

years have passed by since Sir William Harcourt declared, "We are all Socialists now." The immense development of communications, the necessity for controlling the conditions of labour, the need for raising money at rates which only the credit of the State can command for the purpose not only of defence but also of reproductive public works—these and other factors attest the recognition by all advanced communities that the moral and material development of the people is one of the main duties of the State. That even amid the clash of arms a Ministry of Health is being set up in the United Kingdom is a forcible reminder that in the most advanced countries the trend of modern society is toward making health, in the widest sense of the term, whether by the study of eugenic improvements or by intensive culture of the individual, the cardinal pursuit of the commonwealth.

The province state of to-morrow, with its strong and permanent executive, under a Governor whose main business and duty will be to keep his eyes open for every possible improvement, with its large and popular assembly representing all classes and conditions of the people, must take in hand these problems of general improvement, of raising the standard of health and comfort. It has previously been shown how far free and compulsory education for all, and including physical culture, will go to make it impossible for the population of to-morrow to accept the present conditions of life of the depressed classes.

These classes must be represented in each provincial legislature. Wherever possible they should return their own representatives; where, in the earlier stages of progress, they are so backward as

to make this impracticable, it will be for the Governor to nominate their leaders for the time being. When their political equality is constitutionally recognised, they will themselves gain social self-confidence, and soon by unconscious stages realise their responsibility toward and value to the commonwealth. Such measures as civil marriage bills will be required in each province. Other measures of social justice will be an indirect result of the recognition in political representation of the legitimate place in the nation of classes without whose humble toil communal life as a whole could not be maintained.

Our main reliance on State action to improve the conditions of life of all the backward elements, whether technically belonging to the depressed classes or not, must lead to no neglect of the great opportunities on every side for voluntary social service. The Christian missionaries have set an example in this respect of what can be achieved by a body of devoted men acting in concert. The Indian Christian community has been doubled in the last three decennial periods ending with the census of 1911, and now represents about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the entire population; and this is due far less to natural increase than to the constant accession to its ranks of members of the depressed classes. Further, since 1911 there has been a developing tendency to mass movements towards Christianity, one of the perplexing problems of the missionary bodies being to make due provision for the reception and education of whole villages desiring enrolment. Though there may be natural regret on the part of educated Indians that people of their own religions are absorbed by a foreign

communion, there can be no denying that the social and economic improvement which the missions bring to the poorest of the poor is a great and beneficent work. It calls for Indian sympathy, and still more for Indian imitation.

In early life I thought that the noblest ideal for an Indian Mahomedan of means or influence was to work for the education of his Islamic brethren. For many years now I have held the view that a still greater and nobler work awaits the Indian Moslem. That is the organisation throughout the country—I will not say of “missions,” because of the mainly proselytising associations of the word—but of mutual help associations on a national scale, for improving the condition of the depressed classes, irrespective of their religious beliefs. Everyone with influence among them should earnestly pray that the Moslems may have the grace to recognise the need for this labour of love. Since the highest recognition of brotherhood and fellow-citizenship can only come by accepting inter-marriage, at any rate in the present social conditions of India, the Mahomedans would be justified in advancing their religious views amongst those members of the backward classes who were thus brought into touch with them for the work of common regeneration.

The most fitting and important agency, however, for this beneficent task is that of the higher castes among the Hindus themselves, and this has been recognised to some extent by the work in recent years of Hindu missions, especially in Bombay, under the influence of Gokhale and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. No statement to which the former gave expression was more pertinent to the duty he

enjoined both by practice and precept than that the problem of Indian progress is, in the last resort, the problem of raising the Indian average of character and efficiency. What the Christian missionary and the Mahomedans can do on a relatively small scale, must here become the most *insistent and widespread voluntary work of the* most numerous portion of the nation. With high-caste Hindus, as with Mahomedans, religious propaganda, the results of which are so often embittering and narrowing, should not be the inspiring motive, but rather the giving of a helping hand to fellow countrymen in trouble whose depression is a serious handicap to the general progress of the Motherland.

If the work is to be effective, it will be necessary to recognise the claims of social equality wherever this is possible, and to remove the embargoes on intermarriage between different sections. The various voluntary organisations, which might also comprise men of other faiths, such, for instance, as the Buddhists, would work in friendly rivalry, not with the mere object of increasing their own numbers by a few thousands, but with that of bettering the social position of the most backward, *with a view to realising a common progressive nationality.* In the immense fields of secondary and higher education, of special scholarships, and of widening opportunity for artistic and spiritual cultivation, and of facilitating inter-marriage between the different classes—these and other ameliorative agencies will give wide scope for the voluntary energy and patriotism of Hindu, Mahomedan, and Christian alike, when the State fulfils the primary duties of universal elementary education and of due sanitary provision.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

THE social reformation considered in the last four chapters depends in large measure on the recognition afforded to the rights and status of the female half of the population. The Prophet of Islam (who has been so cruelly libelled in the Western world, by ignorance or malice) was wont to say that men can but follow in the footsteps of their mothers towards Paradise. And it was not for nothing, according to Moslem belief, that his first convert was a woman. The word "harem," often held by the uninformed to signify a prison, or something worse, means in reality "the sacred presence," and is derived from the same root as the word used for the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. In the ancient epics and thought of the Hindus, too, there are to be found correspondences with the veneration enjoined by Islam toward women. The Hindu ideal of womanhood has been that of a necessary counterpart without whom a man himself cannot obtain salvation.

When we consider the scientific and natural importance of woman to society, we find that numerically they fall somewhat below the male population. In India as a whole at the last census the proportion of females per thousand males in the actual population was 954. In Western Europe, on the other hand, the number of females per

thousand males varied from 1098 in Portugal and 1068 in England and Wales, to 1018 in Belgium and 1008 in Ireland. Sir Edward Gait, the Census Commissioner, while admitting that the Western Europe proportions are exceptional, attributes this marked difference to the relatively high mortality amongst females in India. In natural conditions there is always a slightly greater birth of boys than of girls; but infantile mortality being higher amongst boys, the preponderance tends to disappear. Sir Edward holds that the advantage which nature normally gives to girls in this way is neutralised by the social conditions of Indian life, and particularly by premature marriage and child-bearing, and the laborious toil in the fields of the women of the working classes.¹

Biologically the female is more important to the race than the male. While average women are capable of earning their own livelihood like men, they are the guardians of the life of the race, and only through their natural constitution are they able to bear the double burden. Experience shows the strong probability that the active influence of women on society, under free and equal conditions, is calculated not only to bring about practical improvement in the domestic realm, but also a higher and nobler idealism into the life of the State. Those who know Moslem society from within readily admit that its higher spiritual life owes a great debt to the example and influence of women. To-day, as in the lifetime of the Prophet, probably the majority of devout and reverent followers of His teaching are women. In Christendom too the enthusiasm, idealism, and stead-

¹ Census of India, 1911, General Report, chapter vi.

fast faith of the weaker sex are of the highest value, notably in the Catholic Church. The surrender in the West of the lives of many women to piety and good works is a great antidote to the evils of general and habitual selfishness.

In relatively young countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, and some of the American States where votes have long been given to women, beneficial results have followed, and at least some of the curses of modern civilisation have been greatly mitigated. Notably the drinking saloons have been reduced in numbers and hours of trade, and have been subjected to closer supervision, while in many of the federated States they have been abolished. Even in England, where women have secured political enfranchisement only within the present year, some of the outstanding social scandals have been removed, or at least greatly mitigated, by their determined and self-sacrificing labour. In the Great War the women of the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and there is reason to believe of Germany, have eagerly devoted themselves to manifold forms of toil, at office, munition factory, and farm, and near the "front" for war purposes. They have proved themselves in patriotism and selflessness the equals of men. Refining ideas and, probably, the subconscious instinct to preserve the bearers of the race, have prevented women from actually taking the field, except in Russia, where women by their steadfastness often put to shame deserting and mutinous soldiery. But many thousands of English and French women have served the Army behind the lines, well within the danger zone; and one has only to be in London or Paris on a raid night to see

the calm, heroic work performed by nurses, and the fortitude of their sisters, generally speaking.

No progressive thinker of to-day will challenge the claim that the social advancement and general well-being of communities are greatest where women are least debarred, by artificial barriers and narrow prejudice, from taking their full position as citizens. Hence it is with deep sorrow that the admission must be made that the position of Indian women is unsatisfactory, that artificial obstacles to their full service of the commonwealth are everywhere found, and that, from the point of view of health and happiness alike, women suffer needlessly through chains forged by prejudice and folly. Suttee, infant marriage, the compulsion of permanent widowhood, and the enervating restrictions of the purdah, are so many hateful caricatures of the teaching of the Prophet and indeed of the earliest and purest of the sacred writings of Hinduism, namely, respect and honour for women by protecting the persons of the bearers of the race from risks of violence. These and other social evils have so handicapped India that it is impossible to conceive of her taking a proper place in the midst of free nations until the broad principle of equality between the sexes has been generally accepted by her people.

The present abrogation of this principle is the more to be deplored since the natural intelligence and ability of Indian womanhood are by no means inferior to those of their emancipated sisters. There are abundant indications that the Indian woman, given the same chances as her more fortunate Western sisters, could contribute no less fully to the general advancement. The Dowager Lady

Dufferin wrote in her description of Viceregal life: "I have never seen women more sympathetic, more full of grace and dignity, more courteous, or more successful in the art of giving a really cordial reception to a stranger than those I met behind the purdah." We all know Indian *grandes dames*, Oriental types of such famous leaders of English society as Lady Palmerston, Sarah Lady Jersey, and Lady Waldegrave. Many of the princes owe a very great deal to the wise counsel of their mothers and wives. Amongst the commercial and trading classes, so great is the natural intelligence of many women that, in spite of the handicap of seclusion, they become real companions, helpmeets and advisers of their husbands. In a word, the natural material for feminist progress in India is good, but it is artificially kept in swaddling clothes.

