

We are anxious that Parliament should be in a position to take them up with interest and to decide them with knowledge. We have already made one important proposal—that for periodic commissions to deal with the political progress of India—which will be of value for this purpose. We will add two further suggestions. We advise that the Secretary of State's salary, like that of all other ministers of the Crown, should be defrayed from Home revenues and voted annually by Parliament. This will enable any live questions of Indian administration to be discussed by the House of Commons in Committee of Supply. On previous occasions when this proposal has been made it has encountered the objection that it would result in matters of Indian administration being treated as party questions. Without entering into speculations as to the future of parties in Parliament we do not see why this result would follow from such a debate more than from the existing debate on the budget; and in any case the proposal which we make in the next paragraph would do something to prevent it. It might be thought to follow that the whole charges of the India Office establishment should similarly be transferred to the Home Exchequer; but this matter is complicated by a series of past transactions, and by the amount of agency work which the India Office does on behalf of the Government of India; and we advise that our proposed committee upon the India Office organization should examine it and, taking these factors into consideration, determine which of the various India Office charges should be so transferred, and which can legitimately be retained as a burden on Indian revenues.

295. But the transfer of charges which we propose, although it will give reality to the debates on Indian affairs, will not ensure in Parliament a better informed, or a more sustained, interest in India. We feel that this result can only be accomplished by appointing a select committee of Parliament on Indian affairs. We have considered whether such a committee should be drawn jointly from both Houses. But it is in the House of Commons that effective control over the Indian administration will be exercised by means of the debate on the estimates; and also it is to the House of Commons that the comments in the preceding paragraph mainly apply. We recommend therefore that the House of Commons should be asked to appoint a select committee on Indian affairs at the beginning of each session. Such a select committee would, like other select committees, exercise its powers by informing itself from time to time upon Indian questions, and by reporting to the House before the annual debate on the Indian estimates. Like other select committees it would have no administrative functions. The Secretary of State would appear before it to answer questions about those aspects of Indian administration in which he, and therefore Parliament, continued to exercise the right to interfere. Thus by means of interrogations and requisitions for papers the members of the committee would keep themselves informed upon Indian questions. To such a select committee Indian Bills might be referred after their second reading. There would

thus soon grow up a body of men in Parliament who took a continuous, and well-informed, interest in Indian questions; and by the committee's reports the House of Commons would be invited to focus their attention in the debate on the budget on matters of importance which had arisen during the year. There is, we may repeat, no inconsistency in distinguishing between the general direction, and the execution, of policy, nor in desiring at one and the same time that the directing power shall be more interested and better informed and that the executive agents shall be given a larger measure of discretion within the limits laid down for them.

Chapter X.—The Native States.

296. As we have said already it is impossible to deal with the constitutional position in British India without also considering the problems presented by the Native States. India is in fact, as well as by legal definition, one geographical whole. The integral connexion of the States with the British Empire not only consists in their relations to the British Crown, but also in their growing interest in many matters common to the land to which they and the British provinces alike belong.

297. Although compared with the British provinces the States are thinly populated, they comprise among them some of the fairest portions of India. The striking differences in their size, importance, and geographical distribution are due partly to variations of policy, partly to historical events, which no Government could control. Wherever consolidating forces were at work before the British advance occurred we find that large units of territory were constituted into States; wherever disorder or other disintegrating factors were at work longer, as in Bombay and Central India, we find a large number of fragmentary territories. "Political, as well as physical, geography bears witness to the stress of the destructive forces through which a country has passed." The policy of the British Government towards the States has changed from time to time, passing from the original plan of non-intervention in all matters beyond its own ring-fence to the policy of "subordinate isolation" initiated by Lord Hastings; which in its turn gave way before the existing conception of the relation between the States and the Government of India, which may be described as one of union and co-operation on their part with the paramount power. In spite of the varieties and complexities of treaties, engagements, and *sansads*, the general position as regards the rights and obligations of the Native States can be summed up in a few words. The States are guaranteed security from without; the paramount power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other States, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the States' relations to foreign powers are those of the paramount power; they share the obligation for the common defence; and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories.

298. Now let us consider what factors have been at work to bring the Ruling Princes into closer relations with the Government of India. Foremost is the war. No words of ours are needed to make known the services to the Empire which the States have rendered. They were a profound surprise and disappointment to the enemy; and a cause of delight and pride to those who knew beforehand the Princes' devotion to the Crown. With

one accord the Rulers of the Native States in India rallied to fight for the Empire when war was declared ; they offered their personal services, and the resources of their States. Imperial Service Troops from over a score of States have fought in various fields, and many with great gallantry and honour. The Princes have helped lavishly with men and horses, material and money, and some of them have in person served in France and elsewhere. They have shown that our quarrel is their quarrel ; and they have both learned and taught the lesson of their own indissoluble connexion with the Empire, and their immense value as part of the polity of India.

299. For many years, however, influences more persistent, though less forceful, than war have been at work to increase the range of matters in which the States realize their solidarity with British India. A perceptible process of infiltration has been going on. We have helped the States in times of famine ; we have lent them officers trained in British India to revise or supervise their revenue or financial administration, or to improve their agriculture and irrigation. Many of them have adopted our civil and criminal codes. Some have imitated, and even further extended, our educational system. Co-operation in matters of police and justice has been developed. Our railway and telegraph systems have been carried through and serve many of the States. The Indian customs tariff is a matter of concern to all States, including those which have ports of their own. It is, of course, true that external influences have not affected the States equally. They have not all been equally able to assimilate new principles. They are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal, or more advanced, while in a few States are found the beginnings of representative institutions. The characteristic features of all of them, however, including the most advanced, are the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice. Nor have any changes which have occurred in the least impaired the validity of the treaties which assured to the States their powers of internal administration. Indeed it may be said that in a composite society like India's, and in times when ideas are changing rapidly, the existence of States in which ideals of chivalry and personal devotion survive as the motive principle of government has been the more clearly seen to have an abiding value. The independence of the States in matters of internal administration carries with it the counter-obligation of non-interference in British Indian affairs. If the Princes were to intervene, either informally or formally, in the internal affairs of British India, such action would, we think, be reasonably questioned, unless the representatives of British India were given a corresponding right of influencing the affairs of the States. On either hand, we believe, there is no desire to cross the frontier. Rulers and politicians alike recognize that they are best employed in attending to their own progress. The obligation of mutual abstention must be always borne in mind in estimating the future position of the Native States in a changing Indian Empire,

300. We know that the States cannot be unaffected by constitutional development in adjoining provinces. Some of the more enlightened and thoughtful of the Princes, among whom are included some of the best known names, have realized this truth, and have themselves raised the question of their own share in any scheme of reform. Others of the Princes—again including some of the most honoured names—desire only to leave matters as they are. We feel the need for caution in this matter. It would be a strange reward for loyalty and devotion to force new ideas upon those who did not desire them; but it would be no less strange if, out of consideration for those who perhaps represent gradually vanishing ideas, we were to refuse to consider the suggestions of others who have been no less loyal and devoted. Looking ahead to the future we can picture India to ourselves only as presenting the external semblance of some form of 'federation'. The provinces will ultimately become self-governing units, held together by the central Government, which will deal solely with matters of common concern to all of them. But the matters common to the British provinces are also to a great extent those in which the Native States are interested—defence, tariffs, exchange, opium, salt, railways, and posts and telegraphs. The gradual concentration of the Government of India upon such matters will therefore make it easier for the States, while retaining the autonomy which they cherish in internal matters, to enter into closer association with the central Government if they wish to do so. But, though we have no hesitation in forecasting such a development as possible, the last thing that we desire is to attempt to force the pace. Influences are at work which need no artificial stimulation. All that we need or can do is to open the door to the natural developments of the future.

301. In this respect the trend of recent events has helped. The desire to give greater reality to the consciousness of common interests is stirring among the Princes, and it is now possible and desirable to turn it to more practical account than our predecessors were able to do. Lord Lytton's proposal to constitute an Imperial Privy Council which should comprise some of the great Princes resulted only in the ephemeral and purely honorific body known as the Councillors of the Empress. Lord Dufferin's institution of Imperial Service Troops was of much greater value in giving actual and useful expression to the feeling of community of interests. Lord Curzon's plan for a Council of Ruling Princes and Lord Minto's schemes, first for an Imperial Advisory Council and then for an Imperial Council of Ruling Princes, were suggestions only a little in advance of the time. The idea which attracted his two predecessors gained fresh life as a result of the conferences which Lord Hardinge held with the Princes to consider questions of higher education in the States. Lord Hardinge made no secret of his desire to seek the collective opinion of the Princes as trusted colleagues whenever possible on matters affecting their Order; and in responding to His Excellency's invitation Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior and Indore also

Evolution of the Chiefs' Conference.

laid stress upon the essential identity of interest between the two halves of India. Lord Chelmsford carried the system of conferences further by utilizing them for the purpose of discussing general questions affecting the States as a whole ; and His Highness the Gaekwar in welcoming the new development expressed the hope that what had by that time become an annual conference would develop into a permanent Council or Assembly of Princes. Moreover, only last year the claim of the States to be heard in matters of Imperial concern were signally recognized by the deputation of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to the meeting of the Imperial Conference and the War Cabinet.

302. In view of the fact that constitutional changes in British India may react in an important manner on the Effect of British policy. Native States we have carefully considered the term "Native States". their present relations with the Government of India. We became aware at the outset that, although the policy which has been followed for more than a century towards the States has been amply vindicated by the trust and confidence which the Princes as a body repose in the British Government, yet in some quarters uncertainty and uneasiness undoubtedly exist. Some Rulers are perturbed by a feeling that the measure of sovereignty and independence guaranteed to them by the British Government has not been accorded in full, and they are apprehensive lest in process of time their individual rights and privileges may be whittled away. We ascribe this feeling to two causes. In the first place, the expression "Native States" is applied now, and has been applied during the past century, to a collection of about seven hundred rulerships which exhibit widely differing characteristics, which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which Government exercises, through its agents, large powers of internal control, and even down to the owners of a few acres of land. Uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinctions of status ; and practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also. We are convinced that it would improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States if a definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. Our own proposals in paragraphs 306 to 311, *infra*, assume that such classification can, and will, after due inquiry, be effected, and are intended to relate only to States of the former class.

303. In the second place, we cannot disregard the fact that the Government intervention. general clause which occurs in many of the treaties to the effect that the Chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country has not in the past precluded, and does not even now preclude, "interference with the administration by Government through the agency of its representatives at the Native Courts". We need hardly say that such interference has not been employed in wanton disregard of treaty obligations. During the earlier days of our intimate relations with the States British agents found themselves compelled, often against their will, to assume responsibility for the welfare of a

people, to restore order from chaos, to prevent inhuman practices, and to guide the hands of a weak or incompetent Ruler as the only alternative to the termination of his rule. So, too, at the present day, the Government of India acknowledges, as trustee, a responsibility (which the Princes themselves desire to maintain) for the proper administration of States during a minority, and also an obligation for the prevention or correction of flagrant misgovernment.

304. Moreover, we find that the position hitherto taken up by Government has been that the conditions under Interpretation of treaties. which some of the treaties were executed have undergone material changes, and the literal fulfilment of particular obligations which they impose has become impracticable. Practice has been based on the theory that treaties must be read as a whole, and that they must be interpreted in the light of the relations established between the parties not only at the time when a particular treaty was made, but subsequently. The result is that there has grown up around the treaties a body of case-law which anyone who is anxious to appreciate the precise nature of existing relations must explore in Government archives and in text-books. The Princes, viewing the application of this case-law to their individual relations with Government, are uneasy as to its ultimate effect. They fear that usage and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty rights of individual States.

305. It is thus clear that some ambiguity and misunderstanding exist as to the exact position. The Government of India has already taken cognizance of this, and is affording opportunity for the verification of any specific complaints that may be made. We do not desire to say anything that might prejudice the issue of these inquiries. In the meanwhile, however, we suggest that the time has come when it would be well to review the situation, of course only by consent of parties, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardize, and codify existing practice for the future. Before we pass on to state our own proposals we wish to say that we think that the Princes should be assured in the fullest and freest manner that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities, and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements, or by established practice.

