British rule in India by formulating a belief in the all-sufficiency of the sword is to exchange, in an unprecedented undertaking in the art of political navigation, a vessel with rudder and sails manned by a loyal crew for a canoe [illegible] paddle.

SECTION II

The Perils of British Rule

If, then, the value of such a conviction in the government of the Indian Empire be recognised, it logically follows that those features of it which have sprung from a contrary conviction and are calculated to undermine that faith should be abrogated. Among the most conspicuous of these features is the difference which the law of the land makes between Indian and the British subjects of His Majesty. That the penal law of the land should distinguish between Europeans and Indians accused of offences is too serious a blot to be silently passed over by the friends of England and India. When such is the case, most of those who have as judges and jurors to administer justice between a European and an Indian cannot but be affected by a spirit of racial differentiation. The belief is universal, and not without foundation, that where a European and an Indian come into conflict the latter goes to the wall, and British justice fails to prevail against the delinquent European. The cases in which European subjects have maltreated Indians, often causing death, and have been dismissed with an inadequate punishment, or none at all, have not only brought British justice into disrepute but jeopardised British ascendancy in a manner that

no Englishman can possibly realise. They have forced upon Indians of all ranks the bitter lesson that they should learn to look upon themselves, not in a self-governing colony, but in their own country, as a race branded by the law of the land as servile. Law that should be supreme and no respecter of persons, justice that should be impartial and colour-blind, have both been subordinated to the advantage, *not of the most deserving among the British*, but of persons accused of brutal offences against defenceless men, and, what is infinitely more painful, against helpless women. This evil has vitiated the entire atmosphere of the relationship between the two races, and has often led to any British nondescript's behaving as though he held in subjection India's more than 300 millions. In the trains where Europeans and Indians are, in spite of their disinclination, necessarily brought together, the conduct of the European has often exasperated the most warm-hearted devotees of British rule in India. There will be no good in issuing circulars and notifications, and addressing after-dinner homilies to bring about a better relationship, so long as the law of the land deliberately keeps a dividing barrier between European and Indian subjects, and protects the accused and the culprits among the former by special privileges and exemptions. Once it is realised that they are no more than British subjects in India on the same footing as others, and Indians come to enjoy equal consideration in the eye of the law, the temptation to maltreat Indians will be withdrawn, and they will have no longer to labour under resentment at one scale of punishment, one kind of procedure, and one sense of justice for the European and another for the Indian. The

present policy of racial preference in the law of the land has been justified on the ground that, if the British do not as the ruling race possess special privileges, their prestige will be impaired. This contention discloses that condition of political lunacy in which the patient mistakes poison for nourishment and seeks security in danger. Whatever might have been said on behalf of such a policy in former generations, it is not only utterly indefensible but positively dangerous at the present day, as it affords an effective handle for those who, in a spirit of irreconcilable hostility, make every use of it to foment antagonism. *After all*, have the British *laboured and built up their dominion in India* simply to rear a canopy of protection and privilege over the heads of men accused of criminal breaches of the law against the subjects of the King? India may be a land of castes, but time after time, in coming under foreign dominion, it has paid the penalty of being so. Does Great Britain, by upholding a political caste in India, desire that British rule shall come to pay a similar penalty? It is painfully true, no doubt, that its people have endured unthinkable cruelties and crushing miseries under some of its former rulers; but does not history record that those very offences brought about the downfall of those rulers? If Tippu mutilated and massacred an unoffending populace, and made conversions to his creed at the point of the bayonet and beneath the feet of the elephant, if Aurangzeb systematically persecuted his non-Moslem subjects, their tyrannies and their follies, as the British themselves can testify, brought about their downfall. Does this mean, then, that there is no danger if there is one scale of

criminal justice for the European and another for the Indian? If British rulers will take a leaf out of the book of Aurangzeb or out of the much older book of Manu, and persuade themselves therewith of the need of a ruling caste in India, do they then desire no more than the fate that ultimately overtook the sovereignty of the one and the polity of the other? From every point of view, and from every source of information and enlightenment, the conclusion is irresistible that the maintenance of a governing caste is not only a blemish on but a menace to British rule. The failure of Lord Ripon, who in constructive statesmanship will rank with the greatest men England has sent out to India, to redeem British rule from so vicious a bondage, has cost it more than a serious reverse in the field could possibly have done. Had British statesmanship triumphed in the attitude he then took, and progressed along the lines he then sought to lay down, the history of British India for the last quarter of a century would not have been a history of fruitless agitation, of bureaucratic obduracy, and of unthinking disdain of popular demands for nearly two decades. The country would have been spared the violent developments which followed, and all the painful struggle and travail before the dawn of political wisdom returned. At least now in the growing light of this dawn, British statesmanship may make up its mind to refuse to be thwarted once again in consigning to oblivion the policy of countenancing differences in the sphere of law and justice between one class and another of His Majesty's subjects.

