

When he [Mr. Gladstone] died Lord Salisbury said of him that he was a great Christian. Yes, and I would add that he was not a Christian for nothing. I think he must often have used to himself the language of Wordsworth, "Earth is sick and heaven is weary of the swollen words that States and Kingdoms utter when they talk of truth and justice". He, at all events, in face of all the demands of practical politics, did his best to bring those considerations of truth and justice into the minds and hearts of his countrymen.....But I do say that Mr. Gladstone, when he saw the nations going on a wrong path, saw high in the heavens that flash of the uplifted sword and the gleam of the arm of the Avenging Angel. (MANCHESTER-UNVEILING OF STATUE, 10th October, 1901).

It is this policy of passing measures for Ireland without reference to the Irish themselves that is responsible for most of the mischief and misgovernment from which Ireland has so long suffered.....From observation of Irish Government, from experience of Irish Government, from responsibility of Irish Government, I say to you, gentlemen, face to face, it is a bad government it is a government which no nation, no set of people can be expected to endure in peace, and it is a government which we in our conscience ought to do our very best, when the time comes, when opportunity presents itself to put right as we have put so many other evils in our own system of government right.

With how much more force do these words apply to India! (MANCHESTER, 12th March, 1902).

We are going to have I suppose—well we may have a proposal to suspend the constitution of Cape Colony. Just

picture the scene in the House of Commons. The motion is made to protest against the suspension of Parliamentary Institutions in the Cape Colony. We then all get up, and we all make eloquent, passionate, argumentative speeches in favour of the right of the Colonies to govern themselves. The next day Mr. Redmond makes a motion in favour of giving self-government in one shape or another to Ireland. We then all pick out a new set of arguments. What was on Monday unanswerable on Tuesday becomes not worth mentioning. What was on Monday a sacred principle of self-government becomes on Tuesday mere moonshine and claptrap. That is a comedy in which I at least do not propose to take part. The Boers are to have self-government in order to make them loyal. The Irish are not to have it because they are disloyal. (EDINBURGH, 7th June, 1902).

What a true picture of the way in which India is treated !

We are citizens, common citizens of a grand country ; we are the heirs of a noble tradition ; we believe that human progress can only be won by human effort—and that effort, I hope, all of us in our different degrees, ages and situations will pursue with determination, with un-selfishness and with a resolute directness and simplicity that must in the end win a crowning victory. (NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION ANNUAL MEETING. 13th May, 1901).

He was for liberty wherever they could get it.

He looked forward to a vigorous, progressive, ~~free~~, rational policy. The new Government, he hoped, would

realise that courage in large politics was the true common sense, and he looked forward to the true progressive movement.

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Last Session the whole Liberal Party in the House of Commons voted in favour of Mr. Redmond's Amendment, which stated that the present system of government in Ireland was in opposition to the will of the Irish People, and gave them no voice in the management of their affairs, was extravagantly costly and did not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, was productive of universal discontent and unrest, and had been proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people

Surely then it was incredible that Party which supported an indictment so damning should have no policy for dealing with such a state of affairs.

He would recall the fact that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Leader of the Liberal Party, who had stuck to his guns, and had saved his party, said, speaking on that very amendment.

What was the principle at the root of the policy? It was the right of the Irish people to the management of their own domestic affairs. The successive plans by which this was to be given to them failed to satisfy the country; but the principle of self-government, the principle of an elective element that shall be the governing element in Irish affairs still remains. (FORFAR, 20th October, 1905).

But whatever the schemes and wisdom of a statesman might be, he should know that all the glittering adventures of imperial pride were vain and empty, were delusive and

guilty, if he did not constantly have before him the aim of mitigating the lot of the great masses of men, women and children who were always very near to hunger and nakedness. (WALTHAMSTOW, 20th November, 1916).

THE RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

The Liberal Party is—as it always has been—the standing enemy of unjustified privileges and of unequal laws.....The spirit of Liberalism is a strong and a vital factor—is as strong and as vital as it ever was—in moulding the conceptions and the ideals of the British people. (KILMARNOCK, 5th October, 1897).

No one in this country—no British Liberal at any rate—can contemplate with satisfaction a system under which numbers of our own countrymen are denied some of those civil and political rights which we are accustomed to regard as the necessary equipment of a civilized social community. (LEVEN, 2nd September, 1899).

We call ourselves Liberals. We are proud of the name. We are prepared to maintain our title to it against all comers But how do we stand? What has been in days gone by the essence of the Liberal creed and the spirit of Liberal work? I think I may say, and you will agree with me, that for the first sixty or seventy years of the present century, the chief mission of Liberalism was the mission of emancipation. It waged war with religious disabilities that offended the conscience and blocked the road to talent more important than either it was the Liberalism of that time which laid the foundations of Democratic Government, in a society which had never been swept and levelled by the tornado of revolution. . . .

... If we look beyond these shores to the Greater Britain of which we have become Trustees, I think we see there again equally clear ground for the application of old principles to new problems. We are proud of the British Empire. There is no distinction on that point between one party in the State and the other. But empire is a blessing or a curse according to the spirit in which its responsibilities are approached and handled.

According to what I believe to be the liberal conception of Empire, it is something vastly greater and higher than this. There are—I believe I am speaking your sense as well as my own—in the judgment of us Liberals two tests of a standing or falling empire. We ask, in the first place, does it in all its parts make the standard not merely of material life, but of all that goes to enrich civilization and humanity higher and more deeply founded, more securely safeguarded. We ask next, does its unity arise not from the compulsory acquisition of subject races, but from the conscious and willing co-operation of living and self-determining members? Does it rest not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights? (EDINBURGH, 10th January 1900).

I pause here a little. We, Indians also had the good fortune in sharing in the glorious work of the Liberal statesman of the thirties of the last century. We also had our emancipation by the Act of 1833. What a glorious and truly noble and liberal work was that at that time! I have already touched upon that subject. Had that Act been honourably, loyally and sincerely carried out

what a glorious empire would by this time the British Empire have become, and how truly and nobly would the two tests laid down above have been fulfilled ! The present grand revival of Liberalism, with its irresistible power, is just the opportune moment to accomplish, by a bold effort, the redemption of the past failure of duty, conscience, humanity and honour.

Liberty and justice, the touchstone of the Empire and its external arrangements. . . . In these methods lay the only hope for the future honour of our Empire. (OXFORD, 24th February, 1894).