306. We have explained how, on various occasions in recent years, the Princes have met in conference at the invitation of the Viceroy. These conferences A Council of Princes. have been of great value in assisting in the formulation of the Government's policy on important matters like minority administration and succession, and promoting interest in such questions as scientific agriculture and commercial and agricultural statistics. The meetings have given the Princes the opportunity of informing the Government as to their sentiments and wishes, of broadening their outlook, and of conferring with one another, and with the Government. But although the

meetings have in the last few years been regular they depend upon the invitation of the Viceroy ; and our first proposal is to replace them by the institution of a Council of Princes. We wish to call into existence a permanent consultative body. There are questions which affect the States generally, and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole, or to British India and the States in common, upon which we conceive that the opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value. The Viceroy would refer such questions to the council, and we should have the advantage of their considered opinion. We think it is all-important that the meetings should be regular, and that ordinarily the council should meet once a year to discuss agenda approved by the Viceroy. Any member of the council, or the council as a whole, might request the Viceroy to include in the agenda any subject on which discussion was desired. If questions of sufficient importance arose in the intervals between the annual meetings the Princes might suggest to the Viceroy that an extraordinary meeting should be held. We contemplate that the Viceroy should be president, and should as a rule preside, but that in his absence one of the Princes should be chairman. The rules of business would be framed by the Viceroy, after consultation with the Princes, who might perhaps from time to time suggest modifications in the rules. We believe that most of the Princes desire to see such a council created, although some of the most eminent among them have not taken part in the conferences in 1916 and 1917. The direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State would, of course, not be affected by the institution of the council. We have used the name " Council of Princes " to describe the body which we desire to see instituted. We have had difficulty, however, in finding a name appropriate to such a unique assembly. We wish to avoid a designation associated with other institutions, and to find one which will connote the real position of this body of Rulers, with the representative of the King-Emperor as chairman. From both these points of view the terms Council, or Chamber, or House of Princes, are open to criticism. There is much to be said in favour of an Indian name for an Indian body which, from the circumstances of the case, would exist nowhere else ; but it would be necessary to choose one not peculiarly associated historically either with Hindus or with Muhammadans. While therefore we have adopted the term Council for temporary purposes we hope that discussion may produce some happier alternative.

307. It has been represented to us that difficulties have occurred in the past by reason of the fact that the Political Department comes to decisions affecting the Native States without being in a position to avail itself of the advice of those who are in a position to know from their own personal experience or the history of their States the right course to pursue. On matters of custom and usage in particular we feel that such advice would be of great value, and would help to ensure sound decisions. Our second proposal therefore is that the Council of

Standing committee of
the council.

Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small standing committee, to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer such matters. We need hardly say that no reference affecting any individual State would be made to the committee without the concurrence of its Ruler. The Council of Princes might appoint to the standing committee not only Princes, but also Dewans or Ministers, who were willing to place their services at the disposal of the Viceroy when called upon for advice. This machinery is based on the principle of consultation which in so many matters underlies our recommendations in regard to British India.

308. Our next proposal is concerned with disputes, which may arise between two or more States, or between a State and a local Government or the Government of India, and with a situation caused when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the Government of India or the advice of any of its local representatives. In such cases there exists at the present moment no satisfactory method of obtaining an exhaustive and judicial inquiry into the issues, such as might satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, that the issues have been considered in an independent and impartial manner. Whenever, therefore, in such cases the Viceroy felt that such an inquiry was desirable we recommend that he should appoint a commission, on which both parties would be represented, to inquire into the matter in dispute and to report its conclusions to him. If the Viceroy were unable to accept the finding the matter would be referred for decision by the Secretary of State. The commission that we have in mind would be composed of a judicial officer of rank not lower than a high court judge and one nominee of each of the parties concerned.

309. In another class of cases we have a similar proposal to make. It has happened, and we conceive that it may happen though rarely in the future, that the question arises of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities, and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family. If such cases occur in the future we think that they should be always referred to a commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him. It should consist of five members, including ordinarily a high court judge and two Ruling Princes. The names of the commissioners should be intimated in advance to the defendant before they were appointed; and the proceedings of the commission should be made public only if the defendant so desired.

310. Our two remaining proposals bear a direct relation to our constitutional scheme for British India. We recommend that as a general principle all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India. We feel that the necessity of communicating with the central Government through two, or even more, intermediaries is an obstruction to good understanding.

and a great obstacle to business. The present position is that while four large States and one small State deal directly with the Government of India through their Resident, there are in the Central India Agency some 150 States and in the Rajputana Agency some 20 States and in Baluchistan 2 States under the Agents to the Governor General. The remaining States are in political relations with local Governments. Madras deals with 5 States; Bombay with over 350; Bengal with 2; the United Provinces with 3; the Punjab with 34; Burma with 52; Bihar and Orissa with 26; the Central Provinces with 15; and Assam with 16. We have already laid stress in our report upon the need in domestic affairs for dividing matters of all-Indian, from those of provincial, concern. Now on general grounds the relations between the States and Government are clearly a matter for the central Government; and where this principle has been departed from it has been on grounds of history or convenience. It seems to us that the changing conditions of the time afford strong reason for affirming the principle, both because the institution of a Council of Princes will give greater solidarity to the views of the States, and also because the growth of responsibility in provincial Governments will to some extent unfit them to act in political matters as mere agents for the Government of India. There will, we recognize, be difficulty in some cases where the territories of the States and British provinces intersect, but such obstacles are not insurmountable. As a general principle, therefore, we recommend that all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the central Government. We do not intend, of course that the Durbars should write direct to the Political Secretary, but that there should, wherever possible, be only one political officer through whom the State would correspond with the Government of India. This is already the case with the States of Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, and Kashmir. In other cases, it will be necessary to revise the existing arrangements by which correspondence passes through a local Political Agent or Resident to an Agent to the Governor General or a local Government and thence to the Government of India. Where the authority immediately subordinate to the Government of India is an Agent to the Governor General the choice lies generally between abolishing the offices of local Political Agents or Residents, while transferring their functions to the Agent to the Governor General, with an increased staff of assistants, and abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor General, while retaining Residents accredited to States or groups of States. In other cases, instead of abolishing either the Agent to the Governor General or the Resident, where both officers exist, the Residents of particular States might be allowed to communicate direct with the Government of India, sending a copy of such communications to the Agent to the Governor General for his information. The future position of other States which are now in relation with provincial Governments cannot be determined immediately since both the wishes of the Durbars, and also the administrative advantages, must be considered. It may be that the Government of India will assume direct

relations with these States, or that they may be left for the time being in relation with the provincial Governments; but in the latter case it seems to us that the head of the province should in each case act in his relations with the States as agent for the central Government, and that relations with the Native States should not be matters of provincial concern in the sense that they are intended ever to be transferred to the control of the legislative council.

311. Our last proposal is intended to provide some means of deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both, and so to ensure that as far as possible decisions affecting India as a whole shall be reached after the views of the Durbars have been taken into account. In the past it certainly has occasionally happened that the States were vitally affected by decisions taken without reference to them; and yet no machinery for such collective consultation with them has hitherto existed. It seems to us that they have a clear right to ask for it in the future. We have abandoned for the present all consideration of suggestions that the Ruling Princes, or some representatives of their Order, should be members of the Council of State. Not only would this at the present stage infringe the doctrine of non-interference on the part of the Princes in the affairs of British India, but we are satisfied that few, if any, of the Princes themselves are ready for such a step. On the other hand, it seems to us that, when a Council of Princes has been established, and when a Council of State and a Privy Council have been created, the machinery will exist for bringing the senatorial institutions of British India into closer relations when necessary with the Rulers of the Native States. Matters affecting the Native States generally, or the Native States and British India in common, or the Empire, might, as we have seen, be referred to the Council of Princes. It would thus be possible for the Viceroy, when he thought fit, to arrange for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Council of Princes, or between representatives of each body. He might also invite members of the Council of Princes to serve on committees of the Privy Council.

312. With these indications of the position to be occupied by the Native States in future we may rest content. We believe that the trend of events must draw them still closer into the orbit of the Empire; we think that the process need give rise to no alarm lest their internal autonomy be threatened. We need not conceal our conviction that the processes at work in British India cannot leave the States untouched and must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character. But in that respect there can be no intention or desire to accelerate growth by artificial means. We believe that our proposals will afford satisfaction to the progressive Rulers, while respecting the legitimate desire of those less advanced to go forward at their own pace.

Chapter XI.—Miscellaneous.

(i) THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

313 In the forefront of the announcement of August 20 the policy of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration was definitely placed. It has not been necessary for us—nor indeed would it have been possible—to go into this large question in detail in the time available for our inquiry. We have already seen that Lord Hardinge's Government were anxious to increase the number of Indians in the public services, and that a Royal Commission was appointed in 1912 to examine and report on the existing limitations in the employment of Indians. The Commission made an exhaustive inquiry into the whole subject, in the course of which it visited every province in India, and its report is now being examined by the Government of India and the local Governments with a view to formulating their recommendations with all possible despatch. The report must form the basis of the action now to be taken, but in view of the altered circumstances we think that it will be necessary to amplify its conclusions in some important respects. The report was signed only a few months after the outbreak of the war and its publication was deferred in the hope that the war would not be prolonged. When written it might have satisfied moderate Indian opinion, but when published two years later it was criticized as wholly disappointing. Our inquiry has since given us ample opportunity of judging the importance which Indian opinion attaches to this question. While we take account of this attitude a factor which carries more weight with us is that since the report was signed an entirely new policy towards Indian government has been adopted, which must be very largely dependent for success on the extent to which it is found possible to introduce Indians into every branch of the administration. It is a great weakness of public life in India to-day that it contains so few men who have found opportunity for practical experience of the problems of administration. Although there are distinguished exceptions, principally among the Dewans of Native States, most Indian public men have not had an opportunity of grappling with the difficulties of administration, nor of testing their theories by putting them into practice. Administrative experience not only sobers the judgment and teaches appreciation of the practical difficulties in the way of the wholesale introduction of reforms, however attractive, and the attainment of theoretical ideals, but by training an increasing number of men in the details of day-to-day business it will eventually provide India with public men versed in the whole art of government. If responsible government is to be established in India there will be a far greater need than is even dreamt of at present for persons to take part in public affairs in the legislative

assemblies and elsewhere; and for this reason the more Indians we can employ in the public services the better. Moreover it would lessen the burden of Imperial responsibilities if a body of capable Indian administrators could be produced. We regard it as necessary therefore that recruitment of a largely increased proportion of Indians should be begun at once. The personnel of a service cannot be altered in a day: it must be a long and steady process; if therefore, the services are to be substantially Indian in personnel by the time that India is ripe for responsible government no time should be lost in increasing the proportion of Indian recruits.

314. At the same time we must take note of certain limitations to this process. The characteristics of the policy of change. The characteristics which we have learned to associate with the Indian public services must as far as possible be maintained; and the leaven of officers possessed of them should be strong enough to assure and develop them in the service as a whole. The qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgment, and integrity in her public servants will be as necessary as ever to India. There must be no such sudden swamping of any service with any new element that its whole character suffers a rapid alteration. As practical men we must also recognize that there are essential differences between the various services and that it is possible to increase the employment of Indians in some more than in others. The solution lies therefore in recruiting year by year such a number of Indians as the existing members of the service will be able to train in an adequate manner and to inspire with the spirit of the whole. Again it is important that there should be so far as possible an even distribution of Europeans and Indians, not indeed between one service and another, but at least between the different grades of the same service. Apart from other considerations this is a reason for exercising caution in filling up the large number of vacancies which have resulted from short recruitment during the last four years. We must also remember how greatly conditions vary between the provinces. In arriving at any percentage to be applied to certain services we should take into account the fact that in some provinces the admissible percentage will probably be much lower than what seems possible for the service as a whole, with the result that the percentage in other provinces must be much higher. If the Indian Civil Service be taken as an example, and if, for the sake of argument, the recommendation of the Commission is accepted that recruitment for 25 per cent of the superior posts be made in India, then to attain an all-round percentage of 25, the proportion in say Bombay, Bengal and Madras will have to be considerably more than 25 per cent, because in Burma certainly and probably also in the Punjab it will be much less. Indeed it seems self-evident that the actual percentage for the whole of a service can only be worked out with special regard to the conditions of each province. Lastly it would be unwise to create a demand in excess of the supply. At present the number of candidates of higher quality than those who are now forthcoming for the provincial services is strictly

limited, and though the opening of the more attractive services may be expected to stimulate the supply, it will still be necessary, if the present quality of the services is not to be unduly impaired, to take special steps to see that recruits are of a satisfactory standard.

