforts of great soldiers and administrators alone. It has been founded upon the labour and devotion of all its Services, manned as they have been by wave after wave of young recruits, with that administrative instinct which is the peculiar quality of British stock. This great succession of not great but capable men has kept for us what has justly been described as the only portion of the British Empire which is an Empire in the true sense of the term. The time, however, has passed when the maintenance of British power in India should be regarded as an interest of Great Britain alone. India stands right across the greatest highway in the world; it is the centre of the East. Through its possession we secured our great predominance in Eastern trade, and from its shores

we extended our interests to Australasia, the Malay Peninsula, the Pacific Islands, and the Chinese coast. The Power which holds India must of necessity command the sea. Supreme sea-power would be as difficult to maintain without control of India as control of India without supreme sea-power. It is, therefore, in a special and peculiar sense the centre of Imperial defence. Were India lost to us, the security of three great Dominions—the Union, the Commonwealth, and the Dominion of New Zealand—would inevitably be threatened by the Power which took our place. We should, moreover, be compelled at once to abandon all efforts to affect the balance of forces in the Pacific and should diminish thereby, to an extent hardly calculable as yet, the security of the whole Pacific Coast of the American Continent. Had we, indeed, no Indian tradition, and no responsibility to the peoples of India for the fulfilment of the great trusteeship which we have undertaken on their behalf, we should still be compelled to recognise, in the maintenance of the British Raj, a paramount condition in the defence of that other British tradition of self-government which our own political systems enshrine.

There is yet another reason why India should be much in our minds in this Coronation year. It stands in a somewhat different relation than the self-governing Dominions, and in some ways a more ancient relation, to the Crown. Over its peoples the Sovereign wields an influence of a special kind. To us, of his own race, he is the symbol of the national ideals; to his Indian subjects he is the personal embodiment of power. The millions who look with reverence and awe to his coming amongst them in the latter part of this year have no capacity for grasping what we so greatly treasure—the constitutional idea. The Government which watches over their destinies is, to them, the servant of his beneficent will; it can wander from beneficence only by departing from his commands. The impersonal authority with which

we invest the State has no significance for them, nor could the State maintain for a month the power which it exercises by their tacit consent were it not supported in their minds by the vast, although invisible, authority of the Throne.

So great is this authority that to many students of Indian conditions it has seemed that the King-Emperor should be represented in India by a member of his own Family, who would associate more closely in the mind of the Indian masses respect for Government with allegiance to the Crown. We do not altogether share the confidence of some authorities in the feasibility of such a change, though we recognise the great weight of many of the arguments employed in its behalf. It is, however, a suggestion which should be pondered by all who have the interests of India at heart, and we are glad to include in this work a chapter of great authority in which its merits are advanced. The constitutional aspect of the idea, as the writer of the chapter says, involves no difficulty which could not be easily solved. The Prince Regent of India could not exercise the executive functions of the Viceroy, but they would pass to a Prime Minister, appointed as Viceroys are appointed now, for a term of five years, and responsible, like the Viceroy, to the British Cabinet. There are, however, other difficulties which might prove great, and there is above all the need for preserving intact the conditions which make the Crown the most potent symbol of unity which the different political systems of the Empire at present possess. The question is one in which every part of the Empire should feel itself concerned. There is nothing in our political systems which stands for our common citizenship, with its necessary differences of *status* and its widely dissimilar points of view, but our common allegiance to the Crown. Beneath whichever of the two political traditions which

inspire the Empire's being the life of the King-Emperor's subjects may be cast, they are all one in loyalty to his person and his Throne, and they must all maintain with equal jealousy the unity of his sway.

In the swiftly changing relations between East and West the British Empire has a special part to play. There is no people which has come so close as ours to the problems of Asia or made so profound an impression on its life. Asia, as the writer of a particularly valuable chapter makes very plain, is neither changeless nor asleep. Her peoples are quickening into a new life, and her resources in all the factors which go to build up wealth are still almost unused. Her time is coming soon, and on British policy before all others must depend the manner of its coming and its effect upon the West. We are the guardians of a great tradition, but the conditions are changing and with them the forms of guardianship must also change. As we associate the Indian peoples more closely with the mechanism of rule, so must we give more and more consideration to their sentiments and views in the policy of rule. Their growing desire for industrial development, and with it a measure of fiscal autonomy sufficient to its needs, will test as nothing else can test the morality of our power. The touchstone of the Empire is there. Our mark upon history, and history's verdict upon us, will be shaped in great degree by the course which we now take in Indian affairs.

CHAPTER II.

THE KING AND HIS INDIAN PEOPLES.

Those who know India and are acquainted with the stupendous change which has been wrought in the administration of that vast continent during the last five years will admit that it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the King's decision to visit Delhi in the very year of his Coronation. The strain involved by the ceremonials in Great Britain, and the heavy work and responsibilities which fall on the Sovereign even in normal years, might well have excused King George from this most strenuous mission, or might have, at any rate, justified a postponement to a later year. But these considerations have no weight with the King when he sees duty and opportunity before him ; and, knowing what has passed during the last five fateful years in India, we hold that there is a great duty awaiting the King-Emperor in his Indian Empire and a glorious opportunity to his hand for bringing rest and peace to that unrestful land.

This mission is of profound interest, not only to those who have first-hand knowledge of India, but to all the subjects of his Majesty at home or overseas, and for these latter it is necessary to explain briefly the magnitude and the character of the Indian Empire. The huge continent shut off from the world by the sea and the Himalayas is as large as Europe if we exclude Russia. Three hundred and fifteen millions of people occupy this

continent, split up into groups of inherent diversities, so dissimilar and incongruous in race, language, and religion that Europe by comparison seems to be almost homogeneous. The imagination of the ordinary man reels when it is confronted by an Empire that contains nearly 2,380 castes and tribes and 147 languages of extraordinary variety. But these are mere details as compared with the differences of religions and philosophies which sharply divide the Indians from one another and all Indians from the Western nations. The five years which have just passed have revealed much to an astonished world, but the revelations have been in vain if Indian statesmen have not realized that the trouble which has swept through India of late is spiritual and not mundane. We have lightly talked of political unrest, and have applied political panaceas of London origin, forgetting the eternal fact that East is East. In the East the idea is everything; it is concrete and a part of life. With us it is an incident—an abstraction. The West is scientific; the East is religious. We regard Nature as an external object, while the Indian feels himself as part of Nature, and recognizes no external world. The Indians cannot separate politics or any other aspect of experience from religion, and when our home-staying statesmen or philosophers give them new ideas these too often become the forces of fanaticism. Conceptions that are the playthings of the Western mind become the weapons of partisan warfare in the East.

It has been well said by one whose recent loss has deprived India of a true and kindly interpreter that "the mixture of religion with politics has always produced a highly explosive compound, especially in Asia," and those in authority who forget the essential difference in the mentality of the East and West are raising a whirlwind which neither they nor their Indian mentors can ride. It is perhaps possible for an

The Indian
Mind.

adroit Englishman to get into an Indian's skin, but it requires unusual qualities and a lifelong experience to get into an Indian's mind. And who shall say what the better mind of India is or where it is to be found? For India is a mere phrase and "Indians" a mere label of convenience. When we deal with "races as different from each other as the Esquimaux is from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk, with creeds that range between the extreme points of the basest animalism on the one hand and the most exalted metaphysics on the other, and with standards of life that cover the whole space between barbarism and civilization"; when we know that in India there are 50 millions of "untouchables," and when we know the conditions of education and, most important of all, the *status* and life of the women of India, we may well hesitate to talk of "equality of citizenship," or to dream of these heterogeneous masses becoming a self-conscious unity, working for its own ends and fighting for its own existence.

What, then, has given cohesion to the masses and has rendered the British Administration possible? First, there is the *Pax Britannica*, bringing justice to the people and protection to the Princes of India. Government and justice have given some cohesion to the masses, and it is the proud boast of the Administration and the cherished possession of the most lowly that he has access to the King's Viceroy, just as in old days he could stand in the throng in the audience hall of the Mogul Emperor. Other threads run through the loose tissue of the Indian system. The Brahman touches Hindu life at all points. English education has brought about strange and startling combinations; religious reformers have founded societies, diverse and elastic in their objects and very diverse in their methods. Railway travel and the huge cities which have grown up under the ægis of the British trader have to some extent modified

caste scruples, and generally the civilization, limited and scanty as it is, which we have introduced from the West has tended to create a class separate and apart from the great masses of the people. All these threads run through the curious jungle of design, but the golden thread which brightens the whole tissue and gives hope of union and continuity is the intense and beautiful devotion of all classes to the King-Emperor of India.

We have endeavoured to show how ideas are part of an Indian's life, how seriously he takes them, and how dangerous it is to suggest to him new ideas.

**Idea of
Kingship.**

But this idea of Kingship is as old as India is. It is their main idea, and those who have been groping about for ideals to offer to an awakening people might have saved themselves much pains, and the Empire some danger, if they had realized this simple fact. Those who have worked in India know the intense difference between the respect paid to a Viceroy by the people of India and the whole-hearted devotion that is offered to one of India's Princes. They know, too, the extraordinary homage and intimate affection that characterized the reception of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales when they visited India in 1905-6.

This devotion to an idea is so real and pervading that proximity is not necessary. During the long reign of Queen Victoria. Queen Victoria she, who had never seen India, was part and parcel of Indian life and Indian thought. The Great White Queen was always thinking of them, she was learning their language, sympathizing in their sorrows, and enthusing her Viceroys and officials with kindness and pity. And so it came to pass that when she died all India mourned. In Calcutta the people thronged out to the great Park and sat silent all the long sad day, each one wearing some mark of mourning. And all through the Continent, in

villages remote from railway and civilization, the poorest and the most ignorant showed their sorrow and their sympathy. No one who saw the crowds in Calcutta marching in silence through the streets to the Park will ever forget that spontaneous and unrehearsed procession. Soon after a great meeting of all classes was gathered in the Town Hall. There were men of all shades of thought, men of the old fashion and the new fashion. They met to express their sorrow, and the last of the 15 Governors-General who had served Queen Victoria—Lord Curzon—presided. In the course of his speech he said :—“ We all feel the same about her whether we are Europeans or Indians, and our hearts are swelling with gratitude that we were fortunate enough to live under such a Sovereign, with an answering love for the great love that she bore to all of us alike and with eagerness to preserve her memory imperishable for all time.” Very simple words ; but on that night, February 6, 1901, there met at an important newspaper office the leaders of advanced Indian thinkers, and they revelled in the thought that they and their rulers were comrades and brothers in a common idea. Alas ! that this comradeship, seemingly so obvious and easy, is so difficult to attain. Without it our rule cannot last. But it can be attained and maintained if only we grasp the Indian standpoint and assimilate the Indian idea.