Liberty was the best antidote or medicine for discontents and disloyalty. (TAYFORTH, 4th September, 1900).

It is the work of statesmanship in this country to make the Empire worth living in, as well as worth dying for. In the long run every society is judged and every society survives according to the material and moral minimum which it prescribes to its members. (HOTEL CECIL, 19th July, 1901).

You should aim from the very beginning at such a progressive development in self-government as will in time ripen into the full autonomy of Australia or Canada. That policy ought to commend itself not only to the Liberal Party but to the whole country. (HANLEY, 14th January, 1902).

The great experience of Canada, where, by the granting of free institutions, races which seventy years ago were flying at one another's throats were now sitting down side by side in harmony and contentment. That will be the case in India. (ST. LEONARDS, 14th March, 1902).

Mr. Asquith proceeded to set forth the Liberal ideal.

This, he said, implied self government and self-development in fiscal as in all other matters. An excellent example was to be found in the history of Canada, where internal dissensions and external revolt against the Empire had been quelled by self government. So that the French and British portions of the population had worked out an ideal for themselves' resulting in prosperity. (MORLEY, 21st February, 1906).

If they gave the new Liberal Government a strong strenuous, independent working majority, they would find many directions, in which arrears had to be made up, reactionary steps retraced, and lost ground recovered, they would do what they could both to set right the past and to give the country a new and vigorous start for the future. (ST. MONANS, 13th January, 1906).

In all this there was a lesson which ought to be taken to heart, namely, that in English politics it was the straight-forward, the direct, the plain policy which in the long run paid. (HENLEY, 18th January, 1906).

This country, by carrying out the great Liberal principle of confidence in the people and allowing them to manage their own affairs, would have our imperial unity on the broadest, soundest and most stable foundation. It was in this spirit that the new Government hoped to attack other problems of legislation and administration which lay before them. (EAST FIFE, 20th January, 1906).

I conclude these declarations by two more of one who, though dead, is still living in our hearts and minds, and whom Mr. Morley himself has given his immortality in this world. .

Mr. Gladstone says.—It has been providentially

allotted to this favoured isle, that it should show to all the world how freedom and authority, is their due and wise developments, not only may co-exist in the same body, but may, instead of impairing, sustain and strengthen one another. I am deeply convinced that among us all systems, whether religious or political, which rest on a principle of absolutism, must of necessity be not indeed tyrannical, but feeble and ineffective systems, and that methodically to enlist the members of a community, with due regard to their several capacities in the performance of public duties, is the way to make that community powerful and healthful, to give a firm seat to its rulers, and to engender a warm and intelligent devotion to those beneath their sway. (DAILY NEWS, 5th May, 1905),

The following is one of Mr. Gladstone's latest utterances on the occasion of one of the greatest achievements of his life—Home Rule for Ireland? He said:—

It is the predominance of that moral force for which I heartily pray in the deliberations of this House and the conduct of our whole Public Policy. . . . There can be no more melancholy, and in the last result no more degrading spectacle upon earth than the spectacle of oppression or of wrong in whatever form inflicted by the deliberate act of a nation upon another nation. . . .

But on the other hand there can be no nobler spectacle we think is now dawning upon us, the spectacle of a nation deliberately set on the removal of injustice, deliberately determined to break—not through terror and not in haste but under the sole influence of duty and honour—determined to break with whatever remains still existing of an

evil tradition, and determined in that way at once to pay a debt of justice and to consult by a bold, wise and good act its own interest and its own honour.

THE RIGHT HON. R. B. HALDANE.

It was their duty to try to govern the Irish people in a sense which was more akin to their ideas and less entirely subordinate to our own . . . they recognised it was a duty binding upon them by every obligation of honour and policy that they should strive to bring the administration of Ireland in harmony with the minds of her people and should endeavour by every means to convert the people of this country to a juster view of their obligations to that unhappy land and to a fuller recognition of their title to administer those things that were their own (NORTH BERWICK, 23rd January, 1906).

Now these sentiments and principles apply with manifold force to India to whom the British people are bound to give self-government, not only by rights of births as British citizens, but also by a "duty binding upon them [the British people] by every obligation of honour and policy" by the most solemn pledges given several times before God and the world.

The breath to the nostrils of the Imperial Organisation was FREEDOM. (DARLETON, 24th January, 1906).

I make no comments on these declarations, as being the statesmen's own, nobody can more realise their full scope, significance and application to India than themselves.

All these declarations apply with manifold force to India under the peculiar circumstances of a foreign draining domination under which she is suffering—a circumstance, which in its very nature cannot but be evil.

LORD ROBERTS

Our greatest strength must ever rest on the firm base of a united and contented India.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOT

I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another, what it is to have a full meal.

LORD MACAULAY

We are free, we are civilized, to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization. 1833.

SISTER NIVEDITA

. . . Political freedom is the birthright of every nation and even a bad and inefficient swadesi government is much better than the most angelic government by absentee rulers and their irresponsible servants.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The doctrine of Self-Government is right—absolutely and internally right. . . . When the white man governs himself, that is Self-Government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than Self-Government—that is Despotism.

MR. COWLEY:

The liberty of a people consists in being governed by laws which they have made for themselves, under whatever form it be of Government. The liberty of a private man, in being master of his own time and actions as far as may consist with the laws of God and of his country.

MR W. T. STEAD

I am more deeply impressed than ever I was with the immense influence which might be wielded in the future history of the world by Britain and India acting together. Such co-operation must be, of course based upon the recognition of the right of India to be treated as a free and equal partner and not as a dependent of the Empire.

SIR FRANCIS MACLEAN

He had heard great deal recently, since coming to India of sedition, and measures in connection with it; but it seemed to him the only rational way of putting down sedition was by sympathy, boundless sympathy, with the people in their needs and their sufferings, and with their legitimate hopes and aspirations.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

It is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them your civilization and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them that they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country, except by getting rid in the first instance of their European rulers.

LORD LAWRENCE

The people of India are capable of administering their own affairs, and the municipal feeling is deep-rooted in them. The village communities, each of which is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions. Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people.

MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

No system of Government can be permanently safe where there is a feeling of inferiority or of mortification affecting the relations between the governing and the governed. There is nothing I would more earnestly wish to impress upon all who leave this country for the purpose of governing India that that if they choose to be so, they are the only enemies England has to fear. They are the persons who can, if they will, deal a blow of the deadliest character at the future rule of England.