The best mind and thought of the country has long seen the need for improvement in the position of women. Their emancipation has figured, from the first, in the teaching and practice of the Brahmo Samaj, and was long since effected by the small but progressive Parsee community. Social reform movements have carried on tireless crusades against the disabilities of the gentler sex, in the earlier years against vehement opposition as the late Byramji Malabari found when he was instrumental in securing legislation (1891) for raising the age of consent from ten years to twelve. To-day there is ever growing recognition of the need for educational facilities for women. Aspirations in this respect which have been stirring throughout the world are making themselves felt in India. "Thoughts have gone forth whose power can sleep no more."

Yet the change in the feminine standpoint has been coming very gradually, largely owing to a very serious mistake made by mere man at the starting-point of reform. The constant argument has been that of the necessity for providing educated and intelligent wives and daughters, sisters and mothers, for the men. This well-meaning but insolent assumption that it is for some relation, however advanced from present standards, to the other sex that women need intellectual cultivation, has inevitably tended to direct the movement into narrow and deforming channels. The time has come for a full recognition that the happiness and welfare of the women themselves, must be the end and purpose of all efforts toward improvement.

Happily, one of the great religions of the country, Islam, assures women economic independence, giving them regular and settled rights of succession to property. Under Islamic law they are not, as in England till the passing of the most far-reaching of the Married Woman's Property Acts (1882), as still in France, Italy and other parts of Catholic Europe, reduced to being after marriage and in the absence of deeds of settlement, nothing but the dependents of their husbands and to the latter having control of their pre-nuptial property. Amongst the Hindus the economic position of women is often contradictory, under interpretations of personal law governing their social customs, and differing from province to province and also as between various divisions and castes. Generally speaking the Hindu joint family system, as petrified by case-made law, operates to turn widows and married women into either domestic tyrants or

slaves. It is often a question of luck in legal argument and evidence, whether or not an assertive lady of the family obtains control of the common purse, and so reduces the independence of others in the household as to render impossible a full, rich, and responsible individual life. It is to be hoped that the province states of to-morrow will be able, through their popular assemblies, to enact measures to ensure economic freedom and a reasonable uniformity of independence to Hindu women generally.

Having regard to the present constitution of Indian Government, with the absence of responsibility to the people, the reluctance of the British authorities to undertake legislation affecting the social customs of the people can be well understood. One cause of the "leave it alone" tendency is that conditions vary so greatly in different parts of the peninsula, and the work of the central Government is so absorbing that thorough consideration cannot be given to the conflicting issues which social legislation is calculated to raise. The province state, in close touch with representatives of all schools of thought, will not be so hampered. It will be in a position to further raise the age of consent, to legislate for the economic independence of women by ensuring to them the use of their own property, for giving widows and daughters the right to claim their shares and leave the joint family if so disposed. By civil marriage bills it should be made possible for natural choice in mating on both sides to extend over the whole of society. Such legal measures are essential as corollaries of voluntary social reform. Human nature being what it is, if the laws of a country are

prejudicial to women, the good intentions and earnest efforts of philanthropists and reformers will not suffice to rectify the injustice done by society at large. It would be as reasonable to expect voluntary effort and goodwill to prevent robbery and theft, as to imagine that the same agencies will change for the better the condition of society, so long as the laws of the State inflict injustice on the classes to be benefited.

It is now an accepted principle of progressive rule in the West that general impartation of elementary education cannot be left entirely or even mainly to philanthropic or voluntary effort, but to be thorough and complete must be provided by the State, which is, after all, the executive arm of society as a whole. Such provision in India, as elsewhere, must be based on the principle of sex equality. This will do more good than all the speeches and crusades so long carried on for the improvement of the condition of women. In addition the various legislatures must rectify the hampering burdens imposed on Indian life by judge-made laws which have hardened what were formerly but fluid states of social economy, answering to changing conditions. The purdah system would automatically disappear if society as a whole, represented by the State, gave women education and economic freedom in their conditions of life. The reform of the laws of property should extend to women of other faiths the rights in the economic sphere which Islam bestows. It is an unfortunate fact that, through ignorance, Mahomedan ladies are not always able to assert their full rights; but this defect will be remedied by means of education.

Throughout these pages certain well-defined and by no means rare qualifications have been suggested as giving the individual the right to a direct vote for the provincial state assembly, such as a low minimum income or land tax, and moderate literacy in the vernacular. Now it is essential that the tests for enfranchisement applied to men should be extended to the other sex. If this measure of justice is not made an integral part of the widened franchise system, we may admit without further discussion that comparatively little can be expected from voluntary reform of the social position of women. If the extraneous fact that in Great Britain women suffrage has come some eighty-five years after the first great Reform Act is to be regarded as setting the pace for India, the proposed franchise measures will largely fail, for they will be founded on bad statesmanship and fundamental injustice toward one half of society. The argument that Indian reform should be on a time scale more or less corresponding with Great Britain's constitutional developments "slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent" is singularly inept, for it fails to take into account India's responsiveness to the spirit of the age. She can profit from the experience of other countries by firmly treading the roads they have made after generations of painful effort.

I have shown that Indian women are by no means wanting in natural intelligence, and with the confidence that comes of long observation, I assert that the Indian woman who has property or education manages the one and can use the other certainly as well as any man of the same social position. It would be a signal advantage to

the State to have both the intuition and the naturally conservative influence of women operating in political life. Socially unjust laws would then have much shorter shrift than at present. No scheme of political reform based on the co-operation of the people with the rulers can or will succeed, if it is vitiated by the radical defect of closing the door to women on the irrational ground of sex, and not accepting equal qualifications as conferring equal rights. It may be pointed out that in India any "danger" of a substantial majority of women voters will not exist, as it would in England if absolutely equal rights had been bestowed, instead of the age of qualification for women being fixed as high as thirty. For a long time to come universal suffrage in India is out of the question, and while property and educational qualifications provide the standards the number of women enjoying the franchise will certainly be much smaller than that of men. This relative disproportion would be considerably enhanced under the proposal to enfranchise men who have rendered military service, *ipso facto*.

We must not build up the fabric of the autonomous State on weak and one-sided foundations. I am confident that an assembly to the election of which Indian women had contributed would keep nearer to the facts and needs of life, to the real and actual in the country, than one selected by men alone. I have urged that the basis of the State should be broadened in order to give the people as a whole occasion for understanding and responding to the call of sacrifice for the commonwealth. Is it to be maintained that the women of India are less capable than the men of realising the

need for sacrifice ? Or are we to impose on them the acceptation of responsibility to society at large without participation in the political shaping of the State ? The progressive modernisation which depends on co-operation and understanding between the rulers and the ruled will be impossible in India unless women are permitted to play their legitimate part in the great work of national regeneration on a basis of political equality.

CHAPTER XXVII

BRITISH AND INDIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

SINCE the status of Indian women has been a considerable factor in discussions of the question of social relations between Britons and Indians, its consideration may fitly follow the previous chapter. It is with some reluctance, however, that I take up the subject, for I have always felt that the tendency in many quarters has been to exaggerate its importance, and to overlook certain obvious considerations. I yield to no one in abhorrence of claims to superiority based on grounds of race or colour alone. I have often heard distinguished officials maintain that one of the outstanding causes of political discontent in India is the lack of good social relations between rulers and ruled. The evils of arrogant pretension in the diversified social structure of India are great; but I must confess that this aspect of the matter has been presented in exaggerated forms on both sides, and its influence for good or evil has been greatly over-rated.

The fact is that the political desires and economic necessities and ambitions of India derive their momentum from within; so that even if the social relations between "Europeans" (as they were classed before the war) and Indians had been ideally good, these political and economic aspirations still would have the same forces behind them

calling for change. There is something very fanciful in the idea that mere social reunion would suffice to create a good understanding between officials and people, when we remember that the number of Indians who could come into friendly contact with higher officials on the basis of the equality which intellectual culture and other standards of life bring would be but a drop in the ocean of the Indian population. Lord Morley's repeated observation when at the India Office that bad manners, reprehensible in any part of the world, are a crime in India, is true so far as it applies to the conduct of officials in their business character and quality as administrators, in other words as public servants. But we must not go to the extreme of imagining, as some have done, that each Englishman and woman in India is an unofficial ambassador of that race to peoples of another civilisation, and that his or her manners, or want of them, constitute a burning question.

When complaint is made that certain institutions are closed to Indians on racial grounds, we must be careful not to lump together things having no real resemblance. We must distinguish between services of public utility and the action of private bodies or institutions. Nothing can be more objectionable than that the railways, now mainly State-owned, though often worked by companies, should differentiate to the extent that they do between accommodation for European and Indian intermediate and third-class passengers, or that there should be cases of gross incivility and even of ill treatment by European travellers of Indians who are seeking or have obtained accommodation in the higher classes for which they have

purchased tickets. On the other hand, there is something at best childish, and at worst nauseating, in the longing shown by a few snobs to force their way into purely British clubs.

The true solution of the social problem is to leave Indians and Englishmen to form close friendships, as they have done in the past and will do in the future, when there is mutual esteem and appreciation, and to allow them to develop expressions of their sentiment according to the circumstances of the case. A Brahman, to whom the admission of beef to the cook-house would occasion intense horror, can only be expected to receive his English friends in afternoon calls, or over a chess-board, or at a bridge table. On the other hand, the Parsee naturally carries on his intercourse by an invitation to dinner or lunch. Amongst Indians themselves there are clearly marked groups accustomed to regular social intercourse, and there is nothing extraordinary or unnatural in English exiles from their own land often preferring, in brief hours of relaxation, to meet each other rather than Indians.¹

Where tastes are common, such as the love of sports, ranging from public and popular recreations like racing and cricket, to the select and expensive sports of polo and big game shooting, the natural interests of Englishmen and Indians have long brought them together on the healthy basis of equality and emulation of sporting skill.

¹ "We must take human nature as it is, and not harshly blame the instinct which makes Englishmen, who are day by day immersed to the eyes in Indian interests and affairs, hunger for one little spot where they can, for an hour or two, entirely shut out the obsession of the Orient."—Mr. William Archer's article "Manners in India," *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1914.