315. Subject to these governing conditions we will now put forward certain principles on which we suggest that the action to be taken should be based. First, we would remove from the regulations the few remaining distinctions that are based on race, and would make appointments to all branches of the public service without racial discrimination.

316. Next, we consider that for all the public services, for which there is recruitment in England open to Europeans and Indians alike, there must be a system of appointment in India. It is obvious that we cannot rely on the present method of recruitment in England to supply a sufficiency of Indian candidates. That system must be supplemented in some way or other; and we propose to supplement it by fixing a definite percentage of recruitment to be made in India. This seems to us to be the only practical method of obtaining the increased Indian element in the services which we desire. We do not suggest that it will be possible to dispense with training in Europe for some of the principal services. It will be necessary to make arrangements to send for training in England the candidates selected in India, but as to this we anticipate no difficulty.

317. We have not been able to examine the question of the percentage of recruitment to be made in India for any service other than the Indian Civil Service. The Commission recommended that 25 per cent of the superior posts of that service should be recruited for in India. We consider that changed conditions warrant some increase in that proportion, and we suggest that 33 per cent of the superior posts should be recruited for in India, and that this percentage should be increased by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent annually until the periodic commission is appointed which will re-examine the whole subject. We prefer this proposal to the possible alternative of fixing a somewhat higher percentage at once and of making no increase to it until the periodic commission which we propose has reported. We cannot at present foresee the reorganization that may take place in the Indian Civil Service as a result of new conditions. For this reason we think it unwise to aim at attaining any definite percentages after a specified time. We prefer to fix a percentage applicable to present conditions and to commit ourselves only to a growing proportion, which will be subject to reconsideration and revision by the Commission.

We have dealt only with the Indian Civil Service, but our intention is that there should be in all other services now recruited from England a fixed percentage of recruitment in India increasing

annually. The percentage will not be uniform for all services as the particular figures must depend upon their distinctive characters and functions.

318. The restriction of the number of Europeans in the services, and the constitutional changes taken together will make it absolutely necessary for India to secure the very best type of European officers that she can get. We are therefore anxious that the present opportunity should be taken to do something towards restoring the real pay of the existing services to the level which proved attractive twenty years ago. We recognize and we regret that the improvement of the conditions of the European services in India has encountered opposition from Indians. We hope and believe that if proposals for such improvement are accompanied by increased opportunities being given to Indians in the services this opposition will cease. But in any case we feel that it is necessary to do something substantial in order to improve the conditions of service and to secure the European recruitment which we regard as essential.

319. Though we cannot review the scales of pay of all the Indian services in detail, we think it important to remember that whatever causes of complaint the Public Services Commission found to exist have been since aggravated by three years of war. Although we prefer not to make specific recommendations, because we have not been able to go into such questions in detail, we recognize that in the case of certain services in particular the need for improving the terms of service is specially strong. The remedies proposed by the Commission were generally an incremental scale of pay, and improvements in the calculations on which recruitment is based. We approve generally of these proposals but consider that they fall short of a complete remedy, because errors in recruitment continue to bear fruit for thirty years or more; and also because in some cases the recommendations of the Commission do not provide adequately for the occasions when an officer may be blocked for an undue period, through no fault of his own, in getting a superior post. In such cases, they propose to give temporary allowances, leaving the emoluments drawn by an officer in the latter half of his career still dependent upon the date when a superior vacancy presents itself, or in other words on the fulfilment in practice of actuarial calculations. But it is a recognized principle that after spending a certain number of years in an inferior appointment, an officer should have the expectation of acting with at least practical continuity in a superior post; and there is a very natural and legitimate desire in the service to see their conditions of service brought into some exact relation with this principle. We should prefer therefore to see the junior incremental scale continued until the senior post is actually attained, and to provide that the higher responsibility of the senior post should be marked by the grant of an additional allowance over and above the time-scale. This should not, of course, prevent the increments

of any officer adjudged unfit for a superior post being stopped at any particular point in the junior time-scale.

320. We have seen reason to believe, however, that the conditions of pension and leave affect the well-being of the services almost as much as pay.

Pensions.

In respect of pensions we have to distinguish between the Indian Civil Service, with its sterling annuity to which the officers themselves contribute, and all other services. In the latter a non-contributory pension is given, based upon the amount of pay, but subjected in most services to an arbitrary maximum of ₹5,000 a year, which in the case of the holders of certain special posts is raised to ₹6,000. The Commission recommend the raising of the normal limit of pensions to ₹6,000 and the grant of additional pensions for a few high appointments. In view of financial exigencies we are prepared to adopt this limit of ₹6,000 for the time being on the understanding that the rate of exchange applied remains at 1s. 9d.; and the Government of India have under consideration proposals with regard to the holders of the special high appointments, which are somewhat more liberal than those of the Commission. In the case of the Civil Service we agree that the pension should, like that of other services, be made non-contributory. We think that the present 4 per cent contribution should be retained, but funded for the benefit of the individual. We also suggest that it should be considered whether the system of fixed annuities should not be replaced by one of pensions varying with length of service in accordance with the usual practice.

321. We are also convinced that the present leave rules must be made much more elastic. They are defective

Leave.

inasmuch as they allow excessive periods of leave and allowances so inadequate that officers cannot possibly afford to take the amount of leave admissible. The Commission proposed to allow the commutation of a period of leave on half-pay to a shorter period on full pay. Without committing ourselves to details we regard the principle of this proposal as sound, and think that either double furlough allowance or full pay should be allowed for reduced periods of leave. We agree also that the Commission's recommendation for the accumulation of privilege leave up to four months should receive favourable consideration.

322. There is one more general question of some importance.

It is desirable if possible to avoid the differentiation maintained at present in many

cases between the rates of pay drawn by European and Indian officers in the same service. We think that the standard scales for all services should be fixed with reference to Indians recruited in India at rates sufficient to attract the best men available and to give them an income appropriate to their position. For persons recruited by reason of special qualifications obtained in Europe an extra allowance should be given to compensate them for the drawbacks and expenses of expatriation. The same principle should be applied to Indians serving in England. It may seem inconsistent

that Indians recruited in Europe should be given the same allowance as Europeans; but this is the present practice in the Indian Civil Service, and as a general proposition we suggest that when a man has been recruited by reason of special qualifications obtained in Europe, he should receive the higher rate. At the same time we are not prepared to say that this principle should be regarded as of universal application.

323. We have already touched more than once on the question of the future of the European services in India; but the importance of the subject justifies us in returning to it. Do the changes which we propose point to the gradual, possibly the rapid, extrusion of the Englishman with all the consequences that may follow therefrom? Is it conceivable that India's only surviving connexion with the Empire will be found in the presence of British troops for the purpose of defending her borders? We may say at once that the last contingency cannot be contemplated. We cannot imagine that Indian self-respect or British common sense would assent for a moment to such a proposition. At least so long as the Empire is charged with the defence of India, a substantial element of Englishmen must remain and must be secured both in her Government and in her public services. But that is not the practical or the immediate question before us. What we have had to bear in mind—how our reforms may react on the position and the numbers of Europeans in the Indian services. We are making over certain functions to popular control, and in respect of these—and they will be an increasing number—English commissioners, magistrates, doctors and engineers will be required to carry out the policy of Indian ministers. Simultaneously we are opening the door of the services more widely to Indians and thereby necessarily affecting the cohesion of the service. Some people have been so much impressed by the undoubted difference of view between the services and educated Indians, and by the anticipated effects of a larger Indian element in the services that they apprehend that this may result in increasing pressure to get rid of Englishmen, and increasing reluctance on the part of Englishmen to give their further services to India under the new conditions. This danger is one which we have anxiously considered. We are certain that the English members of the services will continue to be as necessary as ever to India. They may be diminished in numbers; but they must not fall off in quality. Higher qualifications than ever will be required of them if they are to help India along her difficult journey to self-government. We have therefore taken thought to improve the conditions of the services, and to secure them from attack. But we sincerely hope that our protection will not be needed. There was a time in Indian politics when service opinion and Indian opinion often found themselves in alliance against other points of view. Our reforms will, we believe, do away with the factors which worked a change in those relations. With the removal of disabilities, and the opening of opportunity

there is no reason why relations between educated Indians and the services should not improve. In the reservations which we propose there is nothing to arouse hostility. No reasonable man should cavil at safeguards which are imposed in order to gain time for processes of growth to occur. If our own judgment has been too cautious we have provided means for correcting it, and of adjusting future progress to the results attained.

324. We believe then that, so far in the future as any man can foresee, a strong element of Europeans will be required in India's public service. Indeed we go further; we think that with the new political and economic development on which she is entering there will be wholly fresh opportunities for helping her with the services of men who have known the problems of government in other parts of the Empire, or who have special knowledge of technical science. It may conceivably be that the utilities of the European official in India will gradually undergo a change; that instead of continuing to the same degree as now as the executive agency of Government he will stand aside more from the work of carrying out orders and assume the position of a skilled consultant, a technical adviser and an inspecting and reporting officer. To attempt to forecast the future organization and disposition of the services would be idle. These matters will settle themselves in the course of political evolution. But we can see no reason for alarm. Our policy is irrevocably declared and it ought to content all sober minds. We are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services; we are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing. To this end we believe that the continued presence of the English officer is vital, and we intend to act on that belief. So long as Indians are employed in increasing numbers wherever they are fit, there can be no just complaint of the retention of the Englishman; if that condition is not fulfilled there is an appeal to the periodic commission. It will henceforth be accepted as the duty of the European officers in the service of India to do all that lies in their power to fit Indians to take their places beside them. Actual progress will always depend on questions of personal qualities which we can only leave to the decision of time. But we may be content to have removed causes of complaint, and to have called forth the forces of better understanding and mutual respect to which we must look for equilibrium.

325. On more than one occasion we have declared our intention to protect the interests of the services if necessary; and it may be well to make it clear what we mean by this phrase. The question of methods depends on a number of Acts and rules and regulations, for which reason we reserve it for detailed consideration hereafter in connexion with the question of demarcating functions and powers. But our purpose is that any public servant whatever the Government under which he is employed shall be properly supported and protected in the legitimate exercise of his functions;

Work awaiting the English official.

Protection of service interests.

and that any rights and privileges guaranteed or implied in the conditions of his appointment shall be secured to him. No changes that will occur can be allowed to impair the power of the Government of India or of the Governor in Council to secure these essential requirements.

326. Of the Indian Civil Service in particular we have something further to say. Its past record we might well leave to speak for itself. But all the more because of the vehement and sometimes malignant abuse to which the service is exposed, it is not out of place to pay our tribute to energies finely dedicated to the well-being of India. This abuse is partly due to the fact that on the personnel of the service, which is at once the parent and the mainstay of the existing system, has fallen much of the odium which would more justly be directed against the impersonal system itself. Partly it is due also, we think, to the tradition of the service, dating from days when it had no vocal criticism to meet, which imposes silence on the individual officer while the order of things that he represents is attacked and calumniated. Now the position of the Indian Civil Servant, as we have already said, is not analogous to that of the civil servant at Home. He takes his place in the legislative and executive councils; he assists in the formulation of policy. But when his doings are attacked he remains except for a few official and rather formal spokesmen in the legislative councils mute. This gives him in the eyes of educated Indians a certain intangible superiority of position, a cold invulnerability, which makes sympathetic relations between them impossible. We do not think this condition of silence can altogether be maintained. With coming changes there must be a greater liberty of action to the European public servant in India to defend his position when attacked. He ought not to leave the task of political education solely to the politicians. He also must explain and persuade, and argue and refute. We believe he will do it quite effectively. The matter is however by no means free from difficulty; there are obvious limitations to the discretion which can be granted; and these will be considered by the Government of India.