MR. LOWELL THE REFINED AMERICAN
SCHOLAR AND STATESMAN

It is only by the instigation of the wrongs of men that what are called the rights of men become turbulent and dangerous. It is then only that the syllogise unveil come truths. It is not the insurrection of ignorance that are dangerous, but the revolts of intelligence. It is only when the reasonable and the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy.

DR. RASH BEHARY GHOSE

All we ask is that our country should take her rightful place among the nations under the ægis of England. We want in reality, and not in mere name, to be sons of the Empire. Our ambition is to draw closer to England and to be absorbed in that greater Britain in which we have now no place. The ideal after which we are striving is antonomy within the Empire and not absolute independency.

THE RT. HON. LLOYD GEORGE

There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a stand still. There are also times when it rushes along a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. (American Luncheon Club London).

CHARLES BRADLAUGH

We don't want to rule India by the sword. We want to put before the people of India a future in which, if they will be patient, as they have been, they may climb, slowly it may be, but surely, to the fullest right of self-government. . . . If we are to rule these 250 millions of people at all, we must rule them not in the way in which we have gone to their country and taken possession of it but in the way in which we should like to be ruled if it had been their people who had come and taken possession of our country. I regret that it should be needful, before an audience speaking the tongue which pretends to be identified with the traditions of liberty, to make such an appeal; but it is needful.

SIR S. SUBRAMANIA IYER, K.C.I.E., LL.D.

If the will of a handful of resolute men in South Africa, exerted without overt acts of violence or injury, has enabled them successfully to resist gigantic tyranny and wrong, by compelling an unwilling public opinion, as it were throughout the civilised world, to cast its vote in favour of the oppressed passive resisters, what cannot

the will of hundreds of millions of our people accomplish by its own sheer force, without the least resort to any militancy if organised and turned towards the attainment of our legitimate national aims and aspirations.

SIR W. W. HUNTER

I cannot believe that a people numbering one sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the Government of their country. I do not believe that races * * * into whom we have instilled the maxim of "no taxation without representation" as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances

DR. RAJENDRA LAL MITRA

Diverse we are in origin, in religion, in language, and in our manners and customs, but we are not the less members of the same nation. We live in the same country, we were subjects of the same sovereign, and our good and evil depends entirely on the state of the Government and the laws passed, in this country, whatever is beneficial to the Hindus is equally beneficial to the Muhamandans and whatever is injurious to the Hindus is equally injurious to the followers of Muhamad. Nations are not made of sects but if tribes bound together by the same political bond and therefore we constitute one nation.

SIR HENRY COTTON

Let us accustom ourselves to the conception which the realisation of a national spirit in India involves. The

present form of British administration cannot survive the fulfilment of those national tendencies which the British Government itself has brought into existence. . . many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But it is a policy we should always keep before our eyes. Indian patriots look back on their past with a sense of pride and they know that India will again take her own rank among the nations of the East. They are striving for the attainment of this ideal which however it may be delayed or marred in execution, is sure in the west.

HON. G. K. GOKHALE

I recognise no limits to my aspiration for our Motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in arts. I want all this and feel at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can, in its essence and its reality, be realised within this Empire.—Speech at Allahabad, 4th February, 1907.

MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

A time, not very remote, will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country India and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her

sovereign towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity, towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest, (17th May, 1816).

LORD MACAULAY

Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who, maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the native from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: and it is also the path of wisdom of National prosperity, of national honor.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT

I believe that it is our duty not only to govern India well now for our sakes and to satisfy your own conscience but so to arrange its Government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time when India will have to take up her own Government and administer it in her own fashion. I say he is no statesman he is no man actuated with a high moral sense with regard to our great and terrible moral responsibility. What is not willing thus to look a head and thus to prepare for circumstances which may come sooner than we think, and sooner any of us hope for, but which must come at some not very distant date. (*Manchester, 11th December, 1877*).

SIR H. J. S. COTTON

The ryots cry aloud for bread and we have given them a volume of new laws to comfort them. The statute book grows exceedingly. From an object of wonder it has become an object of suspicion and distrust.

DR. H. S. GOUR, L.L.B.

Without Self-Government it is impossible for India to utilise its vast unlimited material and moral resources to the full extent India wants to play her part honourably in the Empire.

MR. BERNARD SHAW

All demonstrations of the virtues of a foreign bureaucracy, "though often conclusive, are as useless as demonstrations of the superiority of artificial teeth, glass eyes, silver wind-pipes and patent wooden legs to the natural products."

LORD MAYO

I admit the comparative poverty of this country (India) as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive.

LORD CURZON

Powerful empires existed and flourished in India while the Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy and the religion of mankind than any other territorial unit in the universe.

SIR WILLIAM HUNTER

Forty millions of the people of India habitually go through life on insufficient food. The Indian Congress

has outlived the early period of misrepresentation, it has shown that it belongs to no single section of the population. Indian political reformers have, if they only know it, an opportunity such as seldom happened in the history of Nations.

MR. ALFRED WEBB, M. P.

There is no possibility of turning back. Once imbue nations with aspirations for progress and enlightenment and they must go forwards towards liberty.

For fifty years the Anglo-Indian Government has been urging you to educate yourselves, to imbibe principles of constitutional liberty, to obliterate old divisions, to break down caste prejudices, to rise to the level of British citizenship, and unite for the good of a common country.

SIR JAGADISH CHUNDER BOSE

What are our duties to our country? These are essentially to win honor for it and also win for it security and peace. As regards winning honor for our country it is true that while India has offered from the earliest times welcome and hospitality to all peoples and Nationalities, her children have been subjected to intolerable humiliation in other countries even under the flag of our king. There is no question of the fundamental duty of every Indian to stand up and uphold the honor of his country and strive for the removal of wrong

MR. WILFRIDS BLUNT

I rejoice to learn from them that the All-India Muslim League has now adopted as its settled programme to act in cordial concert with the progressive Hindu and other communities in India in the patriotic work of obtaining at

our hands some measure of Home Rule. This is a new departure of the very highest significance, and I trust that its full meaning will be understood at the India Office. Until it is brought home to the official understanding that the old system of administration through an alien bureaucracy is out of date, nothing will even begin to be accomplished in the direction of progressive liberty.