In December last some 150,000 spectators witnessed the progress of the Bombay quadrangular cricket tournament, extending over eight days, between British, Hindu, Mahomedan, and Parsee teams. Mr. E. W. Ballantine tells us that in all his travels in pursuit of cricket, during which he has seen tremendous crowds and extraordinary enthusiasm, he has never watched so impressive a sight. Lord Harris, a quarter of a century ago, when he encouraged the game so much as Governor of Bombay, "sowed seeds which have brought forth wonderful fruit," including the "narrowing of prejudices which existed between one community and another."¹ Lord Willingdon, as Mr. Ballantine points out, has followed the example of Lord Harris in encouraging cricket both by example and precept. He has started a sports club which bears his name, and there is good ground to share the hopes of the founders that it may become to Western India what Ranelagh and Hurlingham are to London, what Saint-Cloud and La Boulie are to Paris.

Even social clubs on an expressly non-racial basis, such as the Calcutta Club and the Orient Club in Bombay, have done good work within the few years of their existence. Such institutions will have a great future when wealth and culture have made the average standard of comfort and rational recreation amongst Indians in society as high as amongst the Europeans there. Clubs will then arise to meet the felt want, and both races will be glad to belong to them. Something of this kind is taking place in Cairo. For many years there was social aloofness between the Egyptians and the

¹ Article in *Evening News*, 25th March, 1918.

Europeans. Then the former instituted the well-known Mohammed Ali Club. The cuisine and other amenities were so excellent that the most cultured members of the European colony were readily enrolled on its books and are among the frequenters. In the regenerated India of to-morrow, it is to be hoped that not only the present great institutions for Europeans and the present smaller clubs for Indians may co-exist, but that still finer clubs open to all generally eligible without distinction of race, will add to the amenities of life in the East.

As was hinted at the beginning of this chapter, an important phase of the social question in the quite recent past was that practically all Indian ladies, *excepting among the Parsees and one or two reformed Hindu bodies*, such as the Brahmo Samaj, held to the purdah system. To-day amongst the upper classes that system is fast disappearing, faster than many in England or even Englishmen in India realise. This is one of those silent and momentous social changes which come gradually at first, and are suddenly found to have gathered momentum and to be finally achieved almost in a night. The majority of upper class girls born since the dawn of the twentieth century have had an upbringing that makes it impossible for them to accept the cramping conditions of the past. Their mothers, on the other hand, were brought up under traditions that make their breaking away from purdah a practical impossibility. As the new generation replaces the old and permeates society with its influence, the break with the past will come naturally and rapidly.

The large legislative assemblies proposed in these

pages will have the great incidental advantage of bringing the leading officials as a class into touch with representatives of India drawn from every section of society. Hitherto, not the least of the misfortunes of India's narrow political life has been that only a handful of men in each province have been associated with the administration by this channel. Thus the field of acquaintanceship has been narrowed out of all relation to the varied interests and condition of the people. For many men quite as acceptable, worthy and able as those on Government House lists, no way of access has existed. The large legislative assemblies of to-morrow will open to many worthy citizens, not only opportunities for usefulness, but also social vistas now generally limited to lawyers or rich men. Again, a Royal Viceroy, holding his court not only at Imperial Delhi, but during his tours of the country at Bombay or Calcutta, Baroda or Mysore, and giving the entrée to merit irrespective of race or colour, will be a potent factor in bringing about social fusion and mutual understanding.

After all, however, the keynote to improved relations is the cultivation of real affinities. In no part of the world can we expect thorough understanding and intimacy between men of different race, unless they are drawn together by some common bond of interest such as service of the public weal, sport, literature, or art. Social union as a hot-house plant is doomed to failure; but I cherish the conviction that in the India of the near future men of both races will have occasion for strengthening their natural mutual goodwill by the means I have suggested.

CHAPTER XXVIII

EFFICIENCY AND STABILITY

HAVING completed our study of Indian conditions, internal and external, and given an outline of the political and social reforms now required, we may consider some of the arguments which are put forward by those who tell us that the welfare and contentment of the people generally are bound up with the maintenance of the ideas and principles underlying British rule in the last sixty years.

Great stress is laid by the opponents of any far-reaching change of system (apart from decentralisation to give the local Governments greater powers) on the necessity for maintaining administrative efficiency. When such efficiency is superimposed on a people from without, it does not necessarily follow that the national foundations gain in strength. Sometimes indeed this so-called efficiency has a direct ratio to the national disintegration, even when its authors and promoters belong to the nation racially but do not carry the people with them. To show this we will not go back to the past, but take examples from our own times.

Such an example is afforded by Mexico. After constant rebellions, civil wars, and revolutions, culminating in the execution of the Hapsburg Emperor Maximilian half a century ago, Mexico was a byword throughout the rest of America and

Europe for all that goes to make anarchy and chaos. Then came Porfirio Diaz, a man of undoubted though limited genius. His great powers of direction and command resulted in the formation of an outwardly efficient Government. European capital, always distrustful of political instability, now made of Mexico its pet child. Hundreds of millions were lent on almost gilt-edged security terms to the Mexican State and people. Through his long ascendancy of more than a generation, President Diaz—unlike Frederick II and Bismarck, though he had taken the latter for his model—subordinated the moral and intellectual improvement of the people to material development, and forgot that the education of the mass of the people would be the best security for stability and general co-operation; that if leadership was a necessary part of good government according to his ideas of efficiency, yet explanation was a necessary part of leading. "Under federal and democratic forms, Diaz exercised a strictly centralised and personal rule."¹ His standard was one of ideal force and strength, with little surface indication, save in the few closing years, of its inherent weakness. But, as in the old Eastern autocracies and bureaucracies, the common people were neglected. On his ultimate overthrow in 1911, the naked ignorance of the masses came to the surface. Mexico to-day is a worse example of internal chaos, since wholly self-inflicted, than that of contemporary Russia. There have been constant assassinations and revolutions, and the name and life of Huerta stand out as a beacon of bad government.

To all appearance Russia, too, had a government of immense strength. Many visitors and residents there were struck by the automatic obedience of the people to the administration in general, and of the administration in the most distant parts to the central Government. Mr. William Archer, a sympathetic pre-war student of modern India, quoting the example of Mexico, has warned the people of the great peninsula of the danger of a breakdown of order and a return to anarchy. If he had brought his recently published book¹ up to date, instead of leaving it as penned before the war, he might have pointed to the condition of Russia as providing a still greater warning. But the lessons to be derived should be addressed to the bureaucracy, to the rulers of India rather than to its powerless peoples. They go to show that anarchy and the break-up of society come in those countries where the mass of the people, while brought under a superimposed efficiency, remain in ignorance and poverty. The other efficiency of the Great Elector Frederic II and Bismarck has had behind it universal discipline learnt in school and army, the spread of intelligence and science, and such long-drawn and successful battles against Nature as those which have turned the sands and swamps of Brandenburg and East Prussia into the garden of Europe. An efficiency of officials and non-indigenous in spirit, such as those of Mexico and Russia, and even if impartial, as in India, not being rooted in popular knowledge and understanding by education, is a house of cards liable to break up, either from outside pressure as in Russia, or from internal weakness as in Mexico.

After the die of war had been cast thoughtful and patriotic Indians passed some weeks in doubt and fear that can be little realised or understood by non-Indians. Their feelings were well expressed by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, who was in England at the time, and publicly explained "the true meaning of the enthusiastic support [from India] of which England, apparently to her surprise, has received such signal proofs." The explanation was that Indians wished to avert by all means in their power the humiliation of a change from British to German rule. "We believe," he wrote, "that by remaining within the orbit of the British Empire we shall be able sooner to realise the destiny of India than otherwise."¹ As in a flash of light educated India saw at that watershed of modern history that the future of their own country was at stake. They realised that one unfortunate battle on the sea (and the history of warfare is largely a record of victory by the smaller force), an occupation of Paris and the north of France possibly leading to that of England, at a time when the new armies of Britain existed only in the conception of their authors, would have disastrous results for India. How near the Germans were to "hacking their way through" the history of those first few weeks of the war attest.

The immediate results in India of the victory the Kaiser promised his people "before the leaves fell" in the first autumn of the war would have been most calamitous. The only powers there not submerged in the flood would have been the Native States and the religious communities of long duration, forces existing before the advent of

¹ Letter to the *Times*, 14th Sept., 1914

British rule. The country as a whole would have been exposed, like Russia to-day, to events such as followed the break-up of the Mogul Empire. It is a curious perversion on the part of some British writers to cite the Russian collapse as a warning against substantial political advancement being granted to the people of India. On the contrary believers in progress and orderly development are convinced that the case for such advancement is strengthened by the Russian collapse. It is because we are convinced that in the absence of political reconstruction there will be, sooner or later, a break-up of the edifice raised by England in India, that we hold that immediate steps are called for to prepare the vast population of our country to understand its responsibilities and noble destiny. It is because we want the discipline of the school and army, of science and exact knowledge, that we claim a form of devolution that will give India the strength not derivable from mere mandate and bureaucracy.

A few years ago, while travelling in Russia, I met an American friend, to-day one of the leading statesmen of the Allied cause, who confided to me his firm conviction that the system of Russian government centring at the Winter Palace and the Kremlin was in the same state of decay as the Mogul Empire after Aurangzeb, and that the decadence of the Romanoffs, like that of the Moguls, would carry the world to new experiences then undreamt of. Splendid and efficient as is the fabric of British rule in India to-day, it yet resembles those of Alexander III, of Aurangzeb, and of Diaz in the ignorance and poverty of the masses. The only real danger of repetition there

of such events as the disintegration of Mexico and Russia would come from permitting the present ignorance and indiscipline of the masses to continue. The certain way of once and for all securing India to progressive civilisation and order, to method and discipline, lies in setting up trusted local authorities natural to the soil, corresponding to the communal life evolved in a past millennium, and placing side by side with them the best British and Indian officials available to carry out, with the consent of the governed, those measures, from universal education to military service and political enfranchisement, which have been instrumental in the evolution of all the great law-abiding nations. It is because the best Indian thought is convinced that there is no more time to lose, that we cry for a radical change of policy and of rule, a new angle of vision, a final break with government deriving authority wholly from without, and the commencement from the lowest to the highest stage of full co-operation with the people. These are the means by which the foundations of the Empire in India will be laid deep, and not only Great Britain, but Canada, Australia, and South Africa will be strengthened by the comradeship of a renewed, self-relying, and sincerely loyal partner in the united Empire.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE LIMITS OF BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP

THERE are still many English writers, Imperialists of high ability, who argue that the people of the United Kingdom will be untrue to their trust if they permit their responsibility for the good government of India to be substantially encroached upon by the people of that country. It is claimed that since the Government of India, through the Secretary of State, is responsible to Parliament, and the House of Commons and the Ministry are responsible to the British electorate, the latter are the real rulers and owners of India. This contention does correspond to the facts of the case during the last sixty years, namely, since the transfer of the administration to the Crown.