Queen Victoria knew it by intuition. In laying the foundation-stone of the All-India Memorial to Queen Victoria her grandson spoke of her as one who, “ though never privileged to see her Indian subjects in their own countries, seemed to have the peculiar power of being in touch and in sympathy with all classes of this Continent.” “ To us this wonderful expression of gratitude brings natural pride and warm hopes. The Taj, which has delighted and fascinated us by its beauty and its story, can never be rivalled in its grace. But in generations to come this memorial to a great Queen, whose sympathy

conquered distance and space, may present to the historian reflections as hallowed as those which are inspired by the Taj Mahal." What did this great Queen stand for? By her Proclamation she stood for the rights of the Indian Princes and the prosperity and social advancement of her own subjects. So far as may be, her subjects were to be admitted to offices in her service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge. She stood for religious tolerance and mercy; and it was her desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all her subjects resident therein.

During the long years which followed the Proclamation her Viceroys laboured **The Queen's Proclamation.** She stimulated and encouraged them by letters written in her own hand—letters full of "wise counsel and of tender sympathy for the people whom she had charged them to rule." And all her Viceroys knew, for they lived and worked in India, that their power for good was power reflected from the Queen-Empress whom India honoured and loved. They laboured for efficiency in the administration and for the promotion of works of public utility and improvement. They fought corruption and cruelty, they kept the frontiers safe, and they battled with famine and pestilence. The future historian of India will look back on the Victorian era from 1858 as the age of quiet progress and improvement, of equal justice, and of strenuous and successful endeavour "to administer the government for the benefit of *all* our subjects resident therein." It was, above all, an age of loyal continuity unruffled by the ebb and flow of British party politics. King Edward had visited India in 1875, and knew and loved the land. He stood, like his great mother, for the dignities and rights

of his feudatories and subjects, for their advancement and welfare, for the increasing prosperity of his Indian Empire, and for the greater happiness of its people.

His Coronation was celebrated in Delhi on January 1, 1903, with a splendour and impressiveness unequalled in the history of similar ceremonies. That day may be regarded as the zenith of the old *régime* of efficiency and material advancement. The old *régime* had its merits. It was free from internal alarms, from overt sedition, and from outrages. Western ideas had been suggested, but not enforced, and all subjects knew that they had their very efficient and forceful representative in the district officer. India had passed through the evil days of the Boer War steady and stanch. Her garrisons were depleted by demands for South Africa and China, but at no time in history was India more loyal and more helpful to the Imperial cause.

In 1905-06 King George visited India and found a people happy and contented. He spoke subsequently at the Guildhall of the enthusiasm and affection with which he and the Princess of Wales had been received, and he testified to unmistakable proofs of genuine devotion and personal attachment to the King-Emperor. He alluded to the "wonderful Administration of India." He could not help thinking "that the task of governing India will be made the easier if we on our part infuse into it a wider element of sympathy." Not sentimental sympathy, but the real sympathy which makes men put themselves in other's places.

The new *régime* was ushered in by King Edward's Proclamation of November, 1908. The labours of the past half-century were surveyed with "clear gaze and good conscience," and the note was struck of the obliteration of race distinction as the test for access

to posts of public authority and power, and of the satisfaction of claims for equality of citizenship and a greater share in legislation and government. These measures, it was said, "would mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of Indian affairs." It was added that "these sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my Royal House and Line only represent, and they do most truly represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this Kingdom." In so far as the will and purpose of the Royal House were placed in the forefront this struck the right and true note ; but, as a matter of fact, the people of this Kingdom trouble themselves very little with the affairs of India. On the other hand, the peoples of India are greatly perplexed and concerned as to what the united will and purpose of the British democracy portend. India has had some experience of the purpose of democracy in Greater Britain—a painful experience—and if the feelings of active sympathy expressed and most genuinely felt by the Royal House could only find some echo in the British Dominions, one of the greatest difficulties now besetting our Indian administration would be removed. India is essentially a continent of peoples deeply imbued with the aristocratic principle. Caste pervades the whole of Indian life, and while India will accept a mandate from the Royal House with implicit confidence, it will always remain suspicious of the purpose of the British people. An Indian newspaper of wide circulation has been considering an academic discussion recently started as to the real constitutional relations of the Viceroy of India and the Secretary of State for India. India has been somewhat agitated by the pronouncement that the Viceroy was a mere agent of the Home Government. The Indian newspaper, a great influence among the Indians, remarked :—"What do we care whether we are ruled by the Viceroy and his officials, or by the Secretary

of State and democracy ? We look to the Queen's Proclamation, and we claim to be ruled by the Crown." This may sound unreasonable, even embarrassing ; but Indian reason is not English reason, and the fact remains that whatever may be the written law of the Constitution, the spirit which breathes through the British connexion in India is the spirit of universal acceptance of and devotion to the Royal House. Thus it is that the approaching visit of the King-Emperor to Delhi is of vital importance to the British Empire, and the Empire, if it could only realize the potentialities of India in trade and in man-power, would be grateful for the happy and statesmanlike intuition which has led King George Eastwards at so early a period of his reign.

Most generous effect has been given King George's to the main principles of King Edward's Visit. Proclamation, and a notable stage has indeed been reached in the progress of Indian affairs. It is no exaggeration to say that within the last five years a new India has been created, and most ample scope has been given to the intellect of India. The Indian point of view will in future make itself felt in the Administration of that motley continent, and it will tax the brains of state-men to know when it is the view of India or the desire of some particular caste, society, or club. But the Viceroy and his officials, aided by the intellect of India, will grapple with such difficulties ; and one of the most hopeful signs in the great and profound change which "the people of this Kingdom" have introduced into the Administration is the loyal readiness with which the Civil Service of India is adapting itself to strange and new conditions. Some who have recently studied the situation in India are of opinion that the Indian point of view will assert itself in fiscal and financial matters ; and it seems likely that fiscal change unanimously called for by the Indian representatives can hardly be refused by the people

of this Kingdom. Similarly, the Government of India might find it very difficult to refuse assent to a measure of one of the Provincial Governments, if it were supported by a majority of Indian representatives. For good or for evil the Indian point of view is to prevail, and bureaucracy is a thing of the past. And whatever opinions men may hold as to the wisdom of the change, all must agree that the influence and power of the Central and Provincial Governments have been profoundly modified if not weakened. It is necessary to find some counterpoise—and we believe that the counterpoise is to be found in the Royal House. The visit of King George will hearten all classes of India, and there will be a truce to the regrettable incidents which have temporarily deprived India of her pristine reputation for gentleness and dignity.

But the well-wishers of India hope for more than this. They trust that the Citizens of the Dominions will note their King's appreciation of India, and that the statesmen of the Overseas Empire will profit by the Royal example. How it would lighten the burden and the dread responsibilities of the Viceroy and his officials if the Dominions could in this year of good will and Imperial stocktaking recognize the sterling qualities of their fellow-subjects in the East—their bravery, loyalty, patience, and temperance. No one would claim for the whole 315 millions of people any material concessions from the Dominions, but is it too much to ask as a beginning that men who have served the State in any capacity, who have done civic work, or have earned titles and distinctions, should be regarded as Citizens of the Empire and be made free of the Overseas Dominions, as they are now of the Kingdom? This bar, this racial stigma cuts like a lash and destroys that feeling of brotherhood and comradeship without which our tenure in India is difficult and precarious.

But though the visit of the King-Emperor will be the signal for rejoicing and good feeling in India, its

splendid effect will pass away unless it really ushers in a new era and leads to a change which Indians of all conditions greatly desire. We have gone on plodding and working, and it is a dull and dreary India which we have made of it. The reforms based on representation and Parliaments of men have certainly opened the fascinating field of politics to the few, but there is not room for all the youth of India in politics. If we are to moderate the dislike and impatience of our system which characterize certain sections of Indian society we must offer some ideals to the youth of India.

Many think that the field of industry will attract the rising generation, and already there are signs of hopeful developments in this direction. Technical education may achieve great and healthy results, but the old-fashioned prejudices, anachronisms like the Stores Department of the India Office and other heritages from "John Company" must disappear, and every encouragement should be given by the new *régime* to private enterprise. Indians should be associated with the railways, and in every district there should be a National Bank managed by Indians, fostering Indian industries, and financing the co-operative associations. Irrigation schemes, so necessary to India, and so lucrative to their promoters, should be thrown open to Indian capitalists, and the new Department of Industry and Commerce, under its new and unprejudiced Minister, should justify its existence by pointing to Indians the straight road to wealth. If the Government of India really wishes to foster industry, and to bring out the fabulous hoards of gold, it must stand aside and make way for the Indian capitalist. What wonder is it that India, hope-bestirred by recent changes, should look askance at the huge fortunes which are being amassed by Asiatics who are foreigners? Happily there is still time, and the Indians have an enormous advantage.

They can use the experience so dearly and so laboriously acquired by their European predecessors. They have this experience at their doors, and there is no need for exile in Europe. We all know the deteriorating influence which residence in England has upon young Indians. It would indeed be an act of wisdom and precaution, not to say of humanity, if Government established schools and colleges in India which would obviate the cruel necessity of Indian youth being forced to visit England in order to qualify for the Indian Civil Service, and the other services in India. This is an obvious complement of the recent reforms.

But though industry and the acquisition of wealth and power may attract the youth of India and divert it from the sterile and disappointing pursuit of politics in latitudes where politics cannot live, and though industry may bring about that most essential comradeship between the English and the Indians, there still remains the social side of the question. It is admitted by all who know the facts that the Viceroy has a load which is too heavy for one man. Decentralization is a comfortable word, but the Viceroy is held responsible by Great Britain and by the world, and his load cannot be lightened.

What the Indians greatly desire is that one of the Royal House should be appointed as Prince Regent of India. He would have no political functions, and the Viceroy, as Prime Minister of India, appointed for five years, would be responsible to the British Cabinet. In this departure we must not repeat the mistake which was made in education—the mistake which caused the present trouble in India. We must not be content with a cheap and soulless instrument, but must secure the highest and most noble of agencies. This is to be found in a Prince Regent of the Royal House. He would be the head of society, and would discharge all

the social and ceremonial duties which now trench so heavily on the Viceroy's time. Space will not allow of the scheme being developed here, but it may be said in passing that there is no constitutional difficulty involved. The aspirations of Indians are social rather than political, and at present we have no one to lead in social matters. There is a great gulf between the rulers and the ruled. With the best will in the world the Viceroy and his overworked officials have no time for things social, and the work which will be added by the reforms will give them still less leisure for social activities. And there is such a glorious field for the leader of Indian society!