SIR GEORGE CHESNEY

The lame and halting defence made by the Secretary of State of the high handed action of the Government he represented the ignominious position exhibited by the Government of India forced to carry out a measure against their obvious wishes and sense of duty, from an episode in our relations towards that country, indispensable nature of which may be measured by the indignation felt and expressed among all classes in India, Indians and Englishmen alike, so barefaced a declaration of the desire to rule India in British interests against the wishes and interests of its people and its Government can hardly fail to lead to injurious consequences.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER

Who are they that say the people of India are not fit for swaraj? The English people say so, those who profit by Indian's subjection say so. But it is an old cry. It was raised against the middle class in England, it was raised against the mechanics of the great towns; it was raised against the country rustic, it is now being raised against women, and in every case it was raised and is raised by the people in possession who did not and do not want to lose their power. Foreign observers with a sufficient

insight into the social conditions of the country do not think that our variety of castes and creeds is an obstacle to the growth of Nationality.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM

We are not warranted by the History of India, nor indeed by that of any other nation in the world, in reckoning upon the possibility of preserving an Empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes, as ours does, the natives from every station of high rank and honorable ambition. * * * If we do not use the knowledge which we impart, it will be employed against us. * * * If these plans are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements that will hasten the destruction of our Empire. The moral evil to us does not thus stand alone. It carries with it, its Nemesis, the seeds of the destruction of the Empire itself.

MR. HERBERT BURROWS

I attach no importance to the theory of "fitness for self-government." England should make a public declaration to the world that she was in India, not for her own advantage but for the good of India herself, and that at the earliest possible moment—to be decided by friendly and peaceful consultation with the best representatives of Indian thought—she would withdraw her government from the country, while helping in the interval by every means in her power the self-development of India. These were the fundamental principles which should apply equally to Ireland and to India, and to every part of the Empire—free self-government and development as free and equal partners in a federation of free States.—*July 2, 1916.*

MR. ZANGWILL

Mr. Israel Zangwill, said he was in favour of self-government for all races, including even such a low race as women. (Laughter.) He had always held the opinion that the English blundered into India as they blundered into most things, and the best they could wish for her now was not to blunder out of India, but by a long, careful, diplomatic and statesmanlike process so to govern India as to make the people of that country wish to remain an integral portion of our empire in exactly the same way as Canada and South Africa. He hoped that before long India would be granted the fullest measure of self-government. Lord Hardinge was a strong man, but unlike most strong men he could appreciate what was in other men's minds as well as his own.

DR. RUTHERFORD

Dr. Rutherford expressed a hope that the people of India would at no distant date get self-government and Home Rule, and that the English people would be made to feel that they had never succeeded in their mission in the world until India did govern herself. The Indians, by the grand stand they were making in South Africa, were, showing that they had the courage of their convictions and the sooner both Briton and Boer gave justice, liberty and equal rights to Indian subjects in South Africa, the sooner would they get that credit which such action alone could entitle them to. He desired to wish their hosts God speed in their work. The growing solidarity between Hindus and Moslems was one of the greatest achievements of the time.

PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA

When by the blessings of Providence internal tranquility shall be restored it is our earnest desire to stimulate.....and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward..... Queen Victoria's Reply to Jubilee address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Addition is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct government of India as the Charter of Liberties of the Princes and Peoples of India. It has always been and will be continued to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswearingly maintained.

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
 Where knowledge is free;
 Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
 Where words come out from the depth of truth;
 Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
 Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
 Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
 Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake.

BABU AUROBINDO GHOSE

Have you got a real faith? Or is it merely a political aspiration? Is it merely a larger kind of selfishness? Or is it merely that you wish to be free to oppress others as you are being oppressed? Do you hold your political creed from a higher source? Is it God that is born in you? Have you realised that you are merely the instruments of God, that your bodies are not your own? You are merely instruments of God. For the work of the Almighty. Have you realised that? If you have realised that then you are true Nationalists, then alone will you be able to restore this great Nation. Then there will be a blessing on our work and this great Nation will rise again and become once more what it was in the days of its spiritual greatness. You are the instruments of God to save the light, to save the spirit of India from lasting obscuratation and abasement.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

Our position has been clearly stated in the representation made by the joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League held at Bombay. That representation embodies our answer to the policy of repression in a dignified and emphatic manner. It makes it clear that the newly awakened spirit is not to be suppressed by the Defence of India Act or the Press Act. It asks for the complete reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate release of the interned patriots. While demanding the Congress-moslem League scheme of reforms be given effect to after the close of the war, it invites the Government to publish its own proposals for public discussion. It insists on an authoritative pronouncement

pledging the Government to a policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire, being made at an early date. We ask for no more and will be satisfied with no less.

DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

We feel it then our duty to realise our unity and national self-consciousness in concrete form as much for the advantage of others as of ourselves; and this without any feeling of bitterness or exclusiveness towards other races, though perhaps for a time such feelings may be inevitable. And to show what spirit moves us we have such a statement of belief in the unity of the Indian people, as the credo of Shiv Narayan, and the beautiful national song, called "Bande Mataram" (Hail! Motherland") which expresses the aims and the power of the unawakened Indian National.....Their words are not the hysterical utterance of a people uncertain of their unity or doubtful of their future. They express the Indian recognition of the Motherland, their quiet but profound assurance of her greatness and their consciousness of the high calling which is hers. They voice the hope of an Indian Nation, which shall not be disappointed.

MR. B. G. TILAK

The mere shifting of the centre of power and authority from one official to another is not in my opinion, calculated to restore the feelings of cordiality between officers and people prevailing in earlier days. English education has created new aspiration and ideals amongst the people and so long as these national aspirations remain unsatisfied, it is useless, to expect that the hiatus between the officers and the people could be removed by any scheme of

decentralisation whatever its other effects may be. It is no remedy, not even palliative against the evil complained of, nor was it ever put forward by the people or their leaders. The fluctuating wave of decentralisation may infuse more or less life in the individual members of the bureaucracy, but it cannot remove the growing estrangement between the rulers and the ruled, unless and until the people are allowed more and more effective voice in the management of their own affairs in an ever-expansive spirit of wise liberalism and wide sympathy aiming at raising India to the level of the governing country.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE

That there is a strong and growing desire on the part of educated Indians ultimately to govern their own country goes without saying. They would not be educated if this aspiration did not arise within them. Education makes rebels against invaders. Material benefits conferred by them, however great, count for little against the spirit of national independence. . . . British history cannot be read and understood without inspiring within the studious reader under military control an invincible desire to govern his own country.