327. The changing times cannot we know be altogether agreeable to many men who have grown up in the older tradition which made them the protectors and governors of the people. But those who think that the opportunity of the Indian Civil Service is over are mistaken. Life will indeed be more difficult; it will not be less worthy. It is harder to convince than to direct; to prevail in consultation than to enforce an order. But can there be a higher calling for the service than to train in the years that are to come men who are to relieve them of much of their burden? The service has a fine administrative record: but the increasing sharing of responsibility is a higher order of work than administration. We regard it as a libel on the Indian Civil Service as a body to say that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August. They have welcomed it because

no one knew better than they how badly a declaration of policy was needed and they will carry it out with determination just as they have always carried out the policy laid down for them. In the attainment of self-government in provincial affairs no body of men can give greater assistance than the Indian Civil Service. But they will ask and with justice that in the discharge of the functions for which they remain responsible during the period of transition, and of which the first and most important is the maintenance of law and order in their charges, they shall have the support of their superiors and of those at Home. Even this responsibility, however, must be discharged under new conditions. The changes which we contemplate will of course go further than the legislative councils in which they will be seen in their most prominent expression. They will react on the district administration and on the relations between official and non-official. In future there must be more partnership, which means for the official extra work, explanations, consultations and attempts to carry with him those who will one day do the work themselves. It is a task that will, we believe, add to the repute of the service; but what will be a matter of more satisfaction to that body is that it will improve relations with educated Indians.

(ii) THE ARMY.

328. If our general policy demands that the Indian element in the civil services of the country should be increased it involves some change also in Indian wishes. our military policy. For some years Indian politicians have been urging the right of Indians in general to bear arms in defence of their country. This demand has become much more insistent since the outbreak of war, and there has been a tendency to ascribe the difficulties of the Empire to the short-sightedness of the Government which had consistently refused to afford military training to the Indian people. The argument is that if the Government had only conceded this demand, it would have had by now at its disposal millions of trained men, who would long ago have turned the scale in favour of the Allies. We need not pause to emphasize the very practical limitations which the actual conditions of India impose on a policy of military expansion. They cannot, we think, be unknown to some speakers who have ignored them. We need only say that we have everywhere met a general demand from the political leaders for extended opportunities of military service. It is impossible to deal with this large question in connexion with our present proposals. The war is not yet over. It has reached a stage when India must put forth her whole strength in the struggle. This is recognized in India, and the Government of India is anxiously devoting its attention to the best means of putting forth the maximum strength of the country with the co-operation of the Indian people. The requirements of the future will very largely depend on the form of peace which is attained. We therefore leave this question for consideration hereafter, but with the note that it must be faced and settled.

329. Closely connected with it, however, is another question which demands immediate consideration—the recognition of the brilliant and devoted services of the Indian army in the various theatres of war. Not a little has been done already to mark these services. The pay of Indian officers and non-commissioned officers has been substantially increased; and special increases of pay have been granted to all Indian troops and followers on active service, amounting to 25 per cent in the case of those serving in Europe; and special rates of pay have been given to Indian troops when employed on active service on work requiring skilled knowledge. The rates of *batta* allowed on field service have also been raised and for the first time made admissible to *silladar* cavalry. Special measures have been taken to ensure the prompt payment of separation allowances and to expedite the settlement of accounts generally. The grant of free rations, which in the case of Indian ranks was formerly restricted to those serving in the field, has now been extended to all combatants serving in India, a concession of which the value is equal to an increase of over 30 per cent in the sepoy's pay; while General Officers Commanding have been authorized to increase combatants' rations in special circumstances. Injury pensions have been increased in the case of *dadadars*, *havildars*, *sowars* and *sepoys*, and the ordinary retiring and special pensions admissible to Indian officers and men of the Indian army have been substantially improved. At the same time provision has been made for the grant of disability pensions to Indian combatant ranks who have become unfit for further service owing to illness or incapacity which, though not contracted on, or solely attributable to field service, has been so aggravated by the exigencies of such service as to necessitate invaliding from the army. The housing of Indian officers and troops is being greatly improved and arrangements have been made to enable Indian soldiers and their families to travel in greater comfort and in certain cases at State expense. The medical department has not been forgotten. The Indian Subordinate Medical Department has been made more attractive by a considerable increase in the rates of pay of sub-assistant surgeons, by increases in their field allowances and the grant of certain charge allowances, and in other ways. Conditions of service in the army bearer corps have also been greatly improved. The provisions of the Indian Soldiers (Litigation) Act, 1915, protect from civil and revenue litigation all Indian soldiers while they are unable to attend to their affairs owing to the war, and the Indian Army (Suspension of Sentences) Act, 1917, provides that in certain circumstances an Indian soldier sentenced by a court-martial may be allowed to rejoin military service in a corps or department other than his own, while the sentence of the court remains in abeyance. This affords a soldier a chance to retrieve his character by uniform good conduct. For the first time the most honoured decoration in the army has been awarded to Indian troops. Indian officers and sub-assistant surgeons have also been declared eligible for the Military Cross, and the grant of special money allowances to

accompany this decoration has been sanctioned. The grant of supernumerary appointments in the Order of British India has been approved, the scale of allowances attached to the Indian Order of Merit has been increased, and the Indian distinguished service medal has been opened to non-combatants. Those, however, who have been in close touch with the Indian soldier in the field know what his home and village mean to him, and how no recognition of his devotion can be devised which will be so grateful to him as measures which will secure him an exemption from land revenue or a grant of land, security of tenure or protection against his landlord or money-lender. Accordingly the Government of India has at present under its consideration proposals for bestowing land grants, or equivalent rewards, to those who have rendered specially distinguished service. If opportunities of colonization outside India are forthcoming after the war, we believe that many Indian soldiers would take advantage of them; and we would urge upon His Majesty's Government that their claims in this respect should be favourably considered. Two other schemes deserve mention. One is the establishment as a permanent memorial to the services of the Indian army of a school for the education of the sons of Indian officers. The other is Queen Mary's Technical School for disabled Indian soldiers, an institution established in Bombay which assists Indian soldiers and followers who have been pensioned as unfit for further service by teaching them a trade so that they will be able to supplement their pensions and to live in comfort. Similar schools will be established in other parts of India. Finally we may mention the Governor General's nomination of an Indian officer to the Indian Legislative Council, which was meant as a recognition of the army's claim to representation in the supreme council of the country.

330. Long as this list is there remains one item, the importance of which in the eyes of India outweighs all others. British commissions have for the first time been granted to Indian officers. The problem of commissions is one that bristles with difficulties. Government after Government had considered it and found no practical solution, but the war afforded a convenient opportunity for making a definite break with the past, and a beginning that may be fruitful of large consequences has been made. The announcement of His Majesty's Government that "the bar which has hitherto prevented the admission of Indians to commissioned rank in His Majesty's army should be removed" has established the principle that the Indian soldier can earn the King's commission by his military conduct. It is not enough merely to assert a principle. We must act on it. The services of the Indian army in the war and the great increase in its numbers make it necessary that a considerable number of commissions should now be given. The appointments made have so far been few. Other methods of appointment have not yet been decided on, but we are impressed with the necessity of grappling with the problem. We also wish to establish the principle that if an Indian is enlisted as a private in

a British unit of His Majesty's army its commissioned ranks also should be open to him. The Indian soldier who fights for us and earns promotion in the field can reasonably ask that his conduct should offer him the same chances as the European beside whom he fights. If he is otherwise qualified race should no more debar him from promotion in the army than it does in the civil services; nor do we believe that it is impossible to carry this principle into effect without sacrificing paramount military considerations. We feel sure that no measures would do so much to stimulate Indian enthusiasm for the war.

(iii) INDUSTRIES AND TARIFFS.

331. In the course of our discussions the convictions has been forced upon us that economic factors enter largely into the political situation in India; and we feel bound so far to exceed the limits of strictly constitutional discussions as to take note of these also. There is truth, we think, in words of the late Mr. Ranade spoken as long as 25 years ago:—

“The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable though unfelt domination, which the capital enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence which paralyses the springs of all the various activities which together make up the life of a nation.”

332. The economics of a country which depends to so great an extent as India on agriculture must be unstable. Moreover, though as recent inquiries have shown the standard of living among the peasant classes has improved perceptibly of late years, there is still no great margin of taxable capacity. The people are poor; and their poverty raises the question whether the general level of well-being could not be materially raised by the development of industries. It is also clear that the lack of outlet for educated youth is a serious misfortune which has contributed not a little in the past to political unrest in Bengal. But perhaps an even greater mischief is the discontent aroused in the minds of those who are jealous for India by seeing that she is so largely dependent on foreign countries for manufactured goods. They noted that her foreign trade was always growing, but they also saw that its leading feature continued to be the barter of raw materials valued at relatively low prices for imported manufactures which obviously afforded profits and prosperity to other countries industrially more advanced. Patriotic Indians might well ask themselves why these profits should not accrue to their country; and also why so large a portion of the industries which flourished in the country was financed by European capital and managed by European skill.

333. Some such complaints began to mingle with the criticism of Government that made itself heard during the time of Lord Curzon's administration; and as it progressed the movement in favour of an industrial

trial revival tended steadily to assume more of a political colour. The fact that India's foreign trade was largely with the United Kingdom gave rise to a suspicion that her industrial backwardness was positively encouraged in the interests of British manufactures, and the maintenance of the excise duty on locally manufactured cotton goods in the alleged interests of Lancashire is very widely accepted as a conclusive proof of such a purpose. On a smaller scale, the maintenance of a Stores Department at the India Office is looked on as an encouragement to the Government to patronize British at the expense of local manufactures. In 1905 there was instituted as a bye-product of the National Congress an annual industrial conference, which had the result of linking the movement towards industrial independence more closely with politics; and the fact that Government officials were allowed and even encouraged to assist the conference failed to compensate for the lack of a more striking manifestation of Government's good-will.

334. In the days of the Company the commercial development of the country was naturally fostered as a matter of business. But the later attitude of Government towards the promotion of industries has been greatly affected by *laissez faire* doctrines and fear of State competition with private enterprise. As the desirability of industrial expansion became clearer, the Government of India fully shared the desire of Indian leaders to secure the economic advantages that would follow the local manufacture of raw products. We have observed elsewhere that English theories as to the appropriate limits of the State's activity are inapplicable to India. We believe that this is true in the case of industries: and that if the resources of the country are to be developed the Government must take action.

335. Economic discontents definitely merged in political agitation over the partition of Bengal. The *swadeshi* movement was the positive, and the boycott the negative expression of the same purpose. The advanced politicians took up and tried to put in practice the ideas for new developments promoted by the newly-instituted industrial conference, while at the same time they encouraged or countenanced the boycott, which had been adopted in the hope of bringing pressure to bear on manufacturing opinion at Home in favour of the annulment of the partition. These events synchronized with Japan's defeat of Russia, an event which dazzled the imagination of many young educated Indians. In Japanese progress and efficiency they thought they saw an example of what could be effected by an Asiatic nation free of foreign control. Many students helped by scholarships granted by patriotic persons or associations hurried to Japan for technical and industrial training. Many of them returned to take part in the *swadeshi* movement of the years 1907 to 1909. Numerous small factories for making matches, hosiery, pencils, cutlery and the like were started, and many collapsed through some or all of the many ways of breakdown, which

must be expected when patriotism is called upon to make good the want of business experience and hard practical training. We are informed that the cause of failure generally was not so much the lack of some degree of technical knowledge as inability to apply it under commercial conditions.