In the discussion of Indian affairs it is usual to omit the most important factor in Indian life. We sometimes marvel at the small impression we have made on Indian customs and manners, but we forget that we have never canvassed nor sought the good will of the most powerful influence in Indian society—the woman. None of the peoples in India can rise in the scale of nations until their women are educated and enfranchised, and the prevailing state of things—for which India holds us responsible—the highly educated man *vis-a-vis* of the uneducated woman—is unnatural and dangerous. In the last few years some of the leading Indian ladies have taken the initiative, and are emerging from the seclusion to which their men and old traditions bound them. Clubs have sprung up, where European and Indian ladies meet, and already there is a camaraderie, which, save in official circles, is unknown among the men. How this would grow if a Prince Regent and his consort were in India! The wealth of individuals is enormous, and the rising generation is not content with the style and mode of life of the preceding generations. There is no healthy outlet, no decent holiday ground nor pleasure places for this large and increasing

section of Indian society, and in despair they must leave their beloved country for the more attractive cities of the West. There are many places on the sea or on the hills to which Indian society would flock, if guidance were given, if the fashion were set. If we want to placate the educated and wealthy classes of India, and that is the object of the Reform Scheme—if we want to “save face” and to give India a social *status* in the world, if we want to see India bound by golden chains to the British Empire, we must have a Prince Regent as the social leader and arbiter, the fount of honour, and the symbol of continuity, to foster and guide India into the comity of civilized nations.

Further, we must make India attractive to the Indians of the new fashion. We have discarded the old *régime*, so staid and steady, and we must adapt ourselves to modern conditions. We must modernize India. One great section of India, perhaps the most important section at the present moment, the Princes of India, would hail this change with delight. With a member of the Royal House as head of society in India, they would feel sure of the most punctilious regard for their privileges and traditions, and there would be some continuity of policy. No young chief of 19 years, without experience and proved character, would be suddenly given ruling powers, but all, following the European example, would serve for two years in the Cadet Corps or the Army before assuming the grave responsibility of ruling an Indian State. Under the watchful eye and inspiring example of the Prince Regent, slothful indulgence and dereliction of duty would become unfashionable, and honest, healthy endeavour and loyalty to trust would be in vogue. It has been well said that “racial dislike is a dislike not of political domination but of racial domination.” If we may substitute “social” for “racial,” we get to the root of the matter. There is only one agency under heaven that can arrest

this social dislike, and turn it into happy and honourable fellowship, and that is the agency of a Prince Regent. The officials have done their best, but an official remains an official in Indian eyes. It is a high thing to ask of the Royal House, but the interests at stake are so vital to the existence of the Empire that it must be asked, and the Biblical blessing invoked upon the King

Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children
Whom thou shalt make princes in all the Earth.

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राष्ट्रीय पुस्तकालय, कोलकाता
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CHAPTER III.

THE PRINCES OF INDIA.

The character and extent of British rule in India is often misunderstood, not only in the Dominions, but in Great Britain also. The King-Emperor is supreme over-lord of the whole Indian Empire, and the ultimate control of every part of the Indian Empire is in the hands of the Government of India, who in turn are subject to the supervision of the British Government. But ultimate control is a very different thing from direct administrative control, and one-third of the area of the Indian Empire and one-fifth of the population are not subject to the administrative control of the British. The area in question is in the hands of Indian princes and chiefs, who exercise large though varying independent powers. They are not independent Sovereigns, for they cannot wage war, or form alliances, or maintain foreign relations, but they direct the internal government of their States, and some have the power of life and death over their own subjects. An Indian born in a Native State is not legally a British subject, though he is entitled to British protection, and in practice is admitted to the public service without regard to his domicile. Chiefs are deposed by the Government of India for systematic misrule or other grave offences, so that in fact the British are, when they consider intervention necessary, the arbiters of their fate. But when speaking of British rule in India it is important to remember that over

70,000,000 of the people do not come directly under the British administration.

Many persons who have quite a clear conception of the present position of the Native States in the Indian system of governance retain very hazy ideas about their original character. A common though quite erroneous belief is that some of these States are of great antiquity, that the British sovereignty implies a violent deprivation of ancient rights, and that the representatives of British authority are very much like dominant upstarts in the midst of a collection of venerable kingdoms.

The real case is almost the exact opposite. Some of the Rajput States have an history extending over many centuries, notably Udaipur, also known as Mewar, whose ruler enjoys the deepest veneration among Hindus on account of his long descent. Certain other States, such as Travancore, can claim great age, though they have suffered frequent eclipses, and sometimes for long periods were feudatory to their neighbours. The great majority of Native States, however, do not date back earlier than the 15th century, and many are far more modern. Some of them actually owe their existence to the operations of the British, and it may be said of nearly all the Native States of India to-day that their maintenance in their present form is due to the extension of British rule over the whole peninsula. Far from being the destroyers of indigenous control, the British have really been the saviours of the native States. The statement needs qualification, of course. In the 18th and the first half of the 19th century a number of States and large tracts of territory governed by the representatives of the Moguls passed under British control. For more than 50 years, however, the Native States which remain have been relieved from the fear of annexation; and there are 676 of them, great and small.

It must further be emphasized that many of the Native States are, like British rule itself, the product of conquest. In some cases, they were formed by the satraps of distant Emperors, who waxed strong in the provinces placed in their charge, and either threw off their allegiance or only nominally preserved it. Sometimes they were the work of soldiers of fortune who, rising from obscurity, carved their way with the sword to local dominion. Occasionally their creation was directly due to British intervention, local governors being confirmed as semi-independent rulers in territories found under their control. In contrast with the ancient ancestry of the Maharanas of Udaipur, several of the greatest princes in India to-day find their lineage lost in humble obscurity in comparatively recent times. The older English nobles can boast of a descent far exceeding that of most of the powerful Maharajahs, save only the Rajputs. The founder of the house of Scindia was slipper-bearer to the Peishwas, who in their turn were originally the ministers of the successors of the Mahratta chieftain Sivaji. The house of Holkar was founded by a general in the employ of the Peishwas. The Maharajah of Kolhapur is widely esteemed as the head of the Mahratta princes, because he is a lineal descendant of Sivaji; but his famous forbear was the son of a successful soldier who flourished two centuries ago. He has, however, Rajput blood in his veins. The word "Gackwar" means herdsman, and sufficiently explains the origin of a ruling house which has only existed for two hundred years.

Again, some of the princes of India are almost as alien to the territories they control as the British. The fore- **The British as Preservers.** most prince of India, the Nizam of Haidarabad, is a survival of the days of Mogul domination. His Highness and his nobles are Muslims wielding authority over a great population

of Hindus. The Haidarabad troops are foreign mercenaries. The word "Nizam" means Viceroy, the original Nizam was simply a representative of the Delhi Emperors, and the house of Haidarabad had not been founded forty years when Clive fought the battle of Plassey. The rulers of Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore have no ties of blood with their people, who are not Mahrattas. The Maharajah of Kashmir represents a Hindu conquest of a race which has long been Mahomedan, though it has been truly said of the Kashmiris that they remain Hindus at heart. That the British were often the real preservers of the native States is proved by the case of the Rajputana States, which they saved from the menace of the Mahrattas; by the Punjab States, which would certainly have been destroyed by Ranjit Singh; and by Mysore, which was actually captured from Mahomedan adventurers and restored to the Hindu family to which it belonged.

These considerations, of which many more examples might be quoted, do not affect the present position of the princes and chiefs of India. That some of the ruling dynasties are, according to our standards, of recent and comparatively lowly origin does not now concern us. That some are practically alien rulers, and that in numerous instances princely families now in secure possession would have been stripped of their appanages without our help, is a matter of purely historical interest. The Crown has pledged itself "to respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own," and the undertaking has long been faithfully observed. But in rendering ample recognition to the princes of India we need not disregard the plain facts of history. When we are asked to conceive the British in India as captors by force of the rights and privileges of the indigenous rulers it is well to preserve some sense of perspective and proportion. A little familiarity with past records and present condition instantly dispels

the vague impression that the English in India have been buccaneering despots intent upon upsetting rulers with immemorial claims. They found India in wild disorder, they gave it stable rule, and they conferred upon hundreds of Indian princes and chiefs a security which even the Emperors had never long enjoyed.

The characteristics of the princes of India are as varied as their States, but they have one quality in common. They are all intensely loyal to the Crown. The sentiment of attachment to the Royal Family of Great Britain is general among them, and they recognize that in proffering personal devotion to the Monarch of one-fourth of the human race, whose position is far more exalted than their own, and whose descent is far more ancient and illustrious than most of them can claim, they do not derogate from their own dignity.

Some of the princes prefer to live and rule in accordance with old-world traditions, others are modern and progressive in their methods. So long as they govern with reasonable efficiency, they can make their own choice. The most conspicuous example of a capable and successful administrator, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of advancement, is the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, who is his own Prime Minister. He supervises every detail of the administration of his State, is overflowing with energy, and has many remarkable qualities. Not only is he a great builder of railways, but he is able, at a pinch, to drive his own trains. The Nizam of Haidarabad is a more orthodox ruler, and chiefly exercises control through Ministers. He is a prince of high personal character, and it is the proud tradition of his race that they have always been faithful to their words and pledges. The Gackwar of Baroda is a notable student of the scientific side of administration. He makes frequent experiments, and has introduced so many innovations that Baroda is in some respects the most advanced

State in India. The young Maharajah of Mysore had the advantage of succeeding to an inheritance which had already been wisely and prudently developed. He is specially interested in questions of education, like most Hindus of the south. The Maharajah of Jaipur is prominent as an ardent supporter of orthodox Hinduism, but he combines strict orthodoxy with the most liberal principles of government. Among the princes who are essentially warriors first and rulers afterwards, the Maharajah-Regent of Jodhpur is the most famous. He is better known as Sir Pratap Singh and his knightly figure has been conspicuous at more than one great public solemnity in London. Another prince, who combines much military ardour with a keen interest in administrative work, is the Maharajah of Bikaner, whose capital in the Indian Desert is one of the most remarkable cities of India.