If India be properly guided, no violent revolution need be feared. The movement towards independence would be orderly and slow, although irresistible. . . . The true policy of Britain is to say some day to India, as she said to Canada and Australia, that if she ever feels the time has arrived when she must establish government for herself, so be it. It is because this had been said to the British self-governing colonies that they remain loyal

colonies to-day. Proclaim coercion and the part of America will soon be played by them again. When India is told this, the effect will be as it has been with the colonies—to bind her closer and to keep her longer than otherwise within the Empire.

BABU ANANDA MOHAN BOSE

It is *because* we are friends to British Rule it is *because* all our highest hopes for the future and not our hopes only but the hopes of generations to come are indissolubly bound up with the *continuance* of that rule, with the strengthening and lecturing of that rule, with the removal of all and every cause which may tend to the weakening of that rule and there are such causes in operation that we speak out, and point the impolicy, the unwisdom, yea, the danger of the recent course of administrative and legislative proceedings. It is because of this feeling that we are trying to the best of our power alas, so limited to induce the authorities, and the great body of justice loving and generous minded Englishmen, both here and in England to withdraw from that course and find the path of safety, of honor of mutual advantage and the truest and most abiding glory, in going forward in fearless confidence, trusting the people, extending the bounds of freedom, not forgoing new features but gradually removing those that exist not taking away but adding to the rights of the people helping on the cause of India's regeneration with the passionate longing and the loving ardour that come from consciousness of a duty and a solemn responsibility from on high.

SIR HENRY COTTON

Autonomy is the keynote of England's true relations with her great Colonies. It is the keynote also of India's

destiny. It is more than this—it is the destiny of the world. The tendency of Empire in the civilised world is in the direction of compact autonomous States, which are federated together, and attached by common motives and self-interest to a central Power. . . . It was the dream of John Bright and he indulged in no mystic prophecy when he foresaw that India would fulfil her ultimate destinies by a process of evolution, out of which she would emerge, not through force or violence as an independent state, or torn from Great Britain, or abandoned to England's enemies, but as a federated portion of the dominion of the Great British Empire. The ideal of the Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate States, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing Colonies, and with its own local autonomy cemented together under the ægis of Great Britain.

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS

It was clear that India claimed to be not a mere dependant of, but a partner in, the Empire, and her partnership with us in spirit and on the battlefields could not but alter the angle from which we should all henceforward look at the problems of the Government of India. (Cheers.) He might call the attention of the House of Commons to one possible illustration of this change in the point of view. It must be a source of pride and satisfaction to India that she had sent the first of the great contingents from the Over-Seas Dominions into the European theatre of War, and that one of her brave soldiers, if the newspaper statements were correct, had been recommended for the coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross.—*Speech in the House of Commons as Under Secretary for India.*

APPENDIX C

THE SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE ALL INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE

1. That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for Government and administration and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date; that this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Moslem League; that in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-Governing Dominions.

2. All India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to Government for its introduction after the War as a first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India.

APPENDIX D

THE CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEM LEAGUE'S SCHEME OF POST-WAR REFORMS

1. Provincial Legislative Councils

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils

Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian states, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision where extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the perview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

A Bill, other than a money Bill, may be introduced

in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislature shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. Provincial Governments

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. Imperial Legislative Council

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The Franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the Mahomedan electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

5. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

6. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

7. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

8. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

9. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

10. The term of office of members shall be five years.

11. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative council:—

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue excepting tributes from Indian states.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative

Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military Charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

12. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided, however, that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

13. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

14. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

15. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign political relations of

India, including declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. The Government of India

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the executive council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, and subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specially given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. The Secretary of State in Council

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent under secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. Military and other Matters of Policy

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty both in their commissioned and non commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as Volunteers.

3. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

4. The executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

N. B.—As regards communal representation in Legislative Councils, the following percentages have been agreed upon.

Mahomedan representation for the Punjab 50 per cent.
Bengal 40 per cent.; Bombay 33½ per cent.; United.

Provinces 30 per cent ; Central Provinces 15 per cent. ; Madras 15 per cent. It has also been agreed to, that if in any province two thirds of a community be against any measure or Bill, it should be dropped by both communities.

APPENDIX E

REFORMS AFTER THE WAR

THE NON-OFFICIAL MEMORANDUM

*Submitted by the 19 elected members of the Imperial
Legislative Council*

There is no doubt that the termination of the War will see a great advance in the ideals of Government all over the civilised world, and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small nationalities, and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity. In the international relations of the world India has borne her part in this struggle, and cannot remain unaffected by the new spirit of change for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country, and hopes have been held out that, after the War, the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision.

UNCOMPLETED WORK

The people of India have good reason to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook by the British Rule and for the steadiest, if slow, advance. Commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833 up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition.

and not responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909, for the first time, introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit Indians into the inner counsels of the Indian Empire.

So far as the Legislative Councils are concerned, the number of non-officials was merely enlarged with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The Supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such a majority included nominated members and European representatives. In the measures, largely affecting the people whether of legislation or taxation, an European would naturally support the Government and the nominated members, being nominees of the Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory, and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether Supreme or Provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies without any power of effective control over the Government Imperial or Provincial. The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of Indian Members in the Executive Council where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of Indian members.

The object which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Council Bill on the 1st April of 1909, that it was most desirable in circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automate, the wires of which were pulled by the official hierarchy. This object, it is submitted has not been attained.

OTHER DISABILITIES

Apart from the question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities, which not only prevent the utilisation but also lead to the wastage of what is best in them, and are positively derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act which excludes from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualifications of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the army are disabilities which are looked upon with an irritation and sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough, if these were mere disabilities. The restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to serious danger. The position of Indians in India is practically this that they have no real part or share in the direction of the government of the country and are placed under very great and galling disabilities from which the other members of the British Empire are exempt, and which have reduced them to a

state of utter helplessness. The existence moreover of the system of Indentured Emigration gives to the British Colonies and the outside world the impression that Indians, as a whole, are no better than indentured coolies, who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things makes the Indians feel that, though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire. Other Asiatic races also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her status in the Empire. Humiliating as this position of inferiority is to the Indian mind, it is almost unbearable to the youth of India, whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts where they come in contact with other free races.

In the face of these grievances and disabilities, what has sustained the people is the hope and faith inspired by promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government and have faithfully and loyally stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to Battle fields of Europe not as mercenary troops but as free citizens of the British Empire which requires their services, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquillity reigned throughout India when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while rousing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in this great

War, spoke of Indians as "the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future."