These six decades, however, have been years of preparation and political awakening, gradual at first, but cumulative and receiving a great impetus from the changed outlook the war has brought to mankind throughout the civilised world. The people of India, through their educated leaders, are addressing a serious and reasoned appeal to their fortunate British fellow-subjects, who, in addition to control of their own political affairs, in a very real sense own the soil of India. This appeal to British democracy is based both on principles of justice and rights of self-determination for nations, and on the practical necessity for meeting the

actual conditions of the country. The various schools of thought as to the details of the advances required have been seeking to influence opinion in England. If the Indian people have the political sense of which there are growing signs, they will not be content with merely sectional presentations of the case to the British electorate, should the reforms proposed by the War Cabinet prove manifestly inadequate. We should then probably see a thoroughly representative deputation, not only of well-known Congress and Moslem League politicians, but of men of distinction from every class and community, men who have held the highest appointments open to Indians, landlords and nobles who have proved their loyalty to the Emperor and to their own country and race, and representatives also of the depressed classes. Such a deputation, made up of every school of progressive political thought, would address itself directly to the great British democracy.

An important consideration is that, under the Reform Act of the present year, England has become, in fact as much as in theory, a real democracy. The ultimate power is now in the hands of many millions of men and women whose free-born outlook never has been and will not be in sympathy with arbitrary power. When the eyes of the British public are opened to the fact that it is seriously argued on its behalf that a form of political ownership is at the foundation of England's rule in India, it will recoil from responsibility for the continuance of such political subordination in a vast country of which the great bulk of the British electorate, in the nature of the case, can have little or no knowledge. The great political

278 LIMITS OF BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP

principle for which the British Empire, and particularly the United Kingdom, have made sacrifices in life and treasure without parallel in history for four years is, in the words of the Prime Minister, "to make the world safe for democracy." This principle carries the corollary, as Mr. Lloyd George has freely recognised, that the civilised nations should have powers of self-determination and self-development. It is such powers that the voice of India, by an overwhelming majority, will demand after the war.

I rejoice in the thought that this claim to the right of self-determination has not to be pleaded and justified before a Kaiser and Imperial Chancellor in their closet, but before the great British public—all the greater now that something like universal suffrage exists. We appeal to the nation which, through Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and the most democratic House of Commons hitherto elected, carried out the wisest constitutional measure so far recorded in the history of the twentieth century—the conferment of self-government on the then lately conquered Dutch of South Africa and their British former enemies of the two Boer Republics. This sagacious act rendered possible the federation of South Africa, and a real union of both races. It provided the Empire in the hour of supreme need with a Botha and a Smuts, and rendered impotent the long-continued and secret machinations of Germany in that part of the Empire. One trembles to think what might have happened in South Africa after the outbreak of war in 1914 but for the courageous and far-sighted statesmanship of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet and the Parliament of 1906.

NOMINAL PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL 279

India's want of confidence in the working of the theory that the people of England are her ultimate owners is not based on merely national pride or purely idealistic reasons. The responsibility such proprietorship connotes has been so vicariously exercised as to devolve normally upon a small circle of men, and more particularly upon a Secretary of State whose continuance in office has been dependent far less on the relative merit and advantage of his services to India than on the exigencies of party convenience, or on the verdict of the electors on subjects having no relation to India. His salary has not been placed on the British estimates, and the control of Parliament over Indian affairs has been more nominal than real.

This unreality has been evidenced by the inadequacy of the attention the House of Commons has paid, during two generations of recognised responsibility, to the many misfortunes of its distant ward. How many debates, how many critical divisions, how many proposals to share the sacrifice in the battles against cholera and malaria, plague and poverty, do the pages of Hansard record? How often, with what voices, and with what power, has the House of Commons discussed the need for overcoming mass illiteracy in India? In what general elections of Parliament have votes been affected in any appreciable degree by the terrible poverty-famines or poverty-plagues of that distant country? It is true there have been animated debates, sometimes critical for the Cabinet of the day, on Indian affairs. But for the most part they have had their significance, as in the case of the repeated controversies on the cotton duties, in the

280 LIMITS OF BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP

voting strength of powerful home interests antagonistic to the just claims of India, such as having her tariffs shaped in her own interests rather than those of Lancashire manufacturers. Again, while some Indian grievances, for instance the "melancholy meanness" of exacting from her in whole or part the cost of using her troops in wars not directly affecting her security, have been challenged by votes of censure from the front Opposition bench, too often such debates have been marked by the desire to secure a party triumph more than by the prickings of conscience in respect to the trusteeship. In normal conditions, particularly since the burden of Parliamentary work accumulated and the time of private members' motions has been more and more curtailed, the only Indian debate of the year of any consequence has been that connected with the nominal submission of the Indian Budget, usually many months after its proposals have taken effect. In spite of frequent protests from the few members interested in India, the discussion has been relegated to the fag end of the session, often on the last effective day when members have been hurrying out of town. The smallness of attendance on these occasions has been notorious, and in the words of the present Secretary of State, shortly before he was called to the India Office, the tone of the debates "was unreal, unsubstantial, and ineffective."¹ Even this annual review has been abandoned during the war, the last debate of the kind taking place as long ago as 1913.

The fact is that since the transfer to the Crown in 1858 there has been a decided, and in some

¹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 12th July, 1917.

respects a progressive, deterioration of the influence exerted by the British Parliament over Indian administration. Before that time, when the Charter of the East India Company was to be renewed, select committees of investigation were set up and recorded evidence in which abuses were brought to light and remedies were demanded. On the basis of the reports made the successive Charter Acts ordained reforms and modified the powers of the Company in the direction of increased Parliamentary control. An outstanding example is the great Act of 1833, the Magna Charta of India, which to a great extent, unhappily, has remained a dead letter. Thus under the old régime a distinct and direct responsibility was exercised by Parliament.

The transfer to the Crown, while bringing great advantages to India, had the unfortunate effect of whittling away this responsibility, on the one hand by centralising control in the Secretary of State and his Council, without their salaries being placed on the Parliamentary supply estimates, and, on the other hand, by bestowing a vague and general responsibility on the electorate. As was inevitable, the system has worked out in practice to neglect by the British people of their trusteeship for a vast unknown conglomeration of races of a different civilisation thousands of miles distant. Such impartial writers as the late Sir William Hunter have estimated, on the basis of statistical and other material, that at least 60,000,000 Indians, a number equal to all the white races of the Empire, can afford but a single meal a day, and suffer the pangs of inadequate nourishment from birth to death. Has this mass of poverty ever been an

282 LIMITS OF BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP

outstanding problem at any British general election? Has it been so much as touched upon in the electoral manifestos of party leaders, or even in the addresses of Ministers from the India Office appealing to their constituents?

No doubt till such time as India obtains the full measure of self-governing responsibility now exercised by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, her fate must depend, to a certain extent, on the will of the British democracy. To his honour let it be said that the average well-informed man in India is not claiming that this goal can be reached in the near future. He knows that it can only come in strength and durability as the fruit of practice and experience—possibly painful experience—in intermediary stages of political advancement and self-determination. But this is no excuse for a policy of mere negation. He is quite definite in the demand that the present system under which India remains one of the poorest and most backward countries of the world, should be replaced. He is prepared to see the vast political experience of Britain still leading the destinies of India in foreign and military affairs, in the adjustment of Imperial taxation, in the development of India's foreign trade, in her relations with the other parts of the Empire, and in assuring all classes and castes a fair share of electoral power. On the other hand, in respect to internal provincial administration, to taxation for the spread of education and the provision of sanitation, to the removal of the economic and other causes which have brought about the impoverishment both of the soil and the people—in these matters he is convinced that the best judges

would be the representatives of the people themselves, and those executive officers, British and Indian, whose position is now far too aloof to make them strong national influences, but who, in hearty co-operation with the elected assemblies, will lead India along the path toward a happier future. Further, he maintains that the only sure preventative of the transferred powers falling into the hands of a caste oligarchy or a minority of the rich and educated, is to frankly accept the diversity of Indian conditions by giving all classes direct representation. The assemblies for the creation of which he pleads must be so constituted that the nation as a whole, including the women, will exert its natural and legitimate influence.

In respect to the practical results of such devolution of authority from the British electorate to the representatives of all the communities of India, there is a tragic non-comprehension on the part of some conservative elements in England. They believe that such rights would be exercised in the direction of breaking away from the British connection. It is true that (largely owing to a system which, like a load on the chest, checks or prevents even small self-willed movement) there are foolish and mad individuals who may be styled anarchists, since they regard separation from the Empire as the legitimate aim and ambition of their country. For the British electorate and Parliament to allow their generosity and sense of justice toward the vast peninsula to be consciously influenced and deflected to the smallest extent by the existence of this small body of freaks would be at once so inequitable and so wanting in the sense of proportion as to be wholly inconsistent with

284 LIMITS OF BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP

British political traditions. It is difficult to believe that some of those who most magnify the importance of such passing and insignificant manifestations of a perverted spirit of anarchy could challenge this view with any strength of conviction. It is not surprising that the belief is entertained in India that they use this horrible fact simply as a handy argument and weapon to beat back her legitimate aspirations toward a worthy place within the Empire. By way of reassurance, not of exculpation, it may be recalled that every great country, except Great Britain herself and United Germany, has passed through epochs in which anarchism has shown its teeth. This was the case in France a quarter of a century or so ago, when President Carnot, perhaps the most estimable politician of the Third Republic, was assassinated at Lyons. Italy too has had her bad times, as well as Ireland and the United States. In unhealthy political conditions, like those of Russia under the Tsardom, the disease finds fertile soil and becomes endemic. But in a healthy State, where the process of amelioration is continuous, the fever is thrown off in the course of a few years.