The Raja of Nabha, in the Punjab, may be cited as foremost among rulers of the older type. Simple in his mode of life, a pillar of the Sikh religion, his dominating characteristic is a burning loyalty to the Throne. One of his greatest griefs has always been that the late King Edward was unable to attend the last Delhi Durbar in person. Another prince who is averse from change, but nevertheless rules with much success on traditional lines, is the Maharana of Udaipur, who enjoys a unique position among Indian princes. The esteem in which he is held is a striking proof, not only of his meritorious personal qualities, but of that respect which every Indian feels for the representative of a race of real antiquity. He is the embodiment of some of the oldest and best traditions of the Rajputs. No one has a more remarkable place in the roll of Indian princes than the Aga Khan. A descendant of the Royal House of Persia, he is deeply venerated throughout the whole world of Islam as the only living person in whose veins, according to Musulman traditions, there flows the blood of Mahomet. Though

not an Indian by descent, he possesses an influence deeper and wider than any Indian prince can claim. He is not the titular ruler of a single scrap of territory, yet he holds his princely title from the British Crown, and is the acknowledged temporal leader of 60,000,000 of Indian Mahomedans. Some millions of Moslems in all parts of the East regard him as their spiritual leader also. He rules nowhere, but he guides, and his guidance is not only shrewd and conciliatory, but instinct with devotion to the British Empire.

The individual personality of the Indian princes is a tempting topic, but only a few typical instances can be cited. The nature of the tie which unites them to the Empire has often been discussed. Sir William Lee-Warner, in his authoritative work upon the subject, has argued that the tie is not international, because the States cannot form alliances or declare war ; it is not, he holds, feudal, and he dissents from the use of the word "feudatory" as dangerous to the rights of the protected princes ; and it is not, he contends, constitutional, as Professor Westlake and Sir Lewis Tupper have held. He defines the Indian States as semi-sovereignties, or types of limited sovereignty. The question is of technical interest, but if any endeavour is made to associate the princes of India more closely with the control of the Indian Empire it may have much practical importance. It cannot be discussed within contracted limits. All that can be noted here is that probably very few Indian princes—though some of them possess acute intellects—ever trouble themselves about the nice definitions of international law. Their view is summed up in their attitude of personal devotion to the Crown. They frequently maintain close friendship with a Viceroy, and sometimes their relations with the head of the Government are even marked by affection. They generally desire to be on good terms with the Government of India,

whose authority they respect, but hardly love. Does any one ever love a Government ?

The loyalty to the Crown cherished by the Indian princes is a factor of immense importance in the preservation of British rule. It cannot be too strongly urged that their conception of the link usually begins and ends with the Crown. Treaties and agreements, Governments and Cabinets, are subsidiary details in comparison with the supreme personal ruler. They are not specifically loyal to British rule or to England. They are not very consciously loyal to the Empire, though that spirit may come if it is wisely fostered. The Crown is the sole object of their allegiance. Yet in whatever form their adhesion to the existing system may be expressed, its results are of vital moment to the British in India. The loyal co-operation of the princes is an essential condition of the maintenance of British control. If it was withdrawn, the security of our rule would at once be greatly impaired. It is not withdrawn, because both princes and British have gradually come to perceive that their interests are far more nearly identical than was originally believed. Sometimes we are told that the princes of India think longingly of the time when a Maha ajah might ride forth to conquest at the head of his retainers. The new order prescribes inaction and discourages adventure ; but the wise prince, who balances gains and losses, knows full well that it guarantees security, and that the advantages preponderate. There are few native rulers now who do not realize that immunity from attack, and the peaceful possession of their territories, are worth some sacrifice of the attributes of sovereignty. The changes which have swept through India in recent years fill them with apprehension. They know that the spirit of revolt, where it is manifested, is not so much due to antagonism to British rule as to dislike of all constituted authority. They are well aware that,

though it is the turn of British India to-day, it may be theirs to-morrow. Even the perfectly legitimate, although unwisely extreme, aspirations of the Indian political leaders are looked at askance by most of the princes. They realize that in a system of governance, modelled as advanced Indian politicians desire, there would be no room for the personal, direct, and sometimes archaic systems found in Native States. Thus their sympathies are all with the British in their efforts to stem the current of revolution, because if the flood rises they, too, may be overwhelmed. The rapid developments in India in recent years have given the Native States an increased importance which is still only imperfectly discerned. To the British administration they have become breakwaters in the midst of the occasional storms of hostility. While among the British the desire for annexation has vanished for ever, it has been replaced by a growing consciousness that the princes are valuable allies; not so much for the help they are able to give, but because their support carries great weight. It is hardly necessary to add that their support is only forthcoming so long as British rule is strong and self-reliant, and that it would rapidly diminish if the Imperial Government became weak and ineffective.

In the long history of the relations between the Government of India and the Native States many modifications of policy may be traced. The position of the British Residents at Native Courts has undergone many changes. The character of the duties performed has always depended very largely upon the idiosyncrasies of particular Residents. Some have been fussy or intrusive, or imperious; others have been far too passive. Sometimes the Government of India have been disposed to encourage constant intervention by Residents; at other times they have advised almost complete abstention from interference. On the

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whole, it may be said that the general tendency has, perhaps, most frequently been to exercise an unduly paternal supervision. Where, as has sometimes happened, the intermediary between the Government and a particular prince has been tactless and domineering, the consequences have been occasionally unfortunate. The contention that the Native States have often not been left sufficiently alone does not apply to any particular Administration. If the criticism is warranted, it applies at intervals over a long period of years. On the other hand, it is just and right to add that many Native States owe their present stability and prosperity to the administration of British Residents during the long minority of the ruler, or for other causes. Mysore, Indore, Bhavnagar, Bahawalpur, and other States are notable examples of the results of temporary British control. A British officer has, with the consent of the Nizam, recently reorganized the finances of Hyderabad.

In recent years the tendency to abstain as far as possible from interference in the internal administration of Native States has become more marked. In this matter policy and necessity have combined. At a time when Great Britain has been enlarging with some ostentation the liberties of the peoples of British India it became imperative to lessen the checks upon the freedom of internal control enjoyed by the princes in their own States. It may be gently added that the princes themselves are no longer quite so willing as their forefathers to submit to restraints which sometimes, though well-meant, have perhaps been unduly severe. They, too, expect larger liberty of action, and when their States are reasonably well governed it is not easy to refuse. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that when we institute reforms in British India, the point of view of the princes should always be taken into account. Their support

cannot be forfeited, and they have an awkward habit of clinging to opinions which would dismay sentimental Radicals in the House of Commons. They have not the smallest intention of abandoning their present privileges and powers, and every fresh reform in British India adds to their embarrassment. Even in the most advanced States such changes as have been instituted have rarely shorn the ruling Maharajah of any of his personal powers. The simple suggestion that they must "keep pace with us" does not meet the situation. They flatly refuse to do so, they are within their rights in refusing, and it behoves Great Britain to take care that their support is not alienated by hasty reforms of which they may disapprove. In all the wild talk of "self-government on colonial lines" for British India the position of the Native States is never once considered. The princes will take no place in a popularly-elected Assembly; and the Bengali retort that "they must remain outside" is clearly a foolish evasion.

When the time comes—as come it assuredly will—for a further extension of the principles implied in the recent reforms in British India, the problem presented by the Native States will contain aspects likely to cause both anxiety and perplexity. We cannot for ever continue to settle their larger destinies without even the pretence of consulting them. Such an episode as the placid extinction of the revenue from opium enjoyed by several States, without even the courtesy of a previous notification, will, if it is repeated, create grave trouble. While the lawyers and merchants and schoolmasters of British India are permitted to exert an increasing influence upon the greater issues of Indian policy, the princes and chiefs, who rule one-fifth of the population, and are often directly concerned, continue to be deliberately excluded. We gladly accept the assistance of their troops in time of war, but

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we give them no chance of having a voice in the general affairs of India.

The problem is by no means simple, but its greatest difficulty is not yet fully perceived, even by the Government of India. The project of an Imperial Advisory Council of ruling chiefs and territorial magnates, which formed part of the original reform proposals of the Government of India, was incontinently dropped because it was seen that it would prove unworkable and would become a sham. The Special Correspondent of *The Times* has urged the establishment of "some machinery which would secure for the future a more sustained and intimate co-operation" between the princes and the Government. The fault of both these proposals is that they do not recognize the real attitude of the chiefs, which is exceedingly complex, and somewhat difficult to define. On the one hand, they are inclined to dislike the growing divergence of the Government of India from their own somewhat patriarchal methods. They further resent the occasional consequences of their own isolation, as in the case of the opium traffic. On the other hand, they are extremely suspicious of every scheme which proposes to bring them into closer association with the Government of India. One or two princes are known to favour greater intimacy with the controllers of high policy. The Gackwar of Baroda, for instance, has more than once advocated a scheme resembling an Indian House of Lords. But the vast majority of the princes and chiefs, while entirely loyal, actually prize their aloofness, while objecting to its penalties. They are not attracted by the prospect of association and co-operation, because they fear that it may eventually lead to greater subordination. How to reconcile this dual attitude is an issue of the utmost delicacy, but it must some day be faced.

It will be seen that the reluctance of the princes and chiefs to co-operate, if traced to its source, is founded in

lack of confidence, or, if the word is preferred, in suspicion. For their suspicions the native rulers cannot be blamed. They know by experience that while Viceroys and Secretaries of State lay down exalted principles for guidance, their application eventually falls into the hands of subordinates, and after long years the original guiding principles are sometimes forgotten. The question is too complicated for discussion here, but the moral is obvious, At whatever cost, and even to their own disadvantage, the first and most imperative duty of the Government of India is to keep faith with the native princes. When agreements with Native States get into the hands of lawyers and departmental officials, that primary obligation, on which the whole of our relations with the Native States ought to rest, is not always remembered as it should be. Yet it must ever remain one of the strongest foundations of British rule in India.

CHAPTER IV.

PREVIOUS DURBARS.

The King-Emperor's visit, and his Majesty's intention to hold a great Durbar on the plain outside Delhi, have aroused general interest in the whole question of Indian Durbars. The Durbar is a very ancient Indian institution. The word is usually translated as meaning the Court of a King or Chief, but it also includes a *levée* or audience held or given by any person in high executive authority. It is further used, in some parts of India, to designate the Government of a Native State ; and in the Province of Kathiawar it is frequently customary to address a chief as "Durbar." Sir Thomas Roe, the British Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul, is quoted by Yule as defining the Durbar as "the place where the Mogul sits out daily, to entertain strangers, to receive petitions and presents, to give commands, to see and to be seen." The Sikhs call the Golden Temple at Amritsar, the central shrine of their religion, "the Durbar Sahib." The feudatories of a chief are sometimes styled "Durbaris," and the word "Durbar" has even been attached to Courts of Justice and to police officers.