336. The ineffective attempt to boycott British goods and the losses and disappointments occasioned by the failures of indigenous enterprises started with high hopes and inspiring motives, were followed by the more serious failures of Indian banks in the Punjab and Bombay. Side by side with this went on the steady progress of enterprises under British control, and a marked expansion of foreign trade. We feel no surprise that there remained a feeling of bitterness among the advanced party. But the moral of these disastrous adventures is one for all parties to read. The people have recognized their inability to carry out their own programme without the help and guidance of Government; and they confine themselves for the most part to pressing their claims for State assistance and for a policy of tariff discrimination against foreign imports. Public opinion has expressed itself again and again in the councils, on the platform and in the press. Moreover, the war has created a new position. The prohibition of imports from enemy countries was welcomed as giving India an opportunity, in spite of the difficulties which beset it, of replacing foreign articles by home products. After the war the need for industrial development will be all the greater unless India is to become a mere dumping-ground for the manufactures of foreign nations which will then be competing all the more keenly for the markets on which their political strength so perceptibly depends. India will certainly consider herself entitled to claim all the help that her Government can give her to enable her to take her place as a manufacturing country; and unless the claim is admitted it will surely turn into an insistent request for a tariff which will penalize imported articles without respect of origin. On all grounds a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability; but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well-poised, up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government service or a few overstocked professions; in order that money now lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community; and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends, and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay upon them. These considerations led Lord Hardinge's Government to recommend the appointment of the Industrial Commission which is at present sitting.

337. These are political considerations peculiar to India itself. But both on economic and military grounds
 Military value of
 economic development. Imperial interests also demand that the natural resources of India should henceforth

be better utilized. We cannot measure the access of strength which an industrialized India will bring to the power of the Empire; but we are sure that it will be welcome after the war. Mere traders with an outlook of less than a generation ahead may be disposed to regard each new source of manufacture as a possible curtailment of their established sources of profit. But each new acquisition of wealth increases the purchasing power of the whole, and changes in the configuration of trade that disturb individuals must be accompanied by a total increase in its value which is to the good of the whole. Meanwhile the war has thrown a strong light on the military importance of economic development. We know that the possibility of sea communications being temporarily interrupted forces us to rely on India as an ordnance base for protective operations in Eastern theatres of war. Nowadays the products of an industrially developed community coincide so nearly in kind (though not in quantity with the catalogue of munitions of war that the development of India's natural resources becomes a matter of almost military necessity. We believe that this consideration also is not a matter of indifference to India's political leaders; and that they are anxious to see India self-supporting in respect of military requirements.

338. We are agreed therefore that there must be a definite change of view; and that the Government must admit and shoulder its responsibility for furthering the industrial development of the country. The difficulties by this time are well-known. In the past and partly as a result of recent *swadeshi* experiences, India's capital has not generally been readily available; among some communities at least there is apparent distaste for practical training, and a comparative weakness of mutual trust; skilled labour is lacking, and although labour is plentiful, education is needed to inculcate a higher standard of living and so to secure a continuous supply; there is a dearth of technical institutions; there is also a want of practical information about the commercial potentialities of India's war products. Though these are serious difficulties they are not insuperable; but they will be overcome only if the State comes forward boldly as guide and helper. On the other hand there are good grounds for hope. India has great natural resources, mineral and vegetable. She has furnished supplies of manganese, tungsten, mica, jute, copra, lac, etc., for use in the war. She has abundant coal, even if its geographical distribution is uneven; she has also in her large rivers ample means of creating water-power. There is good reason for believing that she will greatly increase her output of oil. Her forest wealth is immense and much of it only awaits the introduction of modern means of transport, a bolder investment of capital, and the employment of extra staff; while the patient and laborious work of conservation that has been steadily proceeding, joined with modern scientific methods of improving supplies and increasing output, will yield a rich harvest in future. We have been assured that Indian capital will be forthcoming once it is realized that it

can be invested with security and profit in India; a purpose that will be furthered by the provision of increased facilities for banking and credit. Labour, though abundant, is handicapped by still pursuing uneconomical methods, and its output would be greatly increased by the extended use of machinery. We have no doubt that there is an immense scope for the application of scientific methods. Conditions are ripe for the development of new and for the revival of old industries on European lines; and the real enthusiasm for industries, which is not confined to the ambitions of a few individuals but rests on the general desire to see Indian capital and labour applied jointly to the good of the country, seems to us of the happiest augury.

339. Many Indians point to the examples of Germany and Japan, and urge that the Government should make up by financial subsidies the ground which has been lost by what they regard as State indifference: and such considerations are doubtless an element in the general desire for greater control over the finances such as our proposals will give them. The extent and form of State assistance will be questions to be determined by the reformed governments of the future, with the advice of the Industrial Commission before them, and with due reference to Imperial interests. But if the speculative element in Government activities is to be minimised, we feel no doubt that there must be a marked expansion of the technical services of the country. The policy of appointing scientific officers to the agricultural services has been attended with a measure of financial success that certainly suggests that opportunities have been lost through the neglect of other industries which are still backward. We are advised, for instance, that tanning, glass-making, soap-making, sugar-refining and the manufacture of a great variety of vegetable dyes, drugs and essential oils are instances of industries which are now pursued on primitive lines and which present obvious opportunities for the application of technical science. The old metallurgical and chemical industries of the country, which have fallen even more completely into decay through the importation of foreign articles, also offer opportunities for profitable investment on a large scale if conducted on modern lines.

340. The Industrial Commission has not yet submitted its report. But we understand that it is likely to lay stress on a substantial increase in the scientific and technical services of the country and their organization under a separate department of the Government of India, whose business would bring it into close relations at various points* with the Department of Commerce, the Army Department, the Department of Education and the Finance Department. We understand that it is suggested that the new Department should control the purchase of Government stores and the administration of ordnance factories, and thereby be brought into active touch with industrial development all over the country. We do not wish to anticipate discussion of the Commission's proposals. But we may

say that our own inquiry leads us to believe that there are many questions of importance waiting to be taken up by a new agency, and sufficiently related to each other to form the matter for a new administrative unit. We believe that they are also regarded by the public as sufficiently important to be separately recognized. It has been left for the war to bring out fully the need for advance in the industrial sphere as in the sphere of politics. But in any case we can see no reason for hesitating to move forward boldly in a matter in respect of which considerations of military security, political expediency, and economic advantage are coincident, and are in agreement also with the interests of the Empire as a whole.

341. Connected intimately with the matter of industries is the

Fiscal policy.

question of the Indian tariff. This subject was excluded from the deliberations of the Industrial Commission now sitting because it was not desirable at that juncture to raise any question of the modification of India's fiscal policy: but its exclusion was none the less the object of some legitimate criticism in India. The changes which we propose in the Government of India will still leave the settlement of India's tariff in the hands of a Government amenable to Parliament and the Secretary of State; but inasmuch as the tariff reacts on many matters which will henceforth come more and more under Indian control, we think it well that we should put forward for the information of His Majesty's Government the views of educated Indians upon this subject. We have no immediate proposals to make; we are anxious merely that any decisions which may hereafter be taken should be taken with full appreciation of educated Indian opinion.

342. The theoretical free trader, we believe, hardly exists in

Desire for a protective tariff.

India at present. As was shown by the debates in the Indian Legislative Council in March 1913, educated Indian opinion ardently desires a tariff. It rightly wishes to find another substantial base than that of the land for Indian revenues, and it turns to a tariff to provide one. Desiring industries which will give him Indian-made clothes to wear and Indian-made articles to use, the educated Indian looks to the example of other countries which have relied on tariffs, and seizes on the admission of even free traders that for the nourishment of nascent industries a tariff is permissible. We do not know whether he pauses to reflect that these industries will be largely financed by foreign capital attracted by the tariff, although we have evidence that he has not learned to appreciate the advantages of foreign capital. But whatever economic fallacy underlies his reasoning, these are his firm beliefs; and though he may be willing to concede the possibility that he is wrong, he will not readily concede that it is our business to decide the matter for him. He believes that as long as we continue to decide for him we shall decide in the interests of England and not according to his wishes; and he points to the debate in the House of Commons on the differentiation of the cotton excise in support of his contention. No long as the people who refuse India protection are interested in

manufactures with which India might compete, Indian opinion cannot bring itself to believe that the refusal is disinterested or dictated by care for the best interests of India. This real and keen desire for fiscal autonomy does not mean that educated opinion in India is unmindful of Imperial obligations. On the contrary it feels proud of, and assured by, India's connexion with the Empire, and does not desire a severance that would mean cutting the ties of loyalty to the Crown, the assumption of new and very heavy responsibilities, and a loss of standing in the world's affairs. Educated Indians recognize that they are great gainers by the Imperial connexion, and they are willing to accept its drawbacks. They recognize that the question of a tariff may be mainly, but is not wholly, a matter of domestic politics.

343. We could not conclude our discussion of India's industrial development without some statement of what we believe to be the opinion of educated Indians upon this subject. But our inquiry has not been concerned with fiscal questions; and the views expressed upon them have come before us only as the main reason which those who asked for popular control over India's finances gave in support of their request. It is obvious that any tariff that might be framed for India must take account not only of the views of educated Indians but of the probable incidence of the burden of taxation upon the masses of the population. It has been decided by Parliament that the fiscal relations of all parts of the Empire and the rest of the world should be considered after the war, and we assume that this consideration will be by an Imperial Conference on which India will be adequately represented.

(iv) THE NON-OFFICIAL COMMUNITY.

344. We cannot conclude without taking into due account the presence of a considerable community of non-official Europeans in India. In the main they are engaged in commercial enterprises; but besides these are the missions, European and American, which in furthering education, building up character and inculcating healthier domestic habits have done work for which India should be grateful. There are also an appreciable number of retired officials and others whose working life has been given to India, settled in the cooler parts of the country. When complaints are rife that European commercial interests are selfish and drain the country of wealth which it ought to retain, it is well to remind ourselves how much of India's material prosperity is due to European commerce. It is true that those engaged in commerce mix less than officials with educated Indians, and that may be a reason why the latter do not always recognize their claim on India's consideration. Like commercial people all the world over Englishmen in business in India are frankly uninterested in politics; many of them would readily admit that they have taken insufficient part both in municipal business and the business of government. Our concern, how-

ever, is not so much with the past as with the future. From discussions with them we know that many of them accept the trend of events, and are fully prepared to see Indian political development proceed. India has benefited enormously by her commercial development in European hands: nor is the benefit less because it was incidental and not the purpose of the undertaking. What then are the obligations of the various parties? Clearly it is the duty of British commerce in India to identify itself with the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community; to take part in political life; to use its considerable wealth and opportunities to commend itself to India; and having demonstrated both its value and its good intentions, to be content to rest like other industries on the new foundation of government in the wishes of the people. No less is it the duty of Indian politicians to respect the expectations which have been implicitly held out; to remember how India has profited by commercial development which only British capital and enterprise achieved; to bethink themselves that though the capital invested in private enterprises was not borrowed under any assurance that the existing form of government would endure, yet the favourable terms on which money was obtained for India's development were undoubtedly affected by the fact of British rule; and to abstain from advocating differential treatment aimed not so much at promoting Indian as at injuring British commerce. Finally it is our duty to reserve to the Government the power to protect any industry from prejudiced attack or privileged competition. This obligation is imposed upon it, if not by history, at least by the duty of protecting capital, credit and indeed property without discrimination.

345. To the missions we would apply the same principle. It is difficult to overestimate the devoted and creative work which missionary money and enterprise are doing in the fields of education, morals and sanitation. Here also we reserve to the Government a power of judgment and of effective intervention. If missionary efforts were to assume a form that aroused widespread alarm in Indian minds, or if orthodox Hindu or Muslim zeal sought to impose disabilities which would lead to India's necessities losing the material and moral benefits which missions afford, we should hold it to be the duty of the Government which is responsible to Parliament to step in and apply the remedy.

346. Some reference is needed also to the case of the large Anglo-Indian or Eurasian community which on historic grounds has a strong claim on the consideration of the British Government. It is not easy for them, occupying as they do an intermediate position between the races of the East and West, to win for themselves by their own unaided enterprise a secure position in the economy of India. They have been hitherto to a great extent in political and economic dependence on the Government; and they would not be strong enough to withstand the effect of

changes which omitted to take account of their peculiar situation. We think that Government must acknowledge, and must be given effective power to discharge, the obligation to see that their interests are not prejudicially affected.