To maintain that the system of the last sixty years must be continued in the interests of law and order is to wholly misunderstand the spirit and aspirations of enlightened Indian opinion. If such counsels are listened to and no substantial installment of reform is proposed to Parliament, the conclusion of the war would be the signal for strenuous efforts to place the situation prominently before the British electorate, in whose sense of justice and fair play India will have staunch faith and confidence until it has been proved to

her that this faith has been misplaced. Counter agitation on the part of conservative elements in England, leading to contentious argument at the hustings, is to be deprecated. Whatever the result, whichever side was vanquished, such agitation would leave bitter memories behind. The illogical framework of Indian rule and administration cannot in any case go on unaltered, having regard to the pledges of August 20, 1917. I am convinced that if a large measure of initiative is not given to India by those in authority, the British democracy, with its inherent sense of right and wrong, will see to this being done.

CHAPTER XXX

INDIA'S SHARE IN THE WAR

THOSE who argue that the position of the British electorate as the national trustee and guardian of India should be maintained as at present, overlook the consideration that one important step taken last year, while excellent in itself and thoroughly approved by Indian opinion, is entirely inconsistent with the relationship of guardian and ward. I mean Britain's acceptance of the contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the war offered by the Government of India. It is true that in September, 1914, the Imperial Legislature, at non-official instance, adopted a resolution expressing a wish for the people of India to share, not only in the actual military effort, but also in "the heavy financial burden now imposed by the war on the United Kingdom." But the amount and form of the contribution made some two and a half years later was decided by executive authority without reference to the Legislature, though of course sanction was obtained, after the offer had been made and accepted, to the taxation proposals for meeting the obligation. The offer came from the Viceroy and his Executive, who are constitutionally the agents of the Secretary of State, himself dependent on the British electorate.

When Mr. Chamberlain, in meeting Lancashire opposition to the increased cotton duties for this.

purpose without corresponding rise in the excise on Indian cloth, argued that the gift had to be taken as it was offered without haggling. Mr. Asquith, while not supporting the Lancashire opposition, reminded the Secretary of State that the British Cabinet, through the India Office, really shared the responsibility for the decision alike in principle and detail.¹ Now a guardian has no right, whatever his own difficulties may be, to take from his ward any substantial help, however cheerfully the benevolence may be viewed. The fact that, partly to meet the new obligation, the wealthy classes in India are assessed to a higher and graded income tax and a super-tax far beyond the dreams of the late Lord Cromer and his school, shows that in practice the Government of India now go beyond the narrow line which should mark the relationship of trustee and ward.

It must not be supposed for one moment that Indian opinion, although not consulted in any recognised way beforehand, was in any sense out of sympathy with the decision. Who are the thousands of people who eagerly came forward and subscribed to the War Loan, which brought in nearly two-fifths of the total liability assumed while the Finance Member had not felt it safe to estimate a larger quota than one-tenth? Who are the people who, in a poor country where even such national institutions as the Hindu and Mahomedan universities cannot raise a crore of rupees in the course of a decade, came forward and gave that amount in a single day, on December 12

¹ "A matter of this kind is a matter that had to be considered before any final proposition was made, by friendly discussion between the Government of India and the Secretary of State."—Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, 14th March, 1917.

288 INDIA'S SHARE IN THE WAR

last, to war charities? Who are the people that have crowded every charitable bazaar and fill every list of subscriptions for the war? The reports of such organisations as the Bombay Presidency Branch of the Imperial Indian Relief Fund show that in little hamlets to be numbered by the thousand throughout the province substantial sums have been raised. There is more starvation and grinding poverty in a typical Indian division any day of the year than there has been in Belgium during the German occupation; yet, a real beggar's mite, Indian subscriptions to Belgian relief funds have come not only from the great cities, but from the smallest provincial towns. No one can maintain that all this has been done, or could have been done, without the general support of the people.

If we look at India's contribution to man-power in the war we find that recruitment has reached dimensions such as would not have been dreamed of in days of peace. The stream has not flagged with the long continuance of the war, and it has been announced that the recruiting figures during January last, including nearly 20,000 combatants from the Punjab and the United Provinces alone, were larger than in any previous month of the protracted struggle. To these results the Indian princes have enthusiastically contributed, and some of them—the rulers of Hyderabad, Gwalior, Bikanir, Kolapore, Kapurthala, Patiala, and Jind to mention only a few—have brought recruits by the thousand. Moreover, in the later phases of the war the Indian Empire has sent out labour battalions, totalling to scores of thousands, to all the battle fronts, and particularly to France and

to Mesopotamia. Had India earnestly set out years ago with favouring breezes on the voyage to greater political liberty and the extension of economic prosperity for the masses, the contribution, actual and potential, to the man-power of the war would have been enormously greater. You cannot make the average landless labourer, who has starved since childhood, and is little more than skin and bones, fit to go to war or to carry arms. Should recruiting officers be so ignorant of their work as to accept such a man, his wretched physique would expose him to disease and render him utterly unfitted to cope with the fatigues and hardships of campaigning.

Much has been made in quarters unsympathetic to India's legitimate aspirations within the Empire of the small numbers of Indians joining the Indian Defence Force under the measure passed in the spring of 1917, open only to the classes from which the Indian Army is not ordinarily recruited. Here it must be remembered that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the decision that these territorial forces could not be officered by Indians. The training was to be under the command of selected British officers, and the only indication the official communication gave of any possibility of advancement was that the soldiers of the force, when qualified, would be eligible for promotion, and a non-commissioned officer showing special qualifications would be eligible for further advancement, i.e. to the subordinate commissions to which Indians were restricted on racial grounds up to, and a few months after, that time. It is not to be wondered at that Indians, who had urged for fully a quarter of a century before the war the

removal of the bar to their countrymen reaching the higher commissioned ranks should have felt no more than a pained and lukewarm sympathy with the movement. The fact that the numbers of the six territorial units were to be limited to 1000 each, officially attributed to "the exigencies of the war," was regarded by the organs of public opinion as indicating that Government did not want a great national force, but, on applying compulsion to European residents, were impelled to make a slight sentimental concession to the Indians who had asked to be enrolled as volunteers. There is an excessiveness of caution which takes away with one hand what is professedly given with the other, without the openness and manliness of a direct negative. A double company of Bengalis was voluntarily raised as a combatant unit under special authority granted in response to the insistent wishes of the people of the province. Its success is generally admitted. The recruits came from a better class of society than those who ordinarily accept the conditions of service in the regular Indian Army. Many of these Bengalis must have felt the injustice of a system which, from the start, barred their way to higher commissioned ranks, and their enlistment illustrates the inborn loyalty of their race and class to the Empire.

It can at least be said that, in addition to being a most important reservoir of essential supplies for Allied armies and countries, India, to the full measure of her restricted opportunities, has shared in the travail and desolation brought to the homes of the King-Emperor's subjects throughout His far-flung dominions. Indians sleep in unknown graves, and Indian bones are exposed to the wind

and rain in France and China, in Mesopotamia and East Africa, on hundreds of battlefields, from the great encounters of Flanders to the small skirmishes of the African jungle. Though scattered to the dust these are in the spiritual sense enduring monuments to the good faith and trustworthiness of India.

Yet there is a school of Imperialistic thought in England ready to trust Japan and accept her as a full equal, exhibiting a strange lack of confidence in the King's Indian subjects, for which there is no single justifying fact in history. Many thousands of Indians fought and died for the British Empire before the present war. We are often reminded of the Mutiny, but seldom of the fact that during that cataclysm more Indian blood was shed for the cause of the maintenance of British rule than for its overthrow. Looked at in proper perspective, and allowing for the crude conceptions and superstitions of the uneducated revolting sepoys, the Mutiny was of the nature of a civil war between two different parties of Indians, with two different ideals of government—one purely Asiatic, the other relying on the new light that had risen in the West. Such civil wars are recorded in the histories of most countries, and when the excesses of Cawnpore are insisted upon, those of Paris and Moscow, of Petrograd and Belgrade, should not be forgotten.

When the meaning of British rule in India is thoroughly explored, we are confronted by two antagonistic theories. Thus one school employs a good many windy phrases such as "taking up the white man's burden"—phrases which came into use during the period after the downfall of

292 INDIA'S SHARE IN THE WAR

Gladstone over Irish Home Rule, when Britain was most influenced by German ideas, those of Bismarck and William II, Treitschke, and Nietzsche. It consciously or unconsciously desires the perpetuation of racial supremacy in India. The rise of Japan to a position of equality with the great European Powers has but served to concentrate upon the Indian dependency these ideals of race supremacy. To this school that vast Empire at the very best, though held in trust, is a plantation from which the English owners are entitled to derive material benefit, direct and indirect, since they have provided the country with the externals of modern civilisation, with judicial systems on the basis of equality of all races before the law, and sincerely desire to assure to the people, if and when possible, a living and decent wage. The poetic significance and romance of the death of the Indian soldier in foreign climes for the Empire is not understood by this "Imperialistic" school. It entertains a subconscious feeling that the loyal Asiatic can be happy only when his racial limitations are accepted beyond discussion. It regards his loyalty as nearer that of a faithful and noble dog to a just and loving master than to that of an equal partner in sacrifice, with the same flesh and blood.

The other school, of which Elphinstone and Malcolm, Ripon, Minto, and Hardinge have been the never-to-be-forgotten representatives in successive generations, and of which Macaulay was the brilliant Parliamentary exponent and prophet, have a nobler and ultimately more beneficial idea for England in her relation to India. It is to raise the hundreds of millions of Asiatics that the will of Providence and the play of historic forces have

brought within the orbit of Great Britain to a self-respecting independent position within her dominions ; it is to gladly recognise that the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor are morally and physically at least the potential equals of any other Asiatic race, including the Japanese ; it is to place in their hands with joy and affection the means, through education, liberty, and trust, by which they can raise their position to be comparable with that of the subjects of the Mikado.