There can be no doubt, however, that it is chiefly associated with assemblages held by Royalty or the representatives of Royalty, and, as the seat of government of the predecessors of the English, Delhi has long been regarded in India as the appropriate place for Imperial

Durbars. When the control of India passed from the Company to the Crown in 1858, Lord Canning, the first Viceroy, was at Allahabad. The famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria, which has since been the text of innumerable speeches, was read by Lord Canning at that city on November 1. Sir Henry Cunningham, Lord Canning's biographer, states that it was read "with proper ceremonial splendour"; but the gathering hardly seems to have been a Durbar in the accepted sense of the term. A platform was erected near the Fort, from which Lord Canning read the Proclamation, in the presence of the troops and leading civil officials; but there were comparatively few Indians present. In the evening there was a banquet at the Fort. Sir William Howard Russell, who was present, described the ceremony as "cold and spiritless," and its real significance does not seem to have been generally appreciated.

When the late King Edward, as Prince of Wales, made his tour in India in 1875-76 he arrived in Delhi on January 11 and stayed there seven days. In view of the recent discussion as to whether the King-Emperor should make his State entry into Delhi riding on a horse or on an elephant, it is interesting to note that his father entered Delhi on horseback. The route followed was practically the same as that adopted by Lord Curzon in 1902. On leaving the railway station the Prince rode along Lothian-road, skirting the Fort, and passing before the Jumma Musjid, where a vast multitude had gathered. He traversed the famous Chandni Chauk, the principal thoroughfare of Delhi, and on emerging from the city rode over the Ridge to his camp beneath the Flagstaff Tower. The present King-Emperor's camp will be on very nearly the same site. The Prince wore a Field-Marshal's uniform, and Sir H. Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, rode on his left, and Lord Napier of Magdala, Commander-

in-Chief in India, on his right. He was escorted by a battery of Artillery, a squadron of the 10th Hussars, and a troop of the 4th Bengal Cavalry. The route was five miles long, and was lined with troops throughout.

The Prince held no formal Durbar on his arrival, but was presented with an address of welcome from the Delhi Municipality, after which there was a levée. The next day there was a review, followed by a ball and a State supper in the Fort. On the 13th he visited the Kutab Minar and Humayun's Tomb, and in the evening the city was illuminated. On the two following days there were military manœuvres, Sunday, the 16th, was observed as a day of rest, and on Monday there was a special field day for cavalry. The Prince left for Lahore at midnight.

The first great Imperial Assemblage under British auspices at Delhi was held **First Imperial Assemblage.** by Lord Lytton on January 1, 1877, to announce the assumption by her Majesty Queen Victoria of the title of Empress of India. Lord Lytton was a master of stage effect, and was fully conscious of the importance of a proper setting for so unprecedented a solemnity. Under his careful guidance the Assemblage was a brilliant success; but it is quite a mistake to suppose that he appraised its spectacular aspects at more than their due value. In a letter to Lord Beaconsfield, written three months before the gathering, he said.—

I am afraid I may have seemed fussy or frivolous about the decorative details of the Delhi Assemblage. . . . The decorative details of an Indian pageant are like those parts of an animal which are no use at all for butchers' meat, and are even unfit for scientific dissection, but from which augurs draw the omens that move armies and influence princes.

"The size of the Delhi gathering was deemed remarkable in those days, though it was destined to be greatly ex-

ceeded 26 years later. There were about 68,000 people at the Assemblage, which lasted 14 days. They included 77 ruling princes and chiefs, and 300 prominent Indian noblemen and gentlemen. The troops present numbered over 15,000 British and Indian. A large proportion of the throng was made up, as at all these pageants, by the retinues of the princes, who are accustomed on State occasions to be surrounded by great numbers of "followers." Lord Lytton arrived at Delhi on December 23, and was met at the station by the leading princes and other notabilities. The Viceroy entered Delhi on an elephant, accompanied by Lady Lytton, and his two little daughters followed on another elephant; but the procession appears to have been limited in size. The route followed was practically the same as that adopted by the Prince of Wales earlier in the year, and the camp was pitched on the spot which has now become historic. The troops which lined the streets of Delhi were partly drawn from the Regular Forces of India and partly from the armies of the princes.

Sunday, the 24th, and Christmas Day were days of rest, but on the 26th and 27th and 28th the whole time was spent in receiving and returning visits from the princes and chiefs. That is a ceremony which the King-Emperor will at any rate in part be spared, since his Majesty will receive visits, but will not return them. Lord Curzon was criticized in 1903 for not returning the visits of the princes; but it was, among other things, because he had the advantage of knowing how crushing the task was found by Lord Lytton, that he sought to waive the formality. Lord Lytton held levées on the nights of the 27th and 28th. On the 29th he received Indian noblemen and others not possessing ruling powers, and the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. The 30th was spent in miscellaneous visits and receptions, and in administrative work, and on the

31st the inevitable visit was paid to the Kutab Minar, where the Viceroy picnicked amid the ruins.

The public Durbar was held on New Lord Lytton's Year's Day, on the site on the open plain afterwards chosen by Lord Curzon, which has again been selected for the King-Emperor's Durbar. The arrangement of the Durbar was not free from mistakes, and has not been adopted on subsequent occasions. In the centre was a sexagonal dais, about 8ft or 10ft. high, painted light blue, and surmounted by a canopy which is described as cone-shaped, supported by silver pillars. The cone was surmounted by a representation of the Imperial Crown, which rested on a gilded cushion, and the records declare that the Crown looked too large for the cushion. The dais and other structures were designed by the late Mr. Lockwood Kipling, but he was not responsible for the cushion, or for the ropes with far too gaudy pennons which quite superfluously supported the pillars. Upon the dais was the Viceregal Throne, shining with gold and silver. Facing the dais was a semi-circular amphitheatre, in which were seated the princes and the principal officials. Behind the dais were blocks of seats reserved for visitors and guests, who seem to have had a rather indifferent view of the proceedings. The whole Durbar was enveloped by troops.

The Proclamation was read by the Chief Herald, Major Barnes, whose voice was heard by every one. Mr. Thornton, the Foreign Secretary, who followed with an Urdu translation, was not so audible. The flourish on the silver trumpets, which succeeded, was pronounced ineffective, and the salvos of artillery were not a success, because the guns were too small. The *feu de joie* fired by the troops was more impressive, though it stampeded the elephants. Lord Lytton's speech could not be heard by many, but he had taken the precaution to have printed copies distributed beforehand. The speech was a disappointment,

because it contained no announcement of any striking boon, as had been expected. Its principal feature was that it disclosed the creation of a new Order, the Order of the Indian Empire, in commemoration of the Assemblage. The reasons assigned for the institution of the Order are worth recalling, because they have long been either forgotten or disregarded. It was principally meant to give an opportunity of "recognizing the claims of the British portion of the community," and was to be "specially open to the non-official classes." It was speedily absorbed, to a far greater extent than was ever intended, by officials, and for a good many years past hardly any non-official Englishmen have been appointed knights of the Order. After the Viceroy had resumed his seat, several princes spoke, but "owing to the noise and confusion were heard only by persons in their immediate neighbourhood."

It is well known that Lord Lytton wished to signalize the Assemblage by establishing an Indian Privy Council, restricted to the great princes, a proposal which was afterwards resurrected in Lord Minto's scheme for an Imperial Advisory Council. Lord Lytton also suggested the creation of a native peerage for India and the establishment of a Herald's College at Calcutta, but all these projects were negatived by the home authorities. A number of the princes were designated "Councillors of the Empress," a distinction which remained meaningless, and they were presented with handsome banners, which were welcomed for their beauty, but not otherwise valued. Nearly 16,000 prisoners were released on Proclamation Day. Lord Lytton gave a State banquet in the evening. On January 2 he attended "the Imperial races," and on the 3rd there were games for the soldiers, and a display of fireworks witnessed by an enormous crowd. The 4th was devoted to receiving farewell visits from the princes. On the 5th there was a great

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review, and Lord Lytton lost his gold medal while "cantering home." The same evening Lord Lytton left Delhi, and the Imperial Assemblage was over. There can be no doubt now that the assumption of the Imperial title was a wise and salutary step, that the criticism levelled against it was wholly misdirected, that Lord Lytton's Durbar made a deep impression upon the people of India, and that the objects it was intended to serve were amply attained.

Probably no gathering held in the East has ever exceeded in ordered magnificence the vast Coronation Assemblage at Delhi in 1903, arranged to proclaim the accession of King Edward VII. It marked the end of a great and picturesque era, rather than the beginning of a new period. India has changed greatly in the last ten years. In 1903 the motor-car was still an object of some curiosity, and there were very few of them at Delhi. The princes brought with them swarms of retainers in medieval garb, and it was no uncommon experience to encounter a troop of warriors in chain armour, with casques and nodding plumes. The great array of elephants dominated the entire spectacle. The elephant was the symbol of the last Durbar, the taxi-cab seems likely to be the keynote of the next. It was felt and said at the time that there could never be another Durbar like that of 1903, because "the old order passeth." Medieval India still lingers in the more secluded native States, but the Maharajahs no longer delight to ride in golden howdahs on stately elephants.

The astonishing success, the blinding vividness, of the pageantry, at the last Assemblage was due not only to the conditions under which it was held. It also owed much to the abounding energy and unceasing toil of Lord Curzon, who conceived and personally superintended many of the details, and visited Delhi four times to inspect the preparations. Yet, like Lord Lytton, Lord Curzon never failed to realize that the setting of the Durbar was not

the main point, and that the Assemblage implied far more than mere externals. In a subsequent speech to his Council he confessed that he never read the accounts of the splendours of the Durbar without a pang, for all the while he had been "thinking about something else." The Durbar to him "meant not a panorama or a procession; it was a landmark in the history of the people and a chapter in the ritual of the State." The protest he then uttered against the idea that "the Durbar was intended only to show the magnificence of the Empire and the trappings of the East" deserves to be remembered now. The gathering to greet the King-Emperor at Delhi will have failed in its purpose if those who record it tell the rest of the Empire about the glory of the jewels of the Maharajahs and omit the message and the lesson which lie behind the resplendent display.