WHAT IS WANTED

India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of the Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past, and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination, but one of comradeship. This would assure the Indian people that England is ready and willing to help them to attain Self-Government under the aegis of the British Crown, and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken, and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen. What is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them. This is what India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision.

If, after the termination of the War, the position of India practically remains what it was before, and there is no material change, it will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country and the beneficent efforts of participation in common danger, overcome by common effort, will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation, and has contemplated measures of reform in the administration of the country. We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to respectfully offer to the Government our humble suggestions as to the

lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must in our opinion, go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the government of the country and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career, which indicate a want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. Under the first head, we would take the liberty to suggest the following measures for consideration and adoption :—

(1) In all the Executive Councils Provincial and Imperial, half the number of members should be Indians. The European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans should have experience of actual administration, for, as in the case of the ministers in England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the department is always available to them. As regards Indians, we venture to say that sufficient number of qualified Indians, who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Councils and hold portfolios, is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, the late Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer, Sir Shamsul Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair have maintained the high level in the discharge of their duties. Moreover, it is well known that the Native States where Indians have

opportunities have produced renowned administrators like Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Seshadri Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao, not to mention the present administrators in the various Native States of India. The Statutory obligation now existing that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils, should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils and for the purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

(2) All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. We feel sure that they will safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population, with whom they are in closer touch than a European officer however sympathetic, can possibly be. The proceedings of the various Legislative Councils and the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League bear ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses and their acquaintance with their wants and wishes. The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people, Mahomedans or Hindus wherever they are in a minority, being given proper and adequate representations having regard to their numerical strength and position.

(3) The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should not be less than 150 and of the Provincial Councils not less than 100 for the major provinces and not less than 60 to 70 for the minor provinces.

(4) The budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

(5) The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on all matters and to discuss and pass resolutions relating to all matters of Indian administration, and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to provincial administration, save and except that the direction of military affairs, of foreign relations declarations of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties other than commercial should be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard the Governor-General-in-Council, as the case may be should have the right of veto, but subject to certain conditions and limitations.

(6) The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible hold in relation to the Government of India, a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the Secretary and the Under Secretaries should be placed on the British Estimates.

(7) In any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions.

(8) The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous as stated in the Government of India's despatch of the 25th August, 1911.

(9) The United Provinces, as well as the other major provinces, should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom with an Executive Council.

(10) A full measure of local Self-Government should be immediately granted.

(11) The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same condition as to Europeans.

(12) Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a territorial army to be established in India.

(13) Commissions in the army should be given to the Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

SIGNATORIES

Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Kasimbazar, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Mr. V'shnu Dutta Shukul, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyanger, Mr. Mazhar ul Haque, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Mr. B. Narasimeswara Sarina, Mr. Mir Asad Ali, Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda, Mr. Krishna Sahay, Mr. R. N. Bharja Deo of Kanika, Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy, Mr. Sita Nath Roy, Mr. Mahomed Ali Mahomed and Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

APPENDIX F

REPORT OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR 1915-1916.

The following report of the year 1915-1916 has been issued by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress:—

This year has essentially been one of anxious preparation. Both in India and in England, it has been fully recognised that, after the war, India should receive her due share of self-government, and should take, within the British Empire, a place worthy of her ancient civilisation and the high ideals of her people. Accordingly, during this year steady preparation has been carried on by Congress workers both in India and in England, so that, when peace is assured proposals may be placed before Parliament for such constitutional reforms as will satisfy the Indian people, and be in conformity with British principles of freedom and progress.

From the nature of things, this work of preparation is necessarily carried on partly in India and partly in England. It is for India herself to mature a scheme of reform suited to her special requirements; it is in England, as the seat of power, that arrangements have to be made for the due hearing of her case. Congress workers, in the East and in the West, have been diligent in the performance of this double duty

WORK IN INDIA

First, as regards work in India. By Resolution XIX of the last Congress, under the heading of "Self-government," the All-India Congress Committee was authorised to frame a scheme of reform, having regard to the principles embodied in the Resolution; and, further, it was authorised to confer with a Committee of the All-India Moslem League, and to take such further measures as may be necessary. The action accords with the advice of Sir S. P. Sinha, the President of the Congress who pointed out that for the general welfare, we need "a reasoned ideal of India's future, such as will satisfy the aspirations and ambitions of the rising generation of India, and at the same time will meet with the approval of those to whom India's destinies are committed." The representatives of the Congress and the Moslem League have met in conference as contemplated by Resolution XIX, and the final result of their deliberation is now awaited. There can be no doubt that the representations of a united India will receive from the British people the attention demanded by its importance for the welfare of the Empire.

Steps having thus been taken in India to formulate the wishes of the Indian people, we have to consider the action required from friends in England. At the proper time, when peace is within sight, it is proposed that the Indian scheme of reform shall be brought to England by a deputation of the most trusted Indian leaders; and the practical question is, how should this deputation proceed, so that the case may be brought effectively before the Home Government, the Imperial Parliament, and

the British public, with a view to a settlement beneficial alike to India and the world ?

ACTION IN ENGLAND

Naturally the first approach will be made to the Home Government. In the Government as now constituted, both the great parties in the State are united ; and, fortunately, even before the Coalition, the leaders on both sides pledged themselves, by declarations in Parliament, to a generous policy to India, promising her a worthy place in our free Empire, as a partner, and not as a dependant. Mr. Charles Roberts gave this assurance, speaking for the Secretary of State, and Mr. H. W. Forster was authorised by Mr. Bonar Law to say how closely the opposition associated itself with the sentiments expressed on behalf of the Government. Further-more, the King-Emperor has repeatedly insisted on sympathy as the keynote in dealing with Indian aspirations. There is, therefore, every reason to expect that India's representations will be received by His Majesty's Government with careful and sympathetic attention, and that the Secretary of State for India will receive the Deputation in friendly conference, so that there may be a free interchange of views, having for its object to meet the reasonable wishes of all concerned. Proceeding on these lines, the way seems open for the Government, in consultation with India's representatives, to prepare and place before Parliament proposals for such constitutional reforms as will satisfy the Indian people, and be in conformity with British principles of freedom and progress.