Under this noble ideal the British Empire of the future can confer full self-government on the peoples she has trained for the responsibility, and then take back to her bosom as the greatest and best-beloved of her foster-children the free myriads of India. Happily the Imperial Crown provides the venerated centre round which the great States of the Empire can unite. Their glory and power will be enormously stronger in a free empire than in one in which the white minority would become the embarrassed jailers of the Asiatic majority. In spite of the teaching of a handful of advocates, some of them bluntly outspoken, of white ascendancy, who usurp the name of Imperialism, we Indians maintain our faith in the true and sane Imperialism of Britain's masses, and in the conscience of those aristocratic and upper middle classes which have produced the many true and far-sighted friends India has found in England. Hence we believe the meaning and ultimate goal of British rule to be the free and living union of our great peninsula, and, as we hope, of the still greater South Asiatic federation of to-morrow, with the central mother State of Great Britain and with the strong, far-spread daughter Dominions.

During his Viceroyalty Lord Curzon spoke of the ruling princes as "colleagues and partners" in the work of Empire. To-day when we are fighting for democracy, when war has brought out the real equality in heroism of our fighting men with those of other parts of the Empire, when we proudly look at our Indian peasant V.C.'s, we feel that such a limitation of Imperial partnership is far too narrow and out of keeping with British traditions. The time has come to establish a real partnership of Viceroy, Government, princes and people through federal autonomy and representative institutions including all classes of the community. Thus will there be permanent fulfilment of the King-Emperor's expectation that the War Conference, held at Delhi at the end of April, in pursuing the immediate and essential purpose in view, would "promote a spirit of unity, a concentration of purpose and activity, and a cheerful acceptance of sacrifice without which no high object, no lasting victory can be achieved."

CHAPTER XXXI

CO-ORDINATED PROGRESS

THE dark picture of social disorganisation and economic backwardness I have been compelled to draw in the course of this study may lead some readers to the enquiry whether the people of India should not concentrate their efforts on amelioration of these conditions before they press for the political advancement I have advocated. It must be admitted that such views have been held in the past by sincere Indian patriots. Some twenty years ago there were well-known thinkers in the country who looked upon the almost exclusively political programme of the National Congress as a mistake. While some of them recommended concentration of effort on industrial and commercial development, and others regarded social reform as the great object to pursue, they were united in holding that these improvements from within would provide ample scope for the efforts and ambitions of patriots for a long time to come.

It is not to be denied that the majority of the educated classes were inclined too exclusively to the political field of action; but both sides were mistaken. Universal history bears witness that no nation can develop her full strength by concentration of effort in one branch of progress, while leaving untilled the other great fields of

national culture and advancement. The growing child acquires strength and adaptation to environment by the all-round exercise of bodily functions ; otherwise he runs the risk of the atrophy of some organs and excessive strain on others, sure harbingers of disease. So a young nation, or one reborn, must cultivate every fruitful branch of national activity in co-ordinated effort, progressing along all lines at the same time.

A few examples from history must suffice. In the later eighties Li Hung-Chang and other Chinese statesmen possessing the confidence of the Throne, thought out a method by which they sought to acquire from Europe her defensive strength, but neither her science nor her civilisation. On the one hand, they placed orders for the most modern guns and the best ships, and selected some of their officials to study the technique of war ; on the other hand, no steps were taken to raise the masses from their ignorance. The contagion of modernism in social life was carefully prevented.

The result was that in the initial stages of the Chino-Japanese war, the costly apparatus of sea-fight and battlefield provided outside the current of national life broke down hopelessly and fell into the hands of the conquerors as among the prizes of victory. Again, the Ottoman Turks, at various periods in the latter part of the nineteenth century, made serious and earnest attempts to reform some branches of the administration, while leaving others untouched. The result was one long succession of failures.

There are positive as well as negative historical illustrations. When the Arabs, after their long period of disintegration, were illuminated by the

ANCIENT AND MODERN INSTANCES 297

light shed by our Prophet, they promptly, and to a degree which is still one of the wonders of mankind, developed not only conquering power and science, but simultaneously enriched themselves in spiritual life, in art, poetry, and literature, and evolved higher codes of law and remarkable commercial enterprise. They became the leading nation of the world, and to-day the West owes a great debt to Saracenic culture. A study of their history during the six centuries of Arab rise and fall, shows that the activities of the nation kept pace with each other, whether in ascent or descent. The history of Prussia from early times is well worth studying from this point of view. It shows that every branch of the country's life grew in correspondence with the health and strength of the organism.

In our own lifetime, Japan and Bulgaria provide similar instances. The peoples of the Island Empire on awaking from their long sleep avoided the mistake of China in absorbing the teaching of modern civilisation in one or two branches only. Accepting the principle of co-ordination in national progress, they started on the right lines by learning all that the West could teach, and adapting the knowledge to their own environment and best traditions. In a circumscribed way and on a much smaller scale the Bulgarians took the path of co-ordinated national progress. The late Ameer Abdur Rahman showed his statesmanship by encouraging certain branches of manufacturing enterprise in his sequestered country. Presumably he would have gone further if the tribes of Afghanistan had been ready to accept the principle of search for improvement in all that concerned the life of the nation,

If peace had been broken between him and his great neighbours we may well conjecture that after a few blows from England and Russia his factories would have been destroyed, and his subjects as a whole, not having modern knowledge, would have been unable to set up other factories in out-of-the-way places.

These historical examples are a reminder that national progress cannot be compartmented at will without danger to the body politic. Gibbon, the prince of historians, pointed out that literature and art, politeness and refinement, thrive most amongst the nations that have led the world in science and bravery, in military power and civil administration. My contention is that unless a nation develops all its faculties *pari passu*, a full, rich, and independent national life is not attainable. Thus we want in India not only social and economic, but also political advancement, without which the two former cannot be brought to fruitful maturity.

Another criticism which may be brought against the reforms suggested in these pages remains to be answered. It is the reliance placed at every suggested progressive stage, social and economic as well as political, on State help. "Why cannot the Indian leaders and those they influence effect many of these changes for themselves?" is an enquiry some readers may be expected to make. The first answer is that the relations of the modern State to the social and economic organisation of society is very different to that of a century or even half a century ago. Take the case of England: can it be held that without the Compulsory Education Act of Mr. Gladstone's first Administration,

the successive measures for regulating factory and other labour, compulsory vaccination, and repeated legislation to prevent the spread of infection, the efforts of individuals and associations advocating such reforms would have had beneficent effects at all comparable to those secured from the enactments of Parliament? And yet Britain is famous for sturdy individualism, and her political life was long profoundly influenced by the Manchester School. Moreover, popular opinion in favour of social legislation in the United Kingdom has been given a driving force by the enfranchisement of the people which would otherwise have been lacking. Beneficent social legislation was scarcely attempted before the passing of the Reform Act in 1832.

The modern State, when based on democratic ideals, is not an external body to which its inhabitants go pleading for assistance and amelioration. It is, and ought to be, the concentrated and directing instrument of society as a whole. It is because we are convinced that the evils of India have gone far beyond the limits of successful remedy by merely sectional or individual efforts—though these are essential allies of progress—that we need the whole energy of the country as represented by the State, to pursue those radical reforms which can only come when the powers of society are behind them. A firm conviction that India is too large and too widespread, with too many natural divisions of climate and race, to take up the direct work of national regeneration so long overdue, leads to the conclusion that only province states with reasonable limits of area and population, and yet not too small to provide the

resources required and develop strong local patriotism, will raise the peoples of the great peninsula to their legitimate standing in the world.

We have taken the most successful nationalities of Europe as providing approximate models in size and population for our province states. We have also suggested that the historical and natural causes that go to individualise each province should be taken into account for marking its limits and character. And within the provinces we advocate as wide a basis as possible of representation, because we are convinced that national regeneration is impossible if only the more favoured strata of society put their backs to the wheel. The ordinary franchise adopted in Europe would not bring forward in India the classes and castes that have long remained behind in the race of life. Since I am not proposing for the India of to-day some ideal system for a distant future I maintain that communal representation should be accepted throughout. It must not be forgotten that the various races and religions of India each have a more or less complex social system of their own to which they attach great importance, that such matters as marriage and divorce, the rites and ceremonies of family or communal life, are settled and arranged by the communal leaders on the basis of the sacred writings, traditions, and sometimes the environment of their peoples. This communal bond varies, no doubt, in degree; frequently it is highly organised and powerful, but sometimes at the other end of the scale it is only held together like sand. Still, in all cases, it has a part to play in the life of the nation, and if the autonomy to be built up in India is to be a natural evolution it

must take account of the internal and sectional governing methods which the congeries of India have historically developed.

If a communal basis is set aside, the only way left of meeting the needs of India would be that of proportional representation with manhood suffrage. No system of proportional representation fair to all can be invented without universal suffrage. Without this safeguard the system degenerates into a form of class hegemony. In India, where its principles would be liable to much misunderstanding by the ill-educated, it would inevitably tend to perpetuate an unnatural state of society and to keep the backward communities where they are. Can any political thinker regard as possible for India universal suffrage, plus proportional representation, seeing that this would mean in many cases swollen constituencies returning fifteen or perhaps a score of members? Nor would manhood suffrage, assuming its possibility, give to each large community any such sense of national responsibility as will be derived from the fact that its members will be directly called upon, as such, to share in the political fabric.

Let me speak, finally, of my conviction that a progressive, satisfied, and happy India would be the strongest pillar, next to the United Kingdom, of the British Empire. Strong winds with world forces driving them are moving Asia towards some great destiny. Germany and Turkey, Japan or China, dismembered Russia, the erstwhile Central Asian States—what influences will the play of world forces give to each for good or evil? While no man can answer these questions, Britain must remember that for more than 150 years she has

been the first Power of Asia, and that the position of her vigorous daughter partners, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, would become dangerously weak if the great base of her Eastern authority, triangular India, were ever to fall into other hands. In India she has a natural foster-daughter that has imbibed her culture and liberalising ideals. What is to be the position of this adopted, fast-growing child in the scattered family of the foster-mother? I am convinced that England and India will answer this question in a way worthy of their respective history, traditions, poetry, and art. A solid yet unchafing union, based on esteem and mutual interest, on the memory of common sacrifice for imperishable principles and the cause of liberty, will unite the foster-child with the grown-up daughters of the aged and geographically small, but powerful and noble mother country into a great instrument for the good of mankind, working everywhere in co-operation from Ottawa to Calcutta, from London to Delhi, from Melbourne to Bombay, for one beneficent Empire under a beloved sovereign.