The 1903 Durbar was notable for the enormous area covered by the camps. The distances were vast, and many princes had to pitch their camps on the road to the Kutab Minar, far to the south of Delhi. Fifty miles of special roads were made, as well as a "Durbar Light Railway," which was afterwards utilized elsewhere. The lighting and water arrangements involved prodigious labour. A special residence was built for the Viceroy, but it was afterwards made into a "Circuit House" for the Punjab Government. There was a great Exhibition of Indian Art, and a polo ground which attracted the best teams in India. About 40,000 troops assembled at Delhi, gradually converging on the city after preliminary manœuvres which lasted many days. The influx of visitors was great; rents of houses in Delhi rose to an incredible height, and the railways were almost unable to cope with the congested traffic. The difficulty of reaching Delhi at all at the last moment was exceeded by the far greater difficulty of getting away after the ceremonies. Of less important memories perhaps that which remains most

The Durbar
Camp.

deeply imprinted in the minds of those present is the recollection of the intense cold at night. The English visitors seemed to feel the cold more than the Anglo-Indians. Life in tents in Northern India in the cold weather is a semi-Arctic experience to those unaccustomed to it. On informal occasions many people dined in their overcoats, but the big marquees in which the State banquets were held were in some way miraculously warmed. Sometimes even the overcoats were not available, for there was a plague of white ants whose principal diet appeared to be clothing. Many tents were provided with fireplaces or heated by lamp stoves, but it is not easy to keep the cold out of a large tent.

The incomparable feature of the 1903 Durbar, the feature that can never be reproduced again, was the State entry into Delhi. It was the elephant procession that made it so unique. Lord Curzon elected, like Lord Lytton, to enter the Imperial city upon a gigantic elephant, and all the princes of India, similarly mounted, followed in his train. The King-Emperor has decided to enter on horseback, and the only princes who will attend him are his personal aides-de-camp. The decision cannot be questioned, but it will deprive the coming Durbar of a most impressive spectacle. Lord Curzon arrived at Delhi on December 29, 1902, and entered the city about noon. The procession was led by the 4th Dragoon Guards, the "H" Battery of Royal Horse Artillery, the Viceroy's Bodyguard, and the Imperial Cadet Corps, the last named all mounted on black chargers and wearing uniforms of white and the light Star of India blue. Then came the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, on an elephant bearing a howdah covered with silver inlaid with gold. The huge saddle-cloth or *jhool* was stiff with heavy gold embroidery. The elephant was surrounded by spearmen and by *chobdars* carrying maces and staves. The Duke and

Duchess of Connaught, who represented the Royal Family, followed on an elephant equally gorgeously caparisoned. Then came the retinue of Princes, whose share in the pageant was thus described at the time :—

Princes bearing the greatest names in the Golden Book of India defiled before our dazzled vision. The whole road, right away to the walls of the Fort, was flashing with precious metals aflame in the sunlight. Not a howdah that was not covered with gold and silver. Not a *jhool* that was not decked in gleaming gold embroidery. Not an elephant that was not closely surrounded by gaudy spearmen, and driven by a *mahout* in rainbow colours. The very foreheads of the elephants were daubed with bright pigments. And the princes that they bore, who shall recount the splendour of their attire, the indescribable array of silks and satins and velvets, then glittering jewels, their ropes of pearls and necklaces of diamonds and rubies and emeralds, the splendid aigrettes in their turbans? It was a barbaric display, if you will, but it epitomized the wealth and magnificence of the immemorial East. On they came, till one almost fancied that the heavy tramp of the elephants shook the ground. The bells hanging from the howdahs clanged like cathedral chimes. Clouds of dust arose—water avails little on Delhi roads—and the uniforms of the patient troops grew soiled. But still the march went on, and the people cheered with wild enthusiasm as they passed.

There were over 200 elephants in the procession, including those ridden by the retainers of the Princes. The Grand Duke of Hesse, the Governors of Bombay and Madras, and a host of minor dignitaries drove in carriages, followed by the wild chieftains of the frontier on horseback and a regiment of Indian Cavalry. Lord Kitchener had a prominent place in the cavalcade, riding alone, but he had only just arrived in India and was hardly recognized by the crowd.

Though the State entry was the most unique example of Oriental display in 1903, there was general agreement that the Durbar itself was the finest scene of the whole assemblage. It was said afterwards that “it contained more truly dramatic moments, it was conceived upon a vaster scale, than any other function.” The

The Great
Day.

amphitheatre in which it was held was a mighty structure shaped like a horseshoe, set in the midst of the bare and dusty plain. It contained tier after tier of seats and was estimated to hold ten thousand people, every one of whom had a good view of the proceedings. The Viceregal dais was right opposite the opening of the horseshoe and jutted out into the great arena, being covered by a separate canopy in white and gold. It bore the thrones of the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught. The amphitheatre had a light roof, a necessary protection from the sun, though it threw the spectators into shadow and thus deprived the scene of some of its rich colouring. Before the arrival of the Viceroy and the Duke and Duchess the selected veterans of the Mutiny, British and Indian, numbering 240, marched into the arena. By common consent their advent to martial music, followed by "Auld Lang Syne," was the most moving sight of the whole fortnight, and the vast audience rose to their feet to do them honour, cheering as if moved by one spontaneous impulse.

After the Viceroy had taken his seat the massed bands sounded a summons to the Herald, and from the plain came the sound of silver trumpets. Then the Herald, Major Maxwell, appeared at the entrance to the arena, looking almost gigantic on his huge black charger. He was followed by 12 trumpeters, and when he turned before the dais and read the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh his voice resounded through the amphitheatre. There was a flourish of trumpets, the great Royal Standard was unfurled, the guard of honour presented arms, the massed bands played the National Anthem, and the entire audience stood. The guns without fired a salute of 101 guns, and the 40,000 troops encircling the Durbar fired a *feu de joie*. Lord Curzon's speech, which included the reading of a gracious message from the King-Emperor, could be distinctly

heard by every one, but there was a feeling of disappointment that it contained no announcement of the "boon" which, in accordance with Oriental traditions, had been expected. The Herald and his trumpeters again entered the arena, this time at a quick trot, and silver trumpets once more sounded. Then the Herald, swiftly turning and facing the audience, raised himself in his stirrups, waved his helmet aloft, and shouted in stentorian tones, "Three cheers for the King-Emperor!" The effect was magical, and the cheers of the ten thousand spectators were echoed by the troops on the plain outside. The Durbar closed with the presentation of the ruling chiefs to the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught, and with a spontaneous and quite unpremeditated ovation to the Duke and Duchess after the Viceroy had departed first, according to precedence.

The other principal ceremonies of the Assemblage were held on later days in the Delhi Fort, in the Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience, and the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, magnificent structures built by the Moguls, which were temporarily doubled in size. On January 4 there was a grand Chapter of the two great Indian Orders in the Diwan i-Am, when the new recipients of honours were duly invested. The ceremony was solemn and impressive, but far too long, and it is a relief to know that it will not be repeated, except on a very limited scale. The State Ball, on January 7, was a brilliant scene. There were about 5,000 guests, and it was amusing to note the intense interest displayed in the unwonted appearance of Lord Kitchener in the State lancers. He emerged from the ordeal with infinite credit. A remarkable feature of the Assemblage, second only to the State entry in its unique and picturesque character, was the review of chiefs' retinues. It was the India of a century ago reproduced in living reality; and it came as a revelation even to those

Other
Ceremonies.

familiar with the country. That, again, was an amazing spectacle which is not to be repeated, owing to lack of time and the difficulty of organizing it. The last event of the Durbar was a grand military review, at which the popularity of the Gurkha regiments was very marked.

The King and Queen, when Prince and Princess of Wales, visited Delhi on December 12, 1905, and remained four days.

They drove through the city by the regulation route, and halted at the clock tower to receive an address from the municipality. They were lodged in the Circuit House, built for the 1903 Durbar. Later in the day they drove to the Kashmir Gate and inspected the buildings in the Fort. Next day they examined the scenes of memorable incidents in the siege, and on the third day they visited the Kutab Minar and the sites of the older Delhis, far to the south of the present city. The fourth day was chiefly spent in visiting the site of the 1903 Durbar, including the great Amphitheatre, the earthworks of which still remained. His Majesty is thus quite familiar with the scene of the coming Assemblage: but when next he visits Delhi it will be as the central figure of a gathering unprecedented in the long history of Asia.

CHAPTER V.

IMPERIAL DELHI.

The City of Delhi is so modern that it was only being built when Charles I. died at Whitehall ; but the plain in which it stands is covered with the dust of dead empires. No one knows how often great capitals have arisen on the banks of the Jumna, in the heart of the richest and most fertile region of Hindostan. The first authentic record of a city in the neighbourhood of Delhi dates back to the 11th century, yet it is possible that far older sites lie buried beneath the soil. The early history of India is a sequence of blotted pages, and no systematic attempt has ever been made to trace the remains of the original ruling races.

No fewer than six cities are known to have been constructed south of the present Delhi, and as the visitor leaves the Ajmere Gate he wanders over ground where dynasty after dynasty has risen and fought and built and ruled and died. Each new ruling family wanted a new capital, and when the older cities were torn up, the shrines and tombs were sometimes reverently left. Thus it is that vestiges of the earlier Delhis are still visible in the stately sepulchres embowered in trees, which astonish and delight the wayfarer. Miles away, down a long and dusty road, stands the Kutab Minar, the most wondrous tower in the world, the abiding monument of the Moslem conquest of India. Beyond, and far too rarely seen by travellers, is the city of Tughlakabad, relic of a dream

never destined to be fulfilled its Cyclopean masonry has withstood the ravages of time. Within its mighty walls one wanders through the ruined and deserted streets of a capital built but never occupied. Tughlakabad is one of the minor wonders of the world, yet few regard it now, though it is far more worth seeing than most places within a morning's drive of Delhi. At its gate stands, grim, four-square, more like a miniature fortress than a mausoleum, the tomb of its stern founder, Tughlak Shah.

See, then, the older Delhis first, and ponder awhile upon the long pageant of history their remnants recall. The whole future of India has been decided again and again within a day's ride of their mouldering ruins. Thrice on the field of Panipat, north of Delhi, conflicts have been fought which are counted among the decisive battles of the world. Then turn next to the famous Ridge, beyond the northern walls, and see where the fate of British rule in India hung trembling in the balance for long weeks in 1857. It was no idle chance which led the heroes of the Mutiny to cling to those rocky heights, though they were often more besieged than besieging. They knew that Delhi spelt dominion, that the fall of Delhi would mean the eventual collapse of the revolt, that while the British flag flew on that bare slope victory was still within their grasp. The Ridge of Delhi is ground as hallowed as Waterloo, yet the first impression is always one of disappointment. It has bulked so large in history that it is something of a shock to discover it to be only 60ft. high.