(v) SOCIAL RELATIONS.

347. Connected with what we have just written is one more topic on which in spite of its undoubted delicacy we are constrained to touch. We have referred already to the differences which divide Hindus and Musulmans: but let us bethink ourselves also of the relations between Europeans and Indians. This matter is vital to our purpose. The successful working of the comparatively complex institutions which we have proposed to set up demands a better spirit of co-operation than can honestly be said to obtain at present. Now existing difficulties are in part, and perhaps in greater measure than is generally perceived, due to definite causes which we believe that our proposals will remove. In so far as Indian dissatisfaction arises from the machinery of government having become out of date; from disappointment at what are wrongly regarded as broken promises; from comparative exclusion from the higher public service; from comparative impotence in the legislative councils; from withholding of responsibility for any portion of the work of government—we hope that in all these respects our reforms will supply the remedy. Further we have done our best to allay grievances that proceed from racial bars or distinctions, from economic discontents, and the like. But no one can ignore the fact that there exist subtler causes of difference unconnected with any specific complaints that the State can remedy. We may speak of them generally as the social grievance; the feeling in the mind of many an educated Indian that neither birth nor brains, enlightenment nor loyalty are regarded by Englishmen in India as making him quite one with themselves. It is happily true that close personal friendships are not uncommon; true that official generally speaking do their best to meet Indians on terms of social equality; true that institutions for promoting social intercourse between the races are increasing and in many instances prospering. But the broad complaint remains, and is an impediment which we would gladly see diminished. In some measure it is due to misunderstanding. The Indian temperament is sensitive and attaches great importance to appearances: it may easily mistake brevity for curttness, and directness for discourtesy. The Englishman often has no natural aptitude for courtliness as India understands it, and values time more highly than the Indian. He has no doubt the defects of his qualities; and yet if he were not what he is he would not have done what he has done. Even with his own people the Englishman is by nature exclusive; he does not disclose his mind to those whom he does not understand; and different habits of thought are a great impediment to understanding. There are thus allowances to be made on

both sides. It is perhaps not easy for the successful and unimaginative Englishman to realize what the rule of another race must mean to patriotic minds, and the great obligation that lies upon him to treat with all possible consideration those whom he has hitherto ruled and whom he is now admitting to a share in the task of ruling. Indians on their part would surely do well to reflect on the differences of thought if not of habit that impose inevitable and perfectly healthy limits to intercourse, if each type is to preserve what is best within it; and to think how natural, indeed how necessary, it is that a small and scattered community of European dwellers in an Asiatic country should nurse among themselves a certain communion of their own.

348. We need not concern ourselves with the exclusiveness which the Indian also shows, though it is a factor
 Mutual obligations. that Indians themselves should not, overlook. We realize the great difficulties of a problem which State action can do nothing to solve, and which yet has a direct bearing on the public interest. We can only appeal earnestly to those who have the power in their hands to reflect how their use of it, legitimate and natural as it may seem to them, may react upon the happiness of India. If there are Indians who really desire to see India leave the Empire, to get rid of English officers and English commerce, we believe that among their springs of action will be found the bitterness of feeling that has been nurtured out of some manifestation that the Englishman does not think the Indian an equal. Very small seeds casually thrown may result in great harvests of political calamity. We feel that, particularly at the present stage of India's progress, it is the plain duty of every Englishman and woman, official and non-official, in India to avoid the offence and the blunder of discourtesy: and none the less is it incumbent on the educated Indian to cultivate patience and a more generous view of what may very likely be no more than heedlessness or difference of custom. We would like to add a word of appeal to the newspaper press upon both sides. No good is done by harping on the alleged deficiencies of another race. English and Indian papers alike have it in their power greatly to improve relations.

CONCLUSION.

349. We may conveniently now gather up our proposals, so as to present a general picture of the progress which we intend and of the nature and order of the steps to be taken on the road. Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States would preside a central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. In this picture there is a place also for the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organization of British India in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service without loss of individuality.

350. But it seems to us axiomatic that there cannot be a completely representative and responsible Government of India on an equal footing with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth until the component States whose people it represents and to whom it is responsible, or at least the great majority of them, have themselves reached the stage of full responsible government. Nor even then can we say that the form or the degree of responsibility which will be reached in India will exactly correspond to that attained by the Dominions. The final form of India's constitution must be evolved out of the conditions of India, and must be materially affected by the need for securing Imperial responsibilities. The dominating factor in the intermediate process must be the rate at which the provinces can move towards responsible government. At the same time change obviously cannot be confined to the provinces. In proportion as they become more responsible the control which the Government of India exercises over them must diminish. But it is not merely a question of the extent of the control; the nature and manner of its exercise must in course of time be modified. We cannot think that States on the way to responsible government, which have imbibed a large element of responsibility into their constitutions, can be controlled by a purely autocratic power. So also with the duties extending over the whole of India which will be discharged by the Government of India as its special concern. It is impossible that while other duties which differ from them mainly in being local in scope or subject to provincial differentiation are being administered by responsible governments, those which fall to the Government of

India should be administered autocratically. It follows, therefore, that change in the provinces implies change in the Government of India, but it does not imply that the change should be simultaneous or in equal proportion. On the contrary the change need simply be so much as to render the Government of India a suitable instrument for controlling the provinces at the stage at which they have for the time being arrived.

351. Similarly all movement towards responsible government in India implies a corresponding change in the constitution of the controlling agency in England. We cannot predict what kind of agency India will wish to maintain in London once she has attained the status of full partnership in the Empire; but it must be very different from the existing arrangements. These are based upon complete control by Parliament through the Secretary of State over every phase of administration in India. The Secretary of State is advised, and to some extent controlled, in the exercise of his functions by a Council designed to supply defects of direct knowledge and experience of India in himself and his subordinates in the India Office; and also to watch the interests of India in cases where these may be threatened by competing British interests. Both Secretary of State and Council, however, are in almost complete subordination to Parliament which may, if it chooses, exercise its authority over every detail of administration in India. Now in relation to India Parliament will, we imagine, observe the principles long adopted towards the British self-governing colonies, and will contract its interference and control in direct proportion to the expansion of self-government. As this grows, the volume of business in which Parliament will interfere will steadily shrink, and the occasions will be rarer on which the Secretary of State will have to exercise control and will need to be advised regarding its exercise. This points to a diminution in the establishment of the India Office and possibly to a modification in the Council of India. But here, again, it is a question not merely of the volume of work but also of the spirit in which it is conducted. In dealing with organizations which have become largely representative and in some degree responsible, the need for mutual understanding and action strengthened by consent will be continually enhanced.

352. Again, while the growth of responsibility in India will lead to decreased intervention by the Secretary of State and Parliament in day-to-day administration, the fact that India's further political progress is to be determined by Parliament makes it imperative that Parliament should be better informed about and more keenly interested in Indian conditions. The decisions to be taken in the future must to some extent be controversial; different advice about them will be offered from different sources; and Parliament which is the final arbiter of India's destiny should be in a position to form a wise and independent judgment. For these reasons we have suggested means of improving its opportunities of exercising a well-informed control.

353. We conclude therefore that change in any one portion of the Indian polity will involve changes on parallel lines but by no means at an equal pace in the other portions: and we claim that our proposals satisfy this fundamental principle. We begin with a great extension of local self-government so as to train the electorates in the matters which they will best understand. Simultaneously we provide for a substantial measure of self-government in the provinces and for better representation and more criticism in the Government of India and for fuller knowledge in Parliament. And we suggest machinery by means of which at regular stages the element of responsibility can be continuously enlarged and that of official control continuously diminished, in a way that will guarantee ordered progress and afford an answer to intermediate representations and agitation.

354. In a matter of so great intricacy and importance it is obvious that full and public discussion is necessary. Pledges have been given that the opportunity for such discussion will be afforded. All that we ask therefore of His Majesty's Government for the present is that they will assent to the publication of our report. As we have said already, because it contemplates transitional arrangements, it is open to the criticisms which can always be effectively directed against all such plans. Hybrid executives, limited responsibility, assemblies partly elected and partly nominated, divisions of functions, reservations general or particular, are devices that can have no permanent abiding place. They bear on their faces their transitional character; and they can be worked only if it is clearly recognized that that is their justification and their purpose. They cannot be so devised as to be logical. They must be charged with potentialities of friction. Hope of avoiding mischief lies in facing the fact that they are temporary expedients for training purposes, and in providing that the goal is not merely kept in sight but made attainable, not by agitation but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself. The principle laid down was the progressive realization of responsible government. We have chosen the province as the unit in which it should be realized. Within that unit we intend, so far as is possible, immediate and complete responsibility in local affairs: responsibility within provincial governments in certain subjects, first to constituencies and then to the legislative councils; the reservation of other matters to a part of the executive Government whose responsibility to Parliament shall for the time being continue; a machinery for periodic inquiry with a view to the progressive diminution and eventual disappearance of the reserved subjects. We recommend no alteration at present in the responsibility of the Government of India to Parliament—except in so far as the transfer of subjects to popular control in the provinces *ipso facto* removes them from the purview of the Government of India and the Secretary of State—but we do provide greater opportunities for criticizing and influencing the actions of the Government of India, and also a legislature which can develop when the

day of responsibility comes into the machinery adapted to the new motive power. For these temporary purposes we have selected after a prolonged examination of alternatives what seemed to us the best transitional mechanism. Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike. They should be examined by the local Governments with whom we conferred but before whom we have not had an opportunity of placing them in their final form.

355. We desire to express our warmest thanks for the assistance

Acknowledgments. which we have everywhere received. From official and non-official alike of all races we found acceptance of the announcement upon which our work was based, and a whole-hearted desire to assist us in carrying it out. It is difficult where we have received so much help to particularize, but we would pay our special thanks to the Government of India and the local Governments; to the Earl of Donoughmore, Sir William Duke, Mr. Basu, Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., and Mr. Seton who were associated with the Secretary of State; to Sir William Vincent, who for some months was placed on special duty to assist him. All of these played an invaluable part in the elaboration of our proposals. Our special thanks are also due to Mr. Marris, who has earned our warm appreciation and gratitude by the valuable services which he has rendered, especially by assisting us in the task of drafting this report.

356. We have only one more word to say. If anything could

Conclusion. enhance the sense of responsibility under which our recommendations are made in a matter fraught with consequences so immense, it would be the knowledge that even as we bring our report to an end far greater issues still hang in the balance upon the battle fields of France. It is there and not in Delhi or Whitehall that the ultimate decision of India's future will be taken. The liberty of the world must be won before our deliberations over the liberalizing of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning. We cannot close this document more fittingly than with the prayer, which we know all India echoes, that the principles of justice and freedom may be saved to the world by the splendid endurance and self-sacrifice of His Majesty's and the Allied armies.

EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

CHELMSFORD.

SIMLA;
April 22, 1918.

Appendices

Appendix I.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

[This summary is intended only to be a concise indication of the proposals ; and it should be read with the paragraphs of the report which are noted in the margin.]

PARLIAMENT AND THE INDIA OFFICE.

	Para.
1. The control of Parliament and the Secretary of State to be modified.	291, 292
2. The salary of the Secretary of State for India to be transferred to the Home Estimates.	294
3. The House of Commons to be asked to appoint a select committee for Indian affairs.	295
4. A committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India and on the India Office establishment.	293

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

5. The Government of India to preserve indisputable authority on matters adjudged by it to be essential in the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order, and good government.	266
6. A Privy Council for India to be established	287

The Executive.

7. To increase the Indian element in the Governor General's Executive Council	272
8. To abolish the present statutory maximum for the Executive Council and the statutory qualification for seats	271
9. To take power to appoint a limited number of members of the legislature to a position analogous to that of parliamentary under-secretaries in Great Britain.	275

The Legislature.