INDEX

- Abdul Hamid, Sultan, 16, 20,
144, 156, 158
- Aden, 10
- Afghanistan—
Britain's relations with, 143,
149, 153, 160-1
Dependence on India, 12
Enterprise in, 297
German ambitions in, 143
India's relations with, 134-7
Must fall under influence of a
greater state, 169
Policy of rulers, 26
Representative institution in,
a, 26
Union with an Indian federa-
tion, 154 5, 170-1
See also under Russia
- Afghanistan, The Ameers of—
Abdur Rahman Khan, 136-7,
297
Dost Mahomed, 137
Habibullah Khan, II M., 151
- Africa, South, anti-Asiatic legis-
lation in, 116
*See also under Indians in
Africa*
- Africa, British East, 12, 118
- Africa, East—
Appropriate for Indian coloni-
sation, 127-8, 130-1
Indian claim to, 123-4, 126-8
India's relations with, 11,
115-17
India's sympathy with, 127
Transfer of administration to
the Government of India
suggested, 128-9, 131
- Africa, German East—
Indian labour in, 12
Relations of the Authorities
with Indians, 119-22
- Africa, North, 23
- Africa, South. *See* South African
Union
- Aga Khan, The—
Advocate of educational re-
form in India, 217-18, 219 n
Audience with Sultan Abdul
Hamid, 144
Connection with Mr. Gokhale,
43-4, 233
Conversation with Count Her-
bert Bismarck, 34
Conversation with Lord Cro-
mer, 28
Observations on Russia, 140
Personal explanation respect-
ing authorship, vii.-x.
Talks with German traders,
41
Visit to Berlin, 120-1
Visit to German East Africa,
120
- Ahmed Shah Abdali, 73
- Ahmed, Sir Syed, 22
- Akbar, the Great Mogul, 71-2
- Alexander I of Russia, 129
- Alexander II of Russia, 16, 82 3,
147
- Alwar, the Maharaja of, 60
- Ameer Ali, Syed, on Privy
Council Judicial Committee,
108-9
- Anamese religion, 114
- Angkor Thôm, 114
- Angkor Wat, 114
- Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 182
- Anglo-Russian Convention, 1907,
137
- Animistic tribes, census of, 7
- Arabia, 11, 158, 170
- Arabian principalities, 26
- Arabs, 296-7

- Archer, Mr. William, 266 n, 272
 Argentine, 191
 Asquith, Mr. H. H., 287
 Asquith Government, The, 145-6, 148
 Assam, 45
 Aurangzeb, 39, 71-2
 Australia, Northern, and emigration, 125
 Austria, 147-8
 Aztec Civilisation. *See* Civilisation, Aztec.

 Ballantine, Mr. E. W., 267
 Baluchistan, 10, 45
 Bannerjee, Mr. Surendranath, 227
 Beaconsfield, Lord, 22
 Behar and Orissa, 45
 Bhownaggee, Sir Mancherjee, 116
 Bhutan, 171
 Bijapur, Arungzeb's conquest of, 71
 Bikanir, the Maharaja of, 47, 59-60
 Bismarck, 34, 271-2
 Bismarck, Count Herbert, 34
 Bombay, 220-1
 Bombay Municipal Corporation, 83
 Bombay Presidency, reconstitution, 45-6
 Brahmanical Civilisation. *See* Civilisation, Brahmanical
 Brahmo Samaj, 257
 Brassey, Earl 163 n
 Brest-Litovsk Treaty, 142, 143 n
 Britain, Great--
 Agriculture in, 212-13
 Democracy in, 277-8
 Foreign Policy of, 145-7
 Government of, 17
 Policy in Crimea, 144
 Position in the East, 301-2
 Relations with the Continent, 120-2
 See also under Afghanistan, France, Mesopotamia, Persia, Russia, Turkey
 British East Africa. *See* Africa, British East
 British Army. *See under* India
 British Guiana, 126
 British in India. *See under* India.
 British Parliament, the. *See* Parliament, the British
 Bulgaria, 297
 Burma, 9, 45, 171
 Butler, Sir Harcourt, 219-20

 Cambodia, 114
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 278
 Cardwell, Lord, Army system, 173
 Central Provinces Government, 45
 Ceylon, 115, 170-1
 Chadwick, Mr. D. T., 199
 Chamberlain, Mr. Austen, 189, 190 n, 242, 286
 Chandragupta, 70
 China, 14, 125, 134
 China, late Empress-Dowager of, 16
 Chino-Japanese war, 296
 Civilisation, Aztec, 2
 Civilisation, Brahmanical--
 Characteristics of, 5
 Influence checked, 114-15
 Original foundation of Indian society, 7
 Spread of, 113-14
 Civilisation, Far Eastern--
 Influence in India, 9
 Unity of, 4-5
 Civilisation, Islamic--
 Influence of its Founder on, 6
 Influence in India, 7-8
 Spiritual unity of, 157
 Civilisation, Western :
 British the chief agents of, 8
 Elements of, 2-3
 Influences on, 2
 Progress in India, 8-9
 Clarence, Duke of, 75
 Compulsory Education Act, the English, 298
 Connaught, Duke of, 74
 Courland, 169
 Crimean War, the, 144

- Criminal Investigation Department—
 Distrust of the, 98-100
 Proposed modifications in the, 101-3
 Cromer, the late Lord, 28
 Curzon, Lord, 10 n, 37, 137, 139, 151 n, 162, 202, 294
- Darbangha, The Maharaja of, 96-7
 Delhi Despatch of, 1911, 43-4
 Dewani, grant of the, 73
 Diaz, Porfirio of Mexico, 271
 Dilke, Sir Charles, 82
 Dominions, The, India's relations with, 131-2
 Dufferin, The Dowager Lady, 79, 257
 Dupleix's conception of an Indian Army, 175, 176 n
 Dutch Colonies, 134-5
- East Africa. *See* Africa, East
 East India Company, the, 73, 281
 Edward VII, King, 75
 Egypt, 28
 Liberalising of Government, 153-4
 Emden, The, 183
 England. *See* under Britain, Great
 Europe, issue of reconciliation in, 14
- Far Eastern Civilisation. *See* Civilisation, Far Eastern
 Fiji, 115, 126
 Finland, 169
 Flanders, 169
 France—
 Britain's Relations with, 121, 146
 Government of, 36, 163-4
 Revolution, The, 85
 Third Republic. The, 86
 Unsatisfactory banking system of, 194-5
 Frederick II, 85, 197, 271-2
 French Colonies, 134-5
- Gait, Sir Edward, census report, 254
 Gandhi, Mr. M. K., 116
 George V, King, 74-5, 227
 George, Mr. D. Lloyd, 278
 German East Africa. *See* Africa, German East
 German Navy League, 145
 Germany—
 Ambitions in the East, 160, 169
 Ambitions in Europe, 168
 Ambitions in the Near East, 142-3, 148-9
 Customs schedules of, 191
 Estimate of Russia, 139-40
 Federalism in, 34, 40-1
 Foreign policy of, 145
 Government of, 164-6
 Influence over Turkey, 23, 152
 Lust of conquest, 40-1
 Natural sphere of expansion of, 129
 Relations with Great Britain, 120-1
 Wavering policy towards conquered areas during the war, 169
See also under Afghanistan; Africa, German East; India; Prussia.
- Gladstone, the late Mr. W. E., 144
 Gokhale, Mr. G. K.—
 Advocate of educational reform, 38, 219
 Depressed classes, work for, 251-2
 Proposed Indian administration of East Africa and Zanzibar, 130
 Scheme of reform of, 43-4
See also under Aga Khan.
- Golconda, 71
 Great Britain. *See* Britain, Great
 Greece, 164-5
- Hardinge, Lady, 79
 Hardinge, Lord, of Penshurst, 43, 189
 Harris, Lord, 267
 Hindu Missions, to outcastes, 251

- Hindu dynasties, overthrow of, 70
- Hindus—
 Caste system of the, 245-7
 Desire for self-government, 25
 Position of women among, 258-9
- Hyderabad, the Nizam of, 54-5, 231
- Hythe, Lord. *See* Brassey, Earl
- Iberian Republics, 14
- Imam, Sir Ali, 43
- India—
 Administration of justice, 105-8
 Agriculture in, 201-2, 204-6
 Anarchical element, small, 283-4
 Arbitration boards suggested for, 111-12
 Arguments of opponents of reform of, 270, 283-4
 Banking facilities in, 195
 Breeding of domestic animals, 206-9
 British Army in, 173-4
 British dynasty suited to, 74-6
 British electorate the guardian of, 276-7, 279, 281, 283-5
 British influence in, 8-10, 14
 British policy in, 15, 21-2, 25-7
 British Parliament's responsibility for administration of, 279-82
 British responsibility for the future of, 17
 British rule in, 73-4, 104-5, 270, 274, 277, 291-3
 Cabinet for, 65
 Claim for self-government, 20-2, 24-6, 31-2, 36-7, 275-7, 282-5
 Christian Missions in, 247, 250
 Complaints of centralisation by provincial administrations, 37
 Confiscation of property, 196-7
 Co-ordinated progress needed for, 295-6, 298
 Defence of, 29-31, 179, 180 n, 181 n
 Dependence on Japanese goodwill, 182
 "Depressed" classes of, 244-52
 Disease in, 237-42
 Economic amelioration needed for, 248-52, 295
 Economic depression of the peasant, 201-4, 237
 Economically still a "plantation," 186
 Educational reform for, 38-9, 200, 205, 217-25
 Emigration from, 115, 125
 European solidarity in, 18-19
 Excise duty on cotton manufactures of, 189-90
 Expansion checked in third century, 114
 Expansion, influence of, 119-12, 114
 Fear of Russia, 138-9
 Federalism, benefits of, 67-68, 166-8, 171-2
 Federalism and its difficulties, 39-42
 Female population of, 253
 Finances of, 27
 Financial contribution to the war by, 286-8
 Floriculture in, 211
 Foreign policy affected by relation to the Empire, 133-4
 Forest wealth of, 205
 Former Navy of, 181
 Future boundaries of, 13
 Future Navy of, 184-5
 German rule feared in, 273
 Health, low standards of, 234-43
 Horticulture in, 209-11
 Illiteracy in, 21, 27-8, 38-9, 203, 215-18
 Indenture system, 125
 Industries undeveloped, 187-8
 Influence of four main civilisations, 7-9, 13, 35
 Inter-communication in, 197
 Joint-stock enterprise, 194
 Landlordship in, 213-14