From the above considerations there seems reason to hope that a satisfactory scheme of reform may be framed by

agreement. At the same time we must not shut our eyes to the fact that the Government may not see its way to grant all that the Indian representatives consider essential. Doubtless offers will be made, but in the Indian view these may not be sufficient. What under the circumstances, is the wise course to pursue? How can it best be arranged to secure what the Government is willing to give, and at the same time to provide means of progressive improvement in the future? The suggestion is that, if the Government proposals do not come up to India's expectations as formulated in the scheme brought by the Deputation, the Government offer should be considered, with a view to acceptance as an instalment, the points of difference being reserved for submission to Parliament, on the report of a Parliamentary Committee, with a view to further legislation.

It will be for India's representatives to consider whether they should not ask for a revival by statute of the periodical Parliamentary enquiries which, up to 1858, originated all the most notable improvements in the condition of India. The recent action of the Joint-Committee of both the Houses, in dealing with the India Consolidation Bill on sound judicial lines, must give India confidence that such Parliamentary Committees will give a fair hearing to Indian claims, so that, from time to time, progress may be made in constituting India a free and prosperous partner in the British Empire.

THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE

The essential principle of self-government was declared by Lord Hardinge, when he indicated the safe path of Indian reforms, founded on Provincial autonomy, with a

persistent, if gradual, transfer of authority from the official body to the representatives of the people. This, we trust, will be the direction in which Parliament will proceed. But in order that the Viceroy may be in a position to carry out the orders of the Home Government, it is absolutely necessary that his hands should be strengthened. At present the Viceroy is not master in his own household, the existing practice, giving to the permanent officials an exceptional position of authority in his Executive Council. The constitution of that Council is determined by the India Act of 1861 (24 and 25 Victoria, c. 67), clause 3 providing that three out of five ordinary members of that Council are to be persons who have been at least ten years in the service in India of the Crown; and this provision has been interpreted for the sole benefit of the Covenanted Civil Service; so that the Viceroy's "Cabinet" is unduly dominated by a group of permanent officials, who enter the Executive Council automatically, imbued with the spirit of the great centralised departments, over which they have been accustomed to preside. Under this system a Viceroy, fresh from England, and unfamiliar with the routine of Indian administration, is not in a position to give effect to the policy prescribed for him by Parliament and the Crown.

The remedy is a simple one; for the time has come to amend clause 3 of the India Act of 1861, by providing that the Viceroy, with the approval of the Secretary of State shall have power to nominate the members of his own Executive Council from among men, British and Indian, of ripe experience in public affairs, their term of

office ending with that of the Viceroy. Such amendment will only be an extension of the beneficial practice which, for the last eighty years, has given to India the services of such men of mark as Lord Macaulay, Mr. James Wilson, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Sumner Maine, Lord Hobhouse, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, and Sir Guy Wilson. In more recent times the solidarity of the Empire has been strengthened by the addition of distinguished Indians : Sir S.P. Sinha, Sir Ali Imam, and Sir Sankaran Nair. It appears that this reform is a condition precedent to all other reforms. The principle involved is one that has been accepted by all civilised Governments. In England especially, it has been the settled rule that a member of the permanent Civil Service must be content to close his official career as the trusted and authoritative head of his department, without aspiring to political governance. The task of a British Premier would be an impossible one if he was not free to choose the members of his Cabinet from among his political supporters, and was compelled to accept as his colleagues the permanent chiefs of the administrative departments. (India).

APPENDIX G

THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE

A number of resolutions passed by the Imperial War Conference have been published in the Press. Among them are the following :—

THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA

That the Imperial War Conference desires to place on record its view that the resolution of the Imperial Conference of April 20, 1907, should be modified to permit of India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences, and that the necessary steps should be taken to secure the assent of the various Governments in order that the next Imperial Conference may be summoned and constituted accordingly.

INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS

That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the memorandum on the position Indians in the self-governing Dominions presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommends the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE

That the Admiralty be requested to work out immediately at the conclusion of the war what they consider the

most effective scheme of naval defence for the Empire for the consideration of the several Governments summoned to this conference, with such recommendations as the Admiralty consider necessary in that respect for the Empire's future security.

That this Conference, in view of the experience of the present war, calls attention to the importance of developing an adequate capacity of production of naval and military material, munitions, and supplies in all important parts of the Empire (including the countries bordering on the Pacific and Indian Oceans), where such facilities do not presently exist, and affirms the importance of close co-operation between India, the Dominions and the United Kingdom with this object in view.

That this Conference, recognising the importance of assimilating as far as possible the military stores and equipment of the Imperial Forces throughout the Empire, recommends that an expert Committee, representative of the military authorities of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, be appointed as early as possible to consider the various patterns in use with a view to selecting standard patterns for general adoption, as far as the special circumstances of each country admit.

This Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the ordnance personnel of the military organisations of the Empire should, as far as possible, be trained on the same methods and according to the same principles and that to secure this end selected officers of the ordnance service from all parts of the Empire should be

attached for adequate periods to the Imperial Ordinance Department.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.

It deems it its duty, however, to place on record its view that any just readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate share in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources, and especially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries. With these objects in view, this Conference express itself in favour of:—(1) The principle that each part of the Empire, having regard to

the interests of our Allies, shall give specially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the Empire. (2) Arrangements by which intending emigrants from the United Kingdom may be induced to settle in countries under the British flag.

FOOD SUPPLY AND MANUFACTURES

Having regard to the experience obtained in the present war, this Conference records its opinion that the safety of the Empire and the necessary development of its component parts require prompt and attentive consideration, as well as concerted action, with regard to the following matters :— (1) The production of an adequate food supply and arrangements for its transportation when and where required, under any conditions that may reasonably be anticipated. (2) The control of natural resources available within the Empire, especially those that are of an essential character for necessary national purposes, whether in peace or in war. (3) The economical utilisation of such natural resources through processes of manufacture carried on within the Empire.

The Conference commends to the consideration of the Governments summoned thereto the enactment of such legislation as may assist this purpose.

MINERAL RESOURCES

That it is desirable to establish in London an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, upon which should be represented Great Britain, the Dominions, India, and other parts of the Empire. The bureau should be charged with the duties of collection of information from the appropriate departments of the Governments concerned and other sources

regarding the mineral resources and the metal requirements of the Empire, and of advising from time to time what action, if any may appear desirable to enable such resources to be developed and made available to meet the metal requirements of the Empire.

That the Conference recommends that His Majesty's Government should, while having due regard to existing institutions, take immediate action for the purpose of establishing such a bureau, and should as soon as possible submit a scheme for the consideration of the other Governments summoned to the Conference.