10. To replace the present Legislative Council of the Governor General by a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly.	273—278
11. The Council of State to consist of 60 members (exclusive of the Governor General, who will be president, with power to nominate a vice-president). Of the members 21 to be elected and 29 nominated by the Governor General. Of the nominated members 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the members of the Executive Council) to be officials.	277
The life of each Council of State to be 5 years	278
The Governor General in Council to frame regulations as to the qualifications for membership of the Council of State	278
12. The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members, of whom two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members not less than one-third to be non-officials.	273
The president of the assembly to be nominated by the Governor General.	275

	Para.
13. Official members of the Council of State to be eligible also for nomination to the Legislative Assembly.	277
14. The Governor General to have power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly.	283
15. The following procedure to be adopted for legislation	279—282
A. Government Bills : ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the assembly, and if passed by the assembly to be sent to the Council of State. If the Council of State amend the Bill in a manner which is unacceptable to the assembly, the Bill to be submitted to a joint session of both Houses, unless the Governor General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the council are essential to the interests of peace and order or good government (including in this term sound financial administration), in which case the assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments. But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the Bill being thrown out at any stage the Governor General in Council to have the power, on certifying that the Bill is within the formula cited above, to refer it <i>de novo</i> , to the Council of State. The Governor General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency so certified to introduce the Bill in the first instance in, and to pass it through, the Council of State, merely reporting it to the assembly.	279
B. Private Bills : to be introduced in the chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by that chamber to be submitted to the other. Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions. If, however, a Bill emerge from the assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration, the Governor General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or resubmit it to the Council of State, the Bill only to become law in the form given it by the council	280
16. Resolutions to have effect only as recommendations	284
17. The Governor General and the Crown to retain their respective powers of assent, reservation, or disallowance.	283
18. The Governor General to retain his existing power of making Ordinances and the Governor General in Council his power of making Regulations.	276, 283
19. Nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs.	275
20. Any member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to be entitled to ask supplementary questions. The Governor General not to disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interest, but power to be retained to disallow a question on the ground that the putting of it is inconsistent with the public interest.	236, 286
21. Rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be made in the first instance by the Governor General in Council. The Legislative	286

Assembly and the Council of State to be entitled to modify their rules, subject to the sanction of the Governor General. In each case such modifications not to require the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and not to be laid before Parliament

22. Joint standing committees of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be associated with as many departments of Government as possible. The Governor General in Council to decide with which departments standing committees can be associated, and the head of the department concerned to decide what matters shall be referred to the standing committee. Two-thirds of each standing committee to be elected by ballot by the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, one-third to be nominated by the Governor General in Council. 285

THE PROVINCES.

23. The provincial Governments to be given the widest independence from superior control in legislative, administrative, and financial matters which is compatible with the due discharge of their own responsibilities by the Government of India. 189

24. Responsible government in the provinces to be attained first by the devolution of responsibility in certain subjects called hereafter the transferred subjects (all other subjects being called reserved subjects), and then by gradually increasing this devolution by successive stages until complete responsibility is reached. 215, 218, 219, 238, 280

Provincial Executives.

25. The executive Government in a province to consist of a Governor and Executive Council, a minister or ministers nominated by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and an additional member or members without portfolios. 214, 218, 220

26. The Executive Council to consist of two members, one of whom will be an Indian. 218

Reserved subjects to be in the charge of the Governor and the members of the Executive Council. 218

27. The minister or ministers to be appointed for the term of the Legislative Council, and to have charge of the transferred subjects. 218, 219

28. The additional member or members to be appointed by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only. 220

29. The Government thus constituted to deliberate generally as a whole, but the Governor to have power to summon either part of his Government to deliberate with him separately. Decisions on reserved subjects and on the supply for them in the provincial budget to rest with the Governor and his Executive Council; decisions on transferred subjects and the supply for them with the Governor and the ministers. 219, 221

30. Power to be taken to appoint a limited number of members of the Legislative Council to a position analogous to that of parliamentary under-secretaries in Great Britain. 224

Provincial Legislatures.

31. In each province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established. The council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible, (2) nominated, 225, 232, 233

including (a) official, and (b) non-official, members, and (3) ex-officio members. The franchise and the composition of the Legislative Council to be determined by regulations to be made on the advice of the committee described in paragraph 53 by the Governor General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, and laid before Parliament.	Para.
32. The Governor to be president of the Legislative Council, with power to appoint a vice-president.	236
33. The Governor to have power to dissolve the Legislative Council.	254
34. Resolutions (except on the budget) to have effect only as recommendations.	237
35. Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote, except when Government otherwise directs.	233
36. Any members of the Legislative Council to be entitled to ask supplementary questions.	236
37. The existing rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business to continue, but the Legislative Council to have power to modify them, with the sanction of the Governor.	236
38. Standing committees of the Legislative Council to be formed and attached to each department, or to groups of departments. These committees to consist of members elected by the Legislative Council, of the heads of the departments concerned, and the member or minister, who would preside.	235
39. Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council. Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs.	252
40. The Governor to have power to certify that a Bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province, or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The Bill will then, with this certificate, be published in the <i>Gazette</i> . It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles, will be referred to a grand committee; but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the Bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject.	252
The Governor not to certify a Bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council.	
41. The grand committee (the composition of which may vary according to the subject matter of the Bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent of the Legislative Council. The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot, partly by nomination. The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself), but not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials.	252
42. The Bill as passed in grand committee to be reported to the Legislative Council, which may again discuss it generally within such time-limits as may be laid down, but may not amend it, except on the motion of a member of the Executive Council, or reject it. After such discussion the Bill to pass automatically, but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details and any such resolution to be transmitted, with the Act, to the Governor General and the Secretary of State.	253

	Para.
43. Any member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole, or any part, of a Bill on its introduction, or any amendment, when moved, on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the Bill to proceed in the Legislative Council, or of certifying the Bill, clause, or amendment. If he certifies the Bill, clause, or amendment the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed, or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended Bill or clause, or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the Bill to a grand committee.	254

44. All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty.	254
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45. The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment.	254
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46. The Governor General to have power to reserve provincial Acts.	254
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Finance.

47. A complete separation to be made between Indian and provincial heads of revenue.	200, 201
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48. Provincial contributions to the Government of India to be the first charge on provincial revenues.	206, 256
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49. Provincial Governments to have certain powers of taxation and of borrowing.	210, 211
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50. The budget to be laid before the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council refuses to accept the budget proposals for reserved subjects the Governor in Council to have power to restore the whole, or any part, of the original allotment on the Governor's certifying that, for reasons to be stated, such restoration is in his opinion essential either to the peace or tranquillity of the province, or any part thereof, or to the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. Except in so far as he exercises this power, the budget to be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council.	256
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Local self-government.

51. Complete popular control in local bodies to be established as far as possible.	188
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Modification of provincial constitutions.

52. Five years after the first meeting of the new councils the Government of India to consider any applications addressed to it by a provincial Government or a provincial Legislative Council for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects. In such cases the Government of India, with the sanction of the Secretary of State to have power to transfer any reserved subject, or in case of serious maladministration to remove to the reserved list any subjects already transferred and to have power also to order that the salary of the ministers shall be specifically voted each year by the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council to have the right of deciding at the same, or any subsequent, time by resolution that such salary be specifically voted yearly.	260
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PRELIMINARY ACTION.

53. A committee to be appointed, consisting of a chairman appointed from England, an official, and an Indian non-official. This committee to advise on the question of the separation of Indian, from provincial, functions, and to recommend which of the functions assigned to the province should be transferred subjects. An official and an Indian non-official in each province which it is at the time examining to be added to the committee. 238

54. A second committee to be appointed, consisting of a chairman appointed from England, two officials, and two Indian non-officials, to examine constituencies, franchises, and the composition of the Legislative Council in each province, and of the Legislative Assembly. An official and an Indian non-official in each province which it is at the time examining to be added to the committee. 225

55. The two committees to have power to meet and confer ... 238

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

56. A commission to be appointed ten years after the first meeting of the new legislative bodies to review the constitutional position both as regards the Government of India and the provinces. The names of the commissioners to be submitted for the approval of Parliament. Similar commissions to be appointed at intervals of not more than twelve years. 261

THE NATIVE STATES.

57. To establish a Council of Princes ... 306

58. The Council of Princes to appoint a standing committee. ... 307

59. The Viceroy in his discretion to appoint a commission, composed of a high court judge and one nominee of each of the parties, to advise in case of disputes between States, or between a State and a local Government or the Government of India. 308

60. Should the necessity arise of considering the question of depriving a Ruler of a State of any of his rights, dignities, or powers, or of debarring from a cession any member of his family, the Viceroy to appoint a commission to advise, consisting of a high court judge, two Ruling Princes, and two persons of high standing nominated by him. 309

61. All States possessing full internal powers to have direct relations with the Government of India. 310

62. Relations with Native States to be excluded from transfer to the control of provincial Legislative Councils. 310

63. Arrangements to be made for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of Princes and the Council of State on matters of common interest. 278, 311

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

64. Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished. 315

65. In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India. 316

66. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services. 316, 317

67. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent of the superior posts, increasing annually by $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent until the position is reviewed by the commission (paragraph 55). 317

68. Rates of pay to be reconsidered with reference to the rise in the cost of living and the need for maintaining the standard of recruitment. Incremental time-scales to be introduced generally and increments to continue until the superior grade is attained. The maximum of ordinary pension to be raised to Rs. 6,000, payable at the rate of 1s. 9d. to the rupee, with special pensions for certain high appointments. Indian Civil Service annuities to be made non-contributory but contributions to continue to be funded. Leave rules to be reconsidered with a view to greater elasticity, reduction of excessive amounts of leave admissible, and concession of reduced leave on full pay. The accumulation of privilege leave up to four months to be considered. 318—321

69. A rate of pay based on recruitment in India to be fixed for all public services, but a suitable allowance to be granted to persons recruited in Europe, or on account of qualifications obtained in Europe, and the converse principle to be applied to Indians employed in Europe. 322

Appendix II.

ILLUSTRATIVE LIST I SHOWING PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.

(Vide *paras. 212, 213, 238, and 240.*)

Subjects.	Remarks.
1. Taxation for provincial purposes.	<i>Vide</i> para. 210.
2. Borrowing on sole credit of provincial revenues.	<i>Vide</i> para. 211.
3. Financial work on behalf of the Government of India (<i>e.g.</i> , collection of income-tax, etc.).	Subject to any restrictions or orders of the Government of India.
4. The appointments, conditions of service, and control of all provincial services.	Subject to any existing privileges enjoyed by those now in service.
5. Maintenance of law and order : (i) administration of criminal justice, including village courts. (ii) police, including railway police. (iii) prisons. (iv) criminal tribes. (v) working of particular Acts, <i>e.g.</i> , incitements to crime, seditious meetings, infanticide, press, arms, European vagrancy. (vi) poisons. (vii) gambling. (viii) dramatic performances and cinematographs. (ix) coroners.	 The powers of the Government of India to suspend or remit sentences and the power of the Viceroy to pardon to be maintained. Existing privileges of high courts to be continued. Uniformity to be maintained as regards the codes, Evidence Act, etc. The Director of Central Intelligence to remain under the Government of India. The co-ordination by the Government of India of the work in different provinces requires consideration. Legislation to remain with the Government of India : administration to be provincial.