- Language, question of, 227-30
- Local autonomy in, 82, 86-8
- Lavish generosity of, 287-8
- Loyalty of, 19-20, 180 n
- Military service in, 30-1
- Monarchy essential for, 70
- Monarchy in, history of, 70-3
- Mahomedan neighbours of, 169-70
- Navy, need for a, 183, 184 n
- Plague mortality in, 238 n
- Police Service, the, 98-103
- Poverty in, 91, 244, 281, 288
- Problem of, 13-14
- Proposed provincial Local Government Boards, 86-8
- Provincial legislatures, 48-51
- Provincial reorganisation, 43-53, 299-300
- Provincial revenues, 51-2
- Qualifications for the franchise, 49-51
- Recruiting in, 288-90
- Reform scheme for, joint European and Indian, 36
- Reformed Central Government proposed for, 62-8
- Relations with her neighbours, 134-5
- Representation at the British Consulates, 199
- "Responsible" government for, 162-3, 166
- Resources of, 186-7, 193-4
- Scheme of "internal emigration," 125
- Scheme of voluntary labour emigration, 126
- *Senate or Federal Council for, 66
- Shipbuilding in, 198-9
- Social clubs in, 267-8
- Social problems in, 27-28
- Social systems of, 300-1
- State aid for, 298-9
- Suffrage for, 69, 261-3, 301
- Tariff on imports, 67, 188-91
- Taxation in, 28-9, 39
- Territorial Army, scheme for, 21, 280-90
- Tragic history of the eighteenth century, 73
- Universities for, 225-7, 231-2
- War services, 286-94
- Women, position of, 256-63, 268
- See also under Afghanistan ; Africa, East ; Africa, German East ; Dominions, the ; Hindus ; Mahomedans, Indian ; Mesopotamia ; Native States of India ; Persia*
- Indian Army, 173-80
- Indian Bar Students, 100-11
- Indian Civil Service—
 - Character of, 89-90
 - Fundamental drawbacks of present constitution, 92-4
 - Great achievements of, 90-1
 - Mainstay of the Government 89
 - Proposed non-official dilution, 94-6
 - Relations with local authorities, 84
 - Work of rural regeneration by, 214
- Indian Defence Force, 289-90
- Indian Judicial Privy Council, need for the formation of a, 109
- Indian Munitions Board, 179, 198
- Indian Mutiny, the, 291
- Indian Navy. *See under India*
- Indians—
 - In Africa, disabilities of, 115-16 118-19
 - In the judicial services, 107-9
 - As Provincial Governors, 46-8
 - Social relations with British, 264-9
 - See also under Africa, German East*
 - "Indus" Province, 45
- Islam, the Prophet of, 253, 256
- Islamic Civilisation. *See Civilisation, Islamic.*
- Islington Public Services Commission, the, 92, 33 n, 101-2
- Jain cult, the, 114
- Jamaica, 126
- Janissaries, Turkish, 175

Japan—

- Civic emancipation of, 85
- Consolidation of classes in, 17
- Fiscal independence of, 191
- Foreign policy of, 134-5
- Government of, 165
- Rise of, 292, 297
- See also under* Anglo-Japanese Alliance; India

Java, 114

Jehangir, 72

Jenkins, Sir John, 43

Jewry, 7

Kaiser, the. *See under* William II

Korea, 134

Lamington, Lord, 143

Lancashire, 189, 190 n, 280, 286-7

Lawrence, Stringer, 175, 176 n

Lichnowsky, Prince, 145, 149

Li Hung-Chang, 296

Ling's (Swedish) system of physical culture, 233-4, 236

Lithuania, 169

Madras, 45-6

Mahomedan Civilisation. *See under* Civilisation, Islamic

Mahomedan dynasties, 71

Mahomedan invasions, successive, 70

Mahomedan States, decay of, 22-3

Mahomedans, Indian—

“Missions” among, 251

Political outlook of, 22-4

Position of women among, 258, 260

Special representation of, 50

Mahomet. *See under* Islam, the Prophet of

Mahratta Power, the, 72-3

Malabari, Byramji, 257

Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, 125

Mallet, Sir Charles, 110

Manchuria, 134

Mauritius, 115

Mesopotamia—

British influence in, 149

India's relations with, 11, 29, 123-4

Turkish rule in, 20-1

Mexico, 270-2

Milikoff, Boris, 16

Mogul Empire, the, 72, 74, 274

Mombassa, 131

Montagu, Mr. E. S., vii, 162-3, 176

Morison, Sir Theodore, 127

Morley, Lord, 28, 265

Moslem. *See under* Mahomedan

Nadir Shah, 73

National Congress, Indian, 38

Native States—

British policy towards, 56-7

Compulsory education in, 38-9

Contribution to Imperial Forces, 178

Diversity in, 54-6

Good administration of, 58-9

Incorporation in proposed federal system, 60-1, 167

Loyalty to British Empire, 56

Policy of rulers of, 26, 28-9

Natu Brothers, The, 196

Navy, Indian. *See under* India

Navy, Royal, 181, 183

Nepal, 26, 171

Ottoman Turks. *See* Turks, Ottoman

Oudh, The Kings of, 73

Pacific, Islands of the, 115

Pan-Islamism, political, 156-9

Parish Councils Act, 1894, 85

Parliament, the British, 35, 84, 279, 281, 283

Patel, Mr. V. J., 220

Persia—

Britain's relations with, 149-53, 160-1

Independence of, 148

India's relations with, 10-11, 30, 134-8

Must fall under the influence of a greater state, 169

Possible union with an Indian federation, 154-5, 170-1

- Spheres of influence, 23
See also South Persia Rifles
 Persia Society, the, 137
 Persian Gulf, 10-11
 Pindaris, the, 73
 Poland, 140
 Portugal, 164
 Prussia—
 Government of, 17
 Growth of, 297
 Opportunist sympathy with
 democracy, 69
 Revolution of 1848, 85
 See also under Africa, German
 East; Germany
 Punjab, 45, 73, 288
- Quetta, 45
- Rahim, Mr. Justice Abdur, 273
 Rahimtula, Sir Ibrahim, 180 n,
 184 n
 Rajput States, the, 55
 Reform Act, 1832, the, 84, 299
 Reform Act, 1918, the, 69, 277
 Ripon, Lord, 82-3, 87
 Romanoffs, the, 141, 274
 Ronaldshay, Lord, 239
 Royal Navy. *See* Navy, Royal
 Russia—
 Britain's relations with, 144-6
 Disintegration of, 34
 Effect in the East of her fall,
 142, 274
 Local Councils in, 82-3
 Policy in the East, 147-8
 Portent of, 16
 Position in the East, 121, 134,
 137-9
 Possible relations with Af-
 ghanistan and Tibet, 13
 Tariff in, 192
 Weakness of, 139-41, 148, 272
 See also under Germany
- Salisbury, Lord, 144, 153
 Scandinavia, 233-4
 Siam, 125, 134
 Siberia, 134
 Sind, 45
 Singh, Maharaja Sir Partab, 47-8
 Sinha, Sir Satyendra, 180
- Sinn Feiners, 111
 Sivaji, 72
 Smith, Mr. Vincent, 71
 Somaliland, 127
 South African Union, 130-1,
 278
 "South Asiatic Federation," 13,
 24, 37, 135-6, 160-1
 South Persia Rifles, 150
 Spain, 164
 Straits Settlements, the, 115
 Sweden, 165
 Switzerland, 36, 228
 Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir
 Percy, 150
 Syria, 149
- Tagore, Mr. Abanindranath, 80
 Tagore, Sir Rabindranath, 80
 Tata Hydro-Electric Works, 193
 Territorial Army scheme. *See*
 under India.
 Tibet, 12-13, 171
 See also under Russia
 Topan, Sir Tharia, 117
 Trinidad, 126
 Turanian Movement, 159-60
 Turkey—
 Attempt to introduce a scien-
 tific tariff, 191
 Britain's relations with, 144-7
 Decline of the foreign power
 of, 156
 Future possibilities of, 142-3
 Movements towards the Middle
 East, 159-60
 See also under Germany, Meso-
 potamia
 Turks, Ottoman, 296
 Turks, the Young, 20, 156
- United Kingdom, The, 35, 163
 United Provinces, The, 45, 288
 United States, the—
 Absorption of smaller entities,
 168
 Customs schedules of, 191
 Government of, 36-7, 164-5
 Many languages spoken in,
 229
 Presidency of, 70
 Provincial banks of, 195

- | | |
|--|--|
| Vambéry, Professor Arminius, 156 | Vladivostok, 134 |
| Viceroy, the— | West Indies, the, 115 |
| Duties of, 76 | Western Civilisation. <i>See</i> Civilisation, Western |
| Proposed change in duties of, 77-81 | William II, Emperor of Germany, 121 |
| Viceroyalty, the— | Willingdon, Lord, 208, 220, 267 |
| Eligibility of Indians for, suggested, 79 | Wilson, President, 129 |
| Proposed non-political Royal appointment, 77-80, 269 | Women Suffrage, 255, 261-3 |
| Victoria, Queen, 74 | Women, War work of, 255 |
| | Zanzibar, 117, 129-30 |

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