TRADE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EMPIRE

That the Imperial War Conference welcomes the proposed increase of the Board of Trade service of Trade Commissioners and its extension throughout the British Empire in accordance with the recommendations of the Dominions Royal Commission and recommends that the Governments concerned should co-operate so as to make that service as useful as possible to the Empire as a whole, especially for the promotion of inter-Imperial trade.

NATURALISATION

The Conference recognise the desirability and importance of securing uniformity of policy and action throughout the Empire with regard to naturalisation.

THE DOUBLE INCOME TAX

The present system of Double Income Taxation within the Empire calls for review in relation :—(1) To firms in the United Kingdom doing business with the overseas

Dominions, India, and the Colonies; (2) To private individuals resident in the United Kingdom who have capital invested elsewhere in the Empire, or who depend upon remittances from elsewhere within the Empire; and (3) To its influence on the investment of capital in the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, and to the effect of any change on the position of British capital invested abroad. The Conference, therefore, urges that this matter should be taken in hand immediately after the conclusion of the war, and that an amendment of the law should be made which will remedy the present unsatisfactory position.

It is resolved that the proposals set forth in the memorandum submitted by the Home office be commended to the consideration of the respective Government summoned to the Conference.

The members of the Conference representing India and the Overseas Dominions desire before they separate to convey to the Secretary of State for the Colonies their earnest and sincere appreciation of his labours in preparing for, and presiding over, the Conference.

They desire also to put on record their deep sense of gratitude for the many courtesies which they have received from the Prime Minister and the other Members of His Majesty's Government, as well as for the generous hospitality which has been extended to them by the Government and the people of United Kingdom.

APPENDIX H

INDIA, TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe writes :—

We stand upon the threshold of momentous changes in India. The Government as proclaimed it, and what is even more significant, official India is accepting the logic of events. In political thought, no less than in practice, the war is overturning the world; and the completeness of the revolution is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the field of Imperial Government. The war had not been going on for half a year when the most thorough going stand patters in our midst were repeating as a common place that peace would bring with it a new Imperial Commonwealth in which India would be, no longer a dependant, but a partner.

To those whose contact with India goes back over a decade or more this is one of the startling, the most hopeful, facts of the world situation. One recalls, for example, the Curzonian regime, with its resonant insistant upon administrative rigour, its confident assumption that India must not, and would not be subject to constitutional change. The India of Lord Curzon's conception called, not for political reform, but for executive mastery, and when the hand of the master was withdrawn the hierarchy looked for the enjoyment of its reinforced authority under less exigent viceregal direction.

MORLEY, THE LIBERATOR

The epoch of movements dates, in India as elsewhere, from the great election of 1906. Mr. John Morley went to the India office, and his Councils Act came as the fitting second stage in that scheme of Imperial statemanship which made a brilliant beginning with Campbell-Bannerman's constitution for South Africa. It may be said that the Morely reforms were small in content ; and so, regarded from our standpoint to-day, they were. But no Liberal of lower power and prestige could have carried them in 1909, when desperate anarchic outrages were furnishing the Lords and the bureaucracy with an effective argument against concession. Lord Morley's splendid service to India and the Empire can be stated in a sentence. He broke the hard ring of bureaucratic privilege, established the principle of direct election, and of non-official majorities in the Indian legislatures ; appointed the first Indian Cabinet Ministers at Simla and the first Indian councillors in Whitehall, while, moreover he carried the whole discussion of Indian affairs into a fresh atmosphere of fine and generous debate.

True, the bureaucracy was to some extent successful in whittling down the reforms. Indian official regulations reduced the influence of the new bodies, and Anglo-India generally said to the party of reform. "Now you have got your councils, be satisfied ; show what you can do with them, and above all, help us to stamp out your revolutionaries, and don't ask for anything more." The hope of official India, manifestly, was that the changes would suffice for at least a generation, that in a word, Lord Morley in Indian history could be "Finality John," precisely

as Lord John Russell was made to stand in the England of the first reform Act. Without the war that hope must have proved foolish; in 1914 it melted swiftly away.

RESPONSIBLE PARTNERSHIP

During the past three months one statement of liberal policy after another has revealed the Governments' purpose. Both Mr. Montagu and his Under Secretary (Lord Islington) have spoken, and the Viceroy, addressing the Legislative Council in August sketched in broad outline the proposals upon which the Home and Indian Governments are working, in advance of the Secretary of State's visit, Lord Chelmsford indicated three lines of advance:

1. Liberal constitution of the legislative councils, with greatly extended powers of control.
2. Increased opportunity for qualified Indians in the higher posts of the administration.
3. Decentralisation and local Self-Government, with elective village and urban councils as the basis of system of provincial Autonomy.

The one essential principle to be established is responsibility. The one blunder that would imperil the scheme is the refusal, for any reason or through any fear, of an adequate measure of responsibility to Indian representatives and legislative bodies. Here is, of course, an almost irresistible temptation to an all-powerful Government having behind it an unbroken tradition of authority. There is something to be said for autocracy; there is as the English-speaking world believes, everything to be said, when a certain stage have been reached, for self-Government. But the system for which there is

nothing at all to be said is a system possessing the appearance of autonomy with none of its reality.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

Now the main and governing fact of the problem as Mr. Asquith used to say, is that in the Imperial Commonwealth of to-morrow there must be room for a self-governing and responsible India. This is the place which the greatness of India involves, which the extraordinary loyalty of India has earned. The wheel, as everyone who follows the Indian Press can see, has come full circle. There has been nothing like the consensus with which to-day the organs of Anglo-Indian or semi-official opinion, such as the powerful "Times of India," declaring that the immediate goal of all parties is a self-governing India in the Empire standing before the world as a great confederation of democratic peoples.

But, needless to say, there survives still a party of irreconcilables, who are now becoming extremely local in a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. They are unhappily, setting out to "crab" the Secretary of State's visit, and they are using the release of Mrs. Besant as the occasion of an attack upon the policy of advance and reconciliation. They will fail, for democratic England is with the Government in its new purposes; but Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy must be fortified to meet them.

The opportunity calls for a splendid decision and a fine gesture and one is convinced that, after the experience of these years the authorities of Delhi understand this as fully as it is understood in London and throughout England. If the war has taught us anything, said that brilliant

and beloved soldier-professor, Tom Kettle, killed a year ago on the Somme, it has taught us that the great thing must be done in a great way. That is true in the affairs of all peoples. It is supremely true in relation to Britain and India. —(*Daily News*).

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