The plain to the south of Delhi for memorials of Mogul rule in India; the plain to the north for relics of the historic episodes of British domination—that is the simple division which may be made. Just beneath the Flagstaff Tower, on the site of the old cantonment sacked by the mutineers, stands the Circuit House where the King-Emperor originally

meant to reside during his visit. The camp of the Court will be on the very spot where the British troops camped during the siege. The amphitheatre, a couple of miles away across the plain, is to be reconstructed at the exact point where Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, and where King Edward's Accession was announced. The northern walls of the city still bear the marks of the siege. The breaches can be traced; the Kashmir Gate is scarred and battered; the narrow lane where John Nicholson fell remains almost unaltered; his modest tomb is in the cemetery near by. If Delhi is full of memories of the older rulers of India, it is sacred soil for the British also. Lake rode in triumph through its streets; at its gates the destiny of the British in India was decided; its walls echoed the salute proclaiming the assumption of the Imperial title by Queen Victoria; it heard the guns announce the Accession of the first British Emperor of all India; and in its precincts the princes of India will gather to render fealty to the first British Monarch who has ever gone in person to his Asiatic dominions. No city in the Empire has more poignant or more glorious associations for Englishmen.

The pride of Delhi, the structure which invests it with visible grandeur, is the vast Fort, whose rose-pink battlemented walls confront across a tree-clad pleasure the mighty Jumma Musjid, the Cathedral Mosque of India. The Fort was the Imperial Palace of Shah Jahan, and is a great enclosure containing gardens and several beautiful buildings. No Imperial residence in the world possesses a more majestic portal. The lofty gateway leads into an entrance hall like the nave of a cathedral. The courtyard beyond is as spacious as a London square. Though some of the structures within the Fort have long been used, somewhat carelessly, for military purposes, there yet remain gems of architecture which are almost unspoilt. The Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of

The Fort.

Public Audience, is a magnificent arcade with red stone pillars and engrailed arches, where the Emperors showed themselves to their followers. In a high marble recess, whose sides are now robbed of their original incrustation of precious stones, stood the famous Peacock Throne, which Nadir Shah carried off to Persia when he left Delhi shattered and desolate. It may save much disputation to say at once that Lord Curzon, during his visit to Teheran, satisfied himself that the Peacock Throne no longer exists. The ultimate marvel of the Fort is the Dewan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, a pavilion with an open portico, surmounted at the corners by domes on slender pillars. It is a dream in white marble, a vision of arches and pillars adorned with gold and inlay work, of delicate pierced tracery, of cool shady retreats. The jewels have been torn from its walls, but the impression it conveys is abiding. It was meant for use, not in the chilly atmosphere of a Punjab cold weather, but in the fierce heat of May and June, when within carshot of plashing fountains the Emperor dallied with his women. Its essential beauty is unspoilt, and no one who has seen it marvels at the spirit of ecstasy in which its creator inscribed upon it the words :—" If a Paradise be on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this ! "

The Private and Public Halls of Audience will be so transformed and temporarily enlarged for the visit of the King-Emperor, that strangers will not see them in their natural state. Within them will be held more than one great gathering. One of the minor wonders of official achievement is that these halls can be made the nucleus of large temporary structures without an offence to taste, or the slightest injury to the fabrics ; but it was done with success in 1903, and will be done again. Everything in and around Delhi is a little abnormal and unreal when a great Imperial Assemblage is toward. The Chandni Chauk, the great thoroughfare of the city, swarms with animated crowds, and becomes towards

evening radiant with vivid garments and headgear. The greatest marvel of Delhi at such a time is not the organized spectacles, but the wondrous variety of people within its gates. Yet the real modern tendency of Delhi, as in its early prime, is towards industrial development. Its ultimate destiny is to become the chief manufacturing centre of Northern India, but the smoke of its spinning and weaving mills can never entirely veil its romance.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BRITISH CONTROL OF INDIA.

It is a common and no doubt a justifiable criticism of British rule in India that its aims are not very clear. That is to say, the British Government and the British public have never yet sat down and decided exactly what they want to do in and with India. On the other hand, they have in some respects indicated pretty plainly and emphatically what they do not mean to do. There is probably, for instance, an overwhelming predominance of feeling in England, among those who have thought about the subject at all, against any yielding to the claim of a limited number of Nationalists for "self-government on Colonial lines." Instinctively it is felt that such an experiment would be unsuited alike to the past traditions and the present condition of India. Lord Morley said in the House of Lords in 1908 — "If my existence, either officially or corporeally, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, a Parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would for one moment aspire." The absence of clear-cut and rigidly defined aims has not been without its advantages. The system of British control has thereby been rendered more flexible. It has adapted itself to changing circumstances and aspirations. If it had fallen to the lot of British administrators in India in the late sixties to have laid down a definite and comprehensive policy for the guidance of their successors, most of their

conclusions would almost inevitably have been abandoned during the succeeding decades. Even the ideals of Lord Curzon's eventful Viceroyalty are not in all respects the ideals of to-day. The one thing which the British public ought to cherish as an absolute and unswerving conviction is that under no circumstances will British rule in India be abandoned or weakened. There is far too much speculation about its probable fate, far too much loose talk about its possible decline. "If," said Seeley, "the government of India from a remote island seems a thing which can never be permanent, we know that it once seemed a thing which never could take place, until it did take place."

One reason why British aims in India have never been reduced to precise formulæ is that they were involuntary in their inception and very gradual in their growth. No one who has studied history will dream of contending for a moment that the British went to India intent upon the moral and material regeneration of its inhabitants. The pioneers were not even inflamed by the proselytizing zeal which formed one-half of the dual motives of the Portuguese. They slowly assumed the task of administration because they found it imperative to do so for the development and stability of their trade. They drove out their European competitors, they upset inefficient indigenous administrations, they made and unmade dynasties, from the same compelling reason. They extended their rule because every fresh conquest confronted them with new difficulties and new menaces upon their frontiers. Nothing was more unmethodical, nor more automatic and inevitable, than the British conquest of India. The newcomers laid the foundations of a system of education, not because they conceived it to be their duty to educate subject races, but rather because they needed educated Indian help in their administration. They trained a host of minor

The British
Conquest.

executive officers, not because they sought to teach Indians how to govern themselves, but because without Indian aid they could not develop their own rule. They instructed Indians in the art of fighting in Western fashion, not that they might learn self-defence, but rather that they might be used to uphold British control. They established the covenanted Civil Service, not so much in the hope that it might be the great moral instrument, it has since become, but rather in order to prevent corruption among their own countrymen.

Yet, though there is little substantial evidence of high initial moral purpose of a far-reaching kind, there can be no doubt that it existed in varying and often obscure forms almost from the very beginning. In a race with the traditions and the ideals held by the English it was bound to be early manifested, and to impart some infusion of unselfish beneficence into their acts. The time came at last when it grew very rapidly, until in the end it became a dominating consideration. The annexation of Oudh would never have been undertaken if Oudh had been humanely governed. The conquest of the Punjab would never have been entered upon if the death of Ranjit Singh had not plunged the province into a welter of dismal strife. The character of the English counted for more in the long run than the material purpose which first took them to India, and they committed themselves, almost without realizing it, to a task the full magnitude of which is only now perceived. Yet the process of evolution has been long at work, and is distinguished by two great landmarks. One is the foundation of the Civil Service system in its present form, which was completed by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. The other is the transfer of the control of India from the Company to the Crown, which was made in 1858. From the transfer dates the systematic attempt of Great Britain to grapple with its vast undertaking. But the

national purpose had already changed so completely that 25 years earlier the Company had been deprived of the right to trade. • Though the extent and value of Indian trade still accounts for much of the interest taken by Great Britain in India, the representatives of British authority have long ceased to have any direct concern therein.

• Even after the substitution of the Crown for the Company, the general character of British control remained for a long period very different from the conditions now existent. The broad structural outline was still incomplete. The administration was placid, and "hastened slowly." The district officer was still the father of his people, and talked to the peasantry from his seat beneath the shade of a spreading tree. There were happy districts where the civilian in charge thought himself rather worried if he received a letter from his official superiors once a fortnight. The thick cloud of reports and minutes and returns which now intervenes between the officer and the people had not then descended. The pen had not replaced the more facile medium of personal intercourse, which was understood and preferred by the Orient. The change has, however, proceeded apace in recent years, and though by regulation the district officer is still obliged to tour for several months every year, he now trails after him an incubus of paper. The pleasant ride in the early morning across the plain to another nest of villages is being replaced in many districts by a hasty scurry in a motor-car. Even in the great secretariats, once a longed-for haven of leisured ease, men are more often overworked than not. For the languid transaction of business during exiguous hours one has to look now, not to Simla or Calcutta, but to London. The civilian of to-day, if he does his work conscientiously, is not only overworked, but, considering the risks and the climate and the innumerable drawbacks,

Changing
Conditions.

rather underpaid. Yet the change had to come, and the life was bound to grow harder and more formal. India has outgrown the patriarchal ideal, and the closer approximation to Western standards meant an increasing resort to pen and ink. How many Englishmen at home see no other visible sign of authority than an occasional policeman? The regrets about the diminution of personal contact are natural, but the Indian civilian could not for ever take the affable squire as his only prototype. The old system was best for the times in which it was practised, and it was a pity that it had to be modified; but the recent changes are bringing new channels of intercourse, and in the reformed councils officials and the leaders of Indian opinion are mingling with an intimacy and upon an equality which they never knew before.

The actual and concrete accomplishments of British rule in India, so far as **Results of British Rule.** they have been of direct benefit to the people, are not difficult to discern. First and foremost is the priceless blessing of peace, which was conferred, however, not so much for their benefit as for our own. No advantage is less valued by the people of India than the security in which they live. The present generation has known no other condition, and is wont to hold the gift lightly. The memories of the bitter oppression and the exactions of the past have been effaced, and the history of the eighteenth century is very little regarded. The more efficient administration of justice must be pronounced a doubtful though a necessary boon. When we bestowed a complicated system of Courts and Codes upon India we did not foresee to what lengths the litigious proclivities of the people would lead them. Nor did we realize that the very efficiency of our judicial arrangements would have grave effects upon the land system in more than one province. It has led to the wholesale expropriation of land, whereas in the old days the exac-

tions of usury would have been tempered by the simple device of occasionally slaying a too exorbitant money-lender. Our police system has on the whole made for good, despite the frequent criticism to which it is subjected. It is not popular, as is only natural in a country where crime has been treated for centuries with habitual laxity alternating with spasms of ferocious severity. Not the least of our services to India has been our repression of the crime of *thagi*, coupled with our diminution of the practice of female infanticide and the suppression of *sati*; yet no one who knows India intimately doubts that if we were to withdraw widow-burning would at once recommence. We have taken in hand the education of the people, and though we have done far too little, and not always worked on the right lines, perhaps that is a phase of our activities which, behind all the controversy it induces, is really appreciated.