Subjects.	Remarks.
<p>6. Land revenue administration :</p> <p>Assessment and collection of land revenue, maintenance and procedure of revenue establishments, maintenance of land records, surveys for revenue purposes, records of rights, special laws regarding land tenures, relations of landholders and tenants, collection of rent, court of wards, encumbered and attached estates, famine, land improvement and agricultural loans, resumption of revenue free grants, diluvion and alluvion, colonization and disposal of Crown lands.</p>	
<p>7. Agriculture :</p> <p>Civil veterinary and livestock, diseases of animals, research institutes and demonstration farms, agricultural pests, and industries connected with agriculture.</p>	
<p>8. Forests and forest products.</p>	
<p>9. Fisheries and connected industries ; and river conservancy.</p>	
<p>10. Public Works :</p> <p>Roads and buildings, and major and minor irrigation.</p> <p>Tramways, light and feeder railways.</p> <p>Drainage and embankments.</p>	<p>So far as powers may be given by the Government of India.</p>
<p>11. Education :</p> <p>Primary, secondary, colleges, technical, and universities, also reformatories and industrial schools.</p>	<p>Except for universities serving more than one province and some 'chiefs' colleges. The case of the Indian Universities Act to be specially considered.</p>
<p>12. Medical and Sanitary :</p> <p>Public health, hospitals, dispensaries, leper asylums, Pasteur institutes, sanatoria and matters relating to medical institutions ; intra-provincial pilgrimages.*</p>	<p>* Except for railway arrangements.</p>

Subjects.	Remarks.
<p>13. Local self-government, rural and urban:</p> <p>Provisions for public health, safety, and convenience, constitution of local authorities—municipal rates, taxes, loans, roads, bridges, ferries, tolls, markets, pounds, fairs, exhibitions, parks, open spaces, museums, libraries, art galleries, reading rooms, building regulations, town-planning, housing improvements, disorderly houses, lodging houses, sarais, hackney carriages, registration of carts, nuisances, water supply, prevention of fires, regulations for sale of food and drink, smoke nuisance, disposal of the dead, bathing and washing places, warehouses, drains and sewers, control of animals, surveys for municipal purposes, advertisements, and anything dealt with in existing municipal or local self-government Acts, and also any matters declared by the Government of India to be included in local self-government.</p>	
<p>14. Franchise, electoral law, organization of constituencies.</p>	<p><i>Vide</i> para. 225. Eventually provincial.</p>
<p>15. Civil justice:</p> <p>Administration, including village courts, legal practitioners, law reports, local Acts and interpretation of local Acts.</p> <p>Administrator-General and Official Trustees Acts, management of private trusts, lunacy, registration of deeds and documents.</p>	<p>Power of legislation to remain with the Government of India. Administration to be provincial.</p>
<p>16. Excise: intoxicating liquors and drugs, control of breweries and distilleries.</p>	
<p>17. Scheduled districts:</p> <p>Inter-provincial territorial arrangements.</p>	
<p>18. Land acquisition.</p>	<p>The Government of India Act on the subject to remain, but the advisability of provincial variations to be considered.</p>

Subjects.	Remarks.
<p>19. Industrial matters :</p> <p>Factories, dangerous and offensive trades, inland steam vessels and steam boilers, registration of labour, labour exchanges, provident funds, industrial health insurance, friendly societies, apprenticeships, accident insurance.</p> <p>Electricity, petroleum, explosives, mines, geological survey for minerals.</p> <p>Developments of arts and crafts and local industries.</p>	<p>} As these develop.</p>
<p>20. Co-operative credit.</p>	<p>The power of legislation normally to remain with the Government of India, though amendments to the principal Act might be permissible to the provinces. Administration to be provincial.</p>
<p>21. Business concerns :</p> <p>Banks, insurance and other companies.</p>	<p>The power of legislation to remain with the Government of India. Provinces to have such administrative powers as the Government of India may permit.</p>
<p>22. Government Press :</p> <p>Stationery and printing.</p>	<p>The control of the Government of India over stationery raises the general question of the purchase of supplies.</p>
<p>23. Statistics :</p> <p>Registration of births, deaths, and marriages ; collection of statistics for provincial purposes.</p>	<p>Power to secure uniformity to remain with the Government of India.</p>
<p>24. Inter-provincial immigration and emigration.</p>	<p>Subject to the control of the Government of India.</p>
<p>25. Protection of wild birds and animals, and cruelty to animals.</p>	<p>Subject to all-India restrictions.</p>
<p>26. Assessment and recovery of provincial Government demands.</p>	
<p>27. Escheats and unclaimed property.</p>	
<p>28. Management of charitable endowments.</p>	
<p>29. Motor vehicles.</p>	<p>Some Government of India legislation is necessary. Provinces to have powers not conflicting therewith.</p>

ILLUSTRATIVE LIST II SHOWING TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS

(Vide paras. 212, 213, 238, and 240.)

Subjects.	Remarks.
1. Taxation for provincial purposes.	The question of reserving to the executive Council the power of suspending defaulting local bodies to be considered.
2. Local self-government, rural and urban; viz., provisions for public health, safety, and convenience, constitution of local authorities—municipal rates, taxes, loans, roads, bridges, ferries, tolls, markets, pounds, fairs, exhibitions, parks, open spaces, museums, libraries, art galleries, reading-rooms, building regulations, town-planning, housing improvements, disorderly houses, lodging-houses, sarais, hackney carriages, registrations of carts, nuisances, water-supply, prevention of fires, regulations for sale of food and drink, smoke nuisance, disposal of the dead, bathing and washing-places, warehouses, drains and sewers, control of animals, surveys for municipal purposes, advertisements, and anything dealt with in existing municipal or local self-government Acts, and also any matters declared by the Government of India to be included in local self-government.	
3. Registration of births, deaths, and marriages, coroners, village courts—civil and criminal—statistics for provincial purposes.	
4. Education: Primary, secondary, and technical.	
5. Medical and sanitary.	
6. Agriculture: Civil veterinary, diseases of animals, etc.	
7. Co-operative credit.	
8. Forests (unclassified and some protected).	
9. Fisheries and connected industries, and river conservancy.	

Subjects.	Remarks.
<p>10. Public Works : Roads and buildings, minor irrigation, tramways, light and feeder railways, drainage and embankments.</p> <p>11. Excise : Intoxicating liquors and drugs, including the control of breweries and distilleries.</p> <p>12. Charitable endowments.</p> <p>13. Development of arts and crafts and local industries.</p> <p>14. Miscellaneous subjects, viz., preservation of wild birds and animals, cruelty to animals, prevention of gambling, motor vehicles, registration of deeds and documents.</p> <p>15. Franchise, electoral law, constituencies.</p>	<p>Not till after the commission has reported.</p>

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

1. Letter from the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Donoughmore, Sir William Duke, Mr. B. N. Basu, and Mr. Charles Roberts, to the Secretary of State, dated the 3rd May, 1918.
2. Government of India's despatch no. 6, dated the 31st May 1918.
3. Minute by the Council of India, dated the 18th June 1918.

Supplementary Paper no. 1.

H. M.'s SHIP "DUFFERIN"

May 3rd, 1918.

DEAR MONTAGU,

You have communicated to us who formed part of your mission to India the scheme of Constitutional Reforms proposed in the system of government in British India which has been worked out and agreed upon between His Excellency the Viceroy and yourself.

The scheme is the outcome of discussions in which you have given us the privilege of taking a continuous part and it embodies the conclusions arrived at in those discussions. We need only say therefore that we unitedly support your recommendations and are prepared to recommend their adoption to public opinion both in England and in India. In our view, while safeguarding Imperial interests and providing for the proper maintenance of law and order, they carry out His Majesty's Government's announcement of August 20th last by providing at once for such an instalment of self-government as is at present practicable and safe, together with statutory machinery, for its development at subsequent stages.

We would further submit an urgent plea for publication of these proposals as soon as can be arranged. It is impossible now to avoid discussions on Constitutional Reforms in India whatever may be the objection to having such discussions in war time; but we are convinced that there would be serious inconveniences and even risks unless the further discussion of these subjects is guided by regard on the one hand to the substantial measure of reform that is now practicable and on the other to the limits within which reform at this stage must necessarily be confined. We would therefore wish to represent to you our strong view of the desirability of publishing the proposals for consideration both in England and in India without any undue delay.

We have only in conclusion to express to you our sense of the readiness with which you have throughout taken into consideration any suggestions which we have from time to time placed before you and to assure you that if at any later stage we can give any assistance towards the passage of these reforms into law we shall gladly do whatever is in our power.

Yours sincerely,

DONOUGHMORE.

F. W. DUKE,

BHUPENDRA NATH BASU.

CHARLES ROBERTS.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Supplementary Paper no. 2.

No. 6 of 1918.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

(PUBLIC.)

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE EDWIN MONTAGU,

*His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.**Simla, the 31st May 1918.*

SIR,

WE have the honour to inform you that we have been furnished with copies of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms drawn up by His Excellency the Viceroy and yourself for submission to His Majesty's Government.

2. Though this most important document represents views for which the signatories thereto are alone responsible we desire to record the fact that it was framed after prolonged discussion with us. There are no doubt detailed recommendations on which some of us hold divergent views but we wish to convey our cordial support to the general policy which the report embodies.

We have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble Servants,

CHELMSFORD.

C. C. MONRO.

W. S. MEYER.

C. H. HILL.

C. SANKARAN NAIR.

G. R. LOWNDES.

G. S. BARNES.

W. H. VINCENT.

Supplementary Paper no. 3.

Minute recorded by the Council of India.

We have read carefully the Report on Constitutional Reforms in India. This report is the outcome of the announcement made by the Secretary of State on August 20th, 1917, that Government had decided that substantial steps were to be taken as soon as possible towards increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and gradually developing self-governing institutions with a view to the progress of real responsible government in India.

Having these ends in view, the general policy of the report meets with our unanimous support. We are of opinion that on the whole it recommends the measures best adapted to ensure safe and steady progress in the desired direction and, while reserving to ourselves freedom to reconsider the details of the various important measures suggested when public criticism has been received, we heartily support the policy as a whole.

We consider that in connection with the publication of the report the various addresses and schemes put before the Secretary of State in India should be published or, if the bulk of the documents in question is so great as to render a complete reprint undesirable, that a very careful selection should be made from them embodying all shades of opinion.

L. CURRIE.
F. W. DUKE.
M. HAMMICK.
CHARLES S. BAYLEY.
W. D. SHEPPARD.
MARSHALL REID.
E. G. BARROW.
S. AFTAB.
P. D. PATTANI.
BHUPENDRA NATH BASU.

Dated London, June 18, 1918.

Sir Arnold White and Mr. J. B. Brunyate were prevented by ill-health and absence from England respectively from considering the report.

We agree too that a large element in the government should be Indian, and that part of it should be non-official. But at present there exists no bar to the appointment of members of a permanent service to governorships; and though we propose to assimilate the method of appointment of all heads of provinces we see every disadvantage in such a bar. In practice, presidency governors have almost invariably been selected from England; but members of the services have always been eligible for these appointments, and in this respect there appears to us no good reason to make a change. The personal burden resting upon the head of a province will be heavier in future than in the past, and it is essential that the best men from whatever source should be freely available. Nor can we agree that these councils should have six full-time members; nor that members of the Indian Civil Service should not ordinarily be appointed to the councils; nor that the Indian members should be chosen by election. We will take each point in turn. The existing provincial executive councils have only three members each, two Europeans and one Indian. There would nowhere be sufficient work for six full-time members of an executive council and a governor. When a proportion of the executive government consists of Indian gentlemen who will ordinarily have no administrative experience it seems to us essential, especially if the governor lacks knowledge of India, that the European members of council should be versed in Indian administration. Forthcoming changes will tax both the tact and ability of the executive councils, and during the period of gradual change to responsible government we are not prepared to deprive them of the help of official experience. The intention of the scheme is that the European seats in the executive council should be filled by the appointment of public men from England. But it would be highly inexpedient that the European colleagues of the governor should be from the outset so largely dependent either on their secretaries or on their untrained Indian colleagues for information about Indian conditions; nor do we think that men with the high qualifications for which we ought to look would be willing to interrupt their career in England for a membership of a provincial executive council. The office carries no pension, nor does it offer either the amenities or the pay of a seat on the Governor General's Council. India will need in the future the finest type of public servant that she can get, and more will be demanded of her European officials than in the simpler conditions of the past. We have to take into account the effect upon the services of excluding them for such positions. It would indeed be short-sighted policy to preclude ourselves from employing them in the domain where especially during the transitional period, they will be of the very greatest usefulness. But the feature of the proposals regarding these councils to which we most decidedly demur is that the Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the legislative council. If the object is merely to find some means of ensuring that the Indian members of the Government enjoy the confidence of the legislative council we are in full sympathy with it, though we think that it can be attained by other means. We are aware that in the past the nominations made to