The magnificent public works of India, which form one of the great monuments of British rule, have been created for the most part in the last sixty years. The immense impetus given to public works of all descriptions was one of the direct results of the transfer of India to the Crown. Sir George Chesney has said that in their earlier days the Court of Directors regarded the construction of a road or a canal as "an unavoidable evil, to be undertaken only when it could not be postponed any longer." They "did not recognize the prosecution of public works as a necessary part of their policy," at any rate until the advent of Lord Dalhousie. The huge and growing system of railways, though by no means adequate to the present requirements of India, has been the real cause of much of the existing prosperity of the country. The complex system of irrigation, still being steadily developed, exceeds in its beneficial results any such system in the world. The British Administration has done much for the improvement of agriculture, and its efforts in this direction have even aroused some gratitude. Its labours

in coping with the recurring danger of famines have been placed upon a well-organized basis, and in their thoroughness compare vividly with the aimless neglect of their Indian predecessors. It has not been so successful in dealing with plague, not through lack of endeavour or of expenditure, but rather because the disease is still imperfectly understood; though in recent years there has been room for criticism. The enormous expansion of Indian trade is an acknowledged result of British rule. The growth of manufacturing and mining industries has been greatly stimulated, and the hoards of Indian capital have at last been unlocked in their support. To the question whether the people of India are better and happier as a consequence of British control the rulers can await an answer with confidence, so far as material conditions are concerned. Despite the poverty and misery still found in the slums of British cities, and sometimes even in the villages, the working men and women of England are, as a whole, far better off than they were at the beginning of the 19th century. No unprejudiced inquirer, who compares the evidence of a century ago with the conditions existing to-day, can doubt that in the same period a far greater improvement has been effected in the life of the people in most of the provinces of India. To find a parallel we should rather turn to the condition of the *fellahin* of Lower Egypt under Mehemet Ali, as compared with their prosperity under Abbas Hilmi and his English advisers.

Unrest
and its
Meaning.

The tangible results of British rule constitute, as Seeley has said, "a somewhat cold daylight introduced into the midst of a warm gorgeous twilight."

The cost has not been excessive, and India has had full measure for the expenditure she has herself provided. Taxation is comparatively light, and the burden upon land is not heavy, though the incidence of land revenue assessment is rather

too unequal. The theory of "the drain to England" need find no further rebuttal here. It has been thrice s'ain already.* Yet in spite of the manifest success of British control, unrest has in recent years reached dimensions which are unparalleled. The causes of unrest are manifold, and they have been exhaustively analysed in *The Times*. A material contributory cause has been the ravages produced by plague. Behind and beyond all the other reasons adduced in explanation lies the objection advanced in many quarters to our very presence in India, That is the ultimate and abiding origin of unrest, and it exists, not because British rule has failed, but in spite of its very success. The increasing prosperity of India may for a time even accentuate the feeling. The stalled ox waxes fat and kicks. Exactly the same phenomenon has been witnessed in Egypt. We need not, as Lord George Hamilton warned us long ago, expect any gratitude for our work, and we have probably no right to look for it. Yet difficult though the problem of unrest is, it would be fatal to conclude that it is insoluble. We must trust to the spread of enlightenment and education to induce increasing acceptance of a control which is lightly and fairly exercised. Meanwhile we have to persevere in a policy of wise and ordered development. England can at least continue to confer material benefits upon India; the rest lies in the hands of the people themselves. An enormous amount still remains to be done. We are only on the threshold of the possibilities of Indian development. The best panacea for the troubles of India lies in the widespread encouragement of manufacturing industries, not because increasing wealth will necessarily produce greater contentment, but rather because the creation of great industries tends to develop support of the existing order of government. The Presidency of Bombay contains a population far more inflammatory than that of Bengal, but it has remained comparatively quiet because its leaders know full well that rash political

disturbances interrupt prosperity and progress. The application of scientific research to agriculture is still in its infancy in India, and may bring about in course of time inestimable advantages to millions. Great irrigation schemes still await fulfilment, and the trunk railways need supplementing by many more branch lines. Upon these and similar enterprises England may be well content to concentrate her energies without caring much about the ultimate verdict.

**The
Impending
Issue.**

There can be little doubt, however, that we are on the eve of a greater agitation in India than any yet seen. It will not be less formidable because it will probably remain, for the most part, strictly constitutional in character. The spasmodic activities of Indian Anarchists constitute a separate issue, to be separately and severely dealt with. The agitation which now lies ahead will call, not for prosecutions, but for careful and not unsympathetic consideration. There are many signs that the political leaders of India intend to concentrate their efforts in the near future upon a demand for greater administrative autonomy. They realize quite clearly that the recent enlargement of the Councils represents the utmost concession of representation which Great Britain is at present disposed to grant. After the courteous Indian fashion, they have been extremely moderate in their speeches in the last 18 months. They were unwilling to begin a new agitation the moment the reforms were completed. They are still more unwilling to raise disturbing questions as the time approaches for the King's visit. The natural and very proper instinct of all moderate educated Indians, at such a juncture, is to refrain from creating embarrassing difficulties.

Yet of a certainty the movement is only postponed. It must come when fresh taxation is proposed, and in view of the early extinction of the opium revenue, and

the fresh expenditure which is in contemplation, only a miracle can save India from further heavy taxation in the near future. •It will unquestionably be met by a demand for more administrative autonomy, for the right to decide questions of Indian expenditure more exclusively in India, and, above all, for some measure of fiscal autonomy. The ultimate outcome of such a movement must be to bring the political leaders into hostile contact, not with the Government of India, but with the autocratic financial control exercised from the India Office. Thus issues of the gravest moment will be raised, and they will not be readily adjusted. Greater liberty in the directions indicated can only be granted either to the representatives of the people or to the Government of India. For obvious reasons they are not likely to be granted to the elected representatives. Yet the conferment of larger powers upon the Government of India, as the custodians of the interests of the people of India, clears the way to possibilities hardly less awkward. A Government of India relieved to a great extent from the fetters which bind it to the India Office would not have to wait long to find itself confronted by a renewed demand for popular government. The Indian leaders are long-headed enough to foresee the position which would then be created. Once the home control is diminished, they would have a far better chance of obtaining sympathetic adherents in England in a fight against official control exercised in India. The problem is thus extremely complex, and is not made easier by the grave unwisdom of recent interventions on the part of the India Office. It cannot be airily dismissed, and the demand cannot be curtly refused, for the agitation is certain to grow. It will lie quite outside revolutionary aspirations, and will be in no sense in conflict with Indian loyalty to the Crown. When it arises, it will tax the ingenuity of statesmen

to find a solution, and it may call for the exercise of those altruistic sentiments towards India which the British public have in the past expressed with fervour but sometimes practised with reluctance.

It remains to say that the chief safe-
The Civil guard of Great Britain in India must,
Service. in this as in other problems, continue
 to lie in the character and ability of the

English Civil servants. By these are meant not only the "covenanted civilians," but also the engineers, the forest officers, the police officers, the judiciary, and all the other officials, few in number but great in power, who are collectively the real embodiment of the British Raj. The protection and support of the Covenanted Civil Service should, however, be our principal concern. In its hands lies the welfare and the maintenance of British rule in India. The Civil Service has of late years been subjected to a great deal of unmerited criticism. It has been the scapegoat of faults which were not of its own making, the object of ignorant attacks in Parliament against which it has not always found adequate and sincere defenders. The feeling of resentment at these attacks among members of the Service is not less strong because it rarely receives public expression. Perhaps they are sometimes over-sensitive when assailed, because in the environment in which they are placed the rougher side of public life is seldom seen and hardly understood. Be that as it may, the men in whose hands the destinies of the British in India are really placed are entitled to claim the unswerving confidence of their countrymen at home. We cannot impose upon them great responsibilities and then refuse to trust them. They depend for their success upon the support of their official superiors, which has not always been accorded as

it should have been ; but they depend far more upon the support of the public.

Yet the Civil Service is not without its defects, which are inherent in the Defects of the character of the Service rather than in Service. the quality of the men.* It is not fair, and is probably not true, to say that the quality of the Service is declining. The same charge is brought, with equally little foundation, against the officers of the Army and Navy, and every branch of the public services. Some of the best men in the Indian Civil Service in recent years have been men of the newer strain ; and in character, probity, and capacity the men of the Service to-day will bear comparison with their predecessors of any decade in last century. What is far more true is that the nature of the work is changing, and in many respects no longer calls for the exercise of quite the same qualities. Given the old conditions, men of the older fashion would probably be evolved, just as they are evolved in the Sudan to-day. But the conditions have altered ; an Indian civilian is no longer an unfettered pioneer in an unknown land, and it is not quite clear that the Service has been adjusted to the change. India no longer requires so many administrators of the older type ready to turn their hands to anything. It rather needs more specialists, and the Civil Service does not readily accustom itself to specialization. Half the difficulties which arise are due to the sudden posting of an officer to a task for which he has no special fitness. Again, a marked defect of the Service is that there is no adequate means of weeding out men of proved incompetence. A man may pass his examinations in England with brilliant success, and yet after years of patient trial prove unfit for work under Indian conditions. It would be cheaper to get rid of such a man on a proportionate pension than to allow him to cumber all his life the work of administration. Sir George Campbell noted

the defect nearly sixty years ago, and suggested the remedy, but it has never been applied. Again, the system by which the Indian Civil Service and the staff of the India Office are, with a few special exceptions, kept in separate compartments, is wrong in principle and ought to be amended. Numbers of officers at the India Office are engaged in minuting and advising upon questions concerning a country which they have never seen and of which they have no adequate conception. There should be some system of interchanging posts, as was suggested in the case of the Colonial Office at the 1907 Colonial Conference.

The ultimate fault of British rule in India perhaps is that it aims too high. Do we Attempt too much? The fault is a noble one, and not to be condemned, but it does not alter the fact that we are somewhat liable to overstrain our system by attempting too much. The experience of history shows that all immense and hugely populous empires have to be content with a comparatively low standard of efficiency. In India the lessons of the past find reinforcement in the common attitude of the people. The East does not particularly want our drainpipes. Its ideals of comfort and cleanliness are not ours, and in its spiritual emotions it seeks refuge from our material cravings. We have never sufficiently divested ourselves of the Western tendency to measure our achievements in the Orient by the standards of another continent. We are all a little too prone to emulate the mental attitude of Sir Elijah Impey, who on his first advent into the Calcutta High Court wanted to clothe the bare feet of his perspiring litigors in thick woollen stockings. If we could only bring ourselves to realize that in India something less than thoroughness usually suffices, and generally satisfies, our task would be easier and our rule less irritating to the ruled; but perhaps in the resultant slackness we should lose our spirit of high endeavour, and