The next feature of British administration which militates against the conviction that British rule in

India can subserve all the purposes of a national Government, is the policy of adding to the dead weight of Indian maintenance expenses by making the Public Service of India an avenue of employment for men of British descent, and of doing this in such a palpably unjust manner as to deny equality of opportunity to the natives of the country. Sir William Hunter, in his masterly delineation of the short-lived dominion of the Portuguese power on the west coast of India, has described in a vivid passage how India became the favourite haunt of those who stood in need of a source of living. "It (Portuguese India) became," he writes, "the asylum for those who had claims that could not be satisfied, or who had rendered services that could not be acknowledged, or had received promises that could not be fulfilled." India under British rule has not yet lost this character, and if British policy in this respect does not stand out in such full enormity as the Portuguese policy in Sir William Hunter's volume, it is partly because British India is immensely greater in extent than Portuguese India, and partly because we lack the necessary perspective, and partly again on account of the commercial genius of the British people which systematised the distribution of offices among British candidates for employment. In spite of the enormous difference that this last circumstance makes, no one can deny that the vice of treating India as a country that promises "careers" to young Britons is still prevalent. If India should continue to be subjected to the disability of being so treated, *the systematisation* of the Public Service of India so as to afford scope for such treatment will, in one respect, be a worse contrivance; because it must mean either

systematic over-taxation or a systematic withdrawal of financial aid from the important requirements of the country. It means also a systematic drain of a considerable portion of the taxes which would have otherwise been utilised in the country itself. What Sir William Hunter has called "that cynical rule for the gain of the rulers which for a time darkened the British acquisition of India in the eighteenth century," was not less of a financial drain than the systematic disregard of the country's economic interests under the Crown, as regards both recruitment to the Public Service and the development of Indian manufactures. If India, then, as an accompaniment of the establishment of British paramountcy, was made a prey to the greed of no small number of military and civil adventurers, and of men of a higher rank who consolidated British authority, Indian interests to-day are subordinated to a capitalist plutocracy in England and an intellectual upper and lower middle class which comes out to India. Not until such a system is changed can it be said that "the period of cynical rule for the gain of the rulers" has ceased to exist even at the commencement of the twentieth century.

But a third test, a somewhat harder test, which should be complied with before the British Government can fulfil the purposes of and establish its complete identity with a national Government, is in regard to the defences of the country. The demartialisation of the people of India might have been at one time dictated by a desire to facilitate the establishment of the Pax Britannica, and prompted by counsels of prudence; but in the new era of constructive statesmanship that has now begun, and

in the expanding political consciousness of the Indian people, it will be neither prudent nor righteous for Great Britain to decline to make a departure from that policy. England's moral sensibility must certainly be keen enough to perceive that not all the blessings of peace and progress which she may confer can possibly compensate for the practical impotency and helplessness to which India will be reduced should the protecting arm of Great Britain be withdrawn at any time from the country. British occupation of India has been inevitably responsible for the extinction of the military genius of the country and for ushering in a condition of peace which has practically tolled the death-knell of the country's capacity for unaided self-defence. That peace has cast a shadow on the land in which men have become mere automata, dependent upon a paid and foreign army to secure safety from external aggression. Intensely grateful as India is for the present protection of Great Britain, she cannot possibly escape the fear that must haunt her perpetually as to what may await her the moment England may have to leave India to take care of herself. Much of the history of Europe in Asia is not ancient history, and much of it has been of comparatively recent date; there is therefore abundance of material for Great Britain to be convinced, especially after the aggressive trial of strength which Germany entered upon in the twinkling of an eye against so powerful a combination, that no European Power can be absolutely certain, without any possibility of miscalculation or error, that it will indefinitely continue its sway over an Asiatic country, in view of the silent jealousies and open rivalries of European nations. A few years

hence, the lot of Germany may become that of any other country, a present ally or a neutral Power. What we would emphasise is that there has been no surrender of ambitions in perpetuity in favour of Great Britain on the part of all the Powers. The people of India will be in India whether or not England always continues to hold their country. Is it statesmanship of a high order for England to leave India in abject ignorance of the science and art of modern warfare and modern methods of manufacturing arms and munitions? To train India not only in Western arts and sciences, but in Western methods of self-defence, which alone can safeguard the former, is a responsibility that will become quite obvious, if only England will realise for a moment the condition of India if she should be disabled from holding the country. The establishment of her rule has caused this country no little bloodshed, both on her side and on the side of those who fought against her; and at least as a return for this bloodshed India is entitled to be efficiently trained in the European school of warfare. If one recalls what unblemished valour, what talent for military strategy, what striking capacity for military organisation, and what marvellous aptitude for raising hill-forts, fortifications, and citadels existed in the country less than seventy years back, and how quickly we are becoming complete strangers to all these qualities of head and heart, to the very virtues of manhood, as it were, one cannot help feeling that the peace of India has been purchased not simply at an enormous price, but at the cost of the very manhood of the nation, and by the virtual surrender of its birthright of self-defence. The heroism of the Rajput, the daring of the Mahratta,

the valour of the Sikh, were not the only martial assets of the country when it became subject to Great Britain. Almost every part of the country furnished men of excellent physique, self-restraint, and courage for purposes of recruitment; even to-day in many districts recitals which seem to recall the memory of a Thermopylae and the achievements of an Horatius are sung by village folk, and seem to bring back the martial glow and colour of those times to the pallid Indian of the present day. Even now there is ample material in the country to make one believe that something more than a memory of the past still exists. Nor is it only in the ranks of the common people that this material is to be found; the poorest Rajput is still a warrior and a ruler by birth, and has lost nothing of the spirit that once animated him as the divinely appointed protecting arm of his country. Although he has not fallen under a cloud of suspicion as the Mahratta has, he has been overtaken by a dense fog of imperial indifference. The scions of the ruling houses of India and of those many noble families whose founders once rendered no negligible service but whose descendants to-day, under the name of Zemindars, feel their insignificance by the side of a Sub-Inspector of Police, can all be utilised for a noble purpose if the Government will only take the step in right good earnest. The educated classes, again, need not be alienated from the confidence of the rulers to the extent of being disqualified from joining a volunteer corps on the ground of being the natives of the country of pure descent. Any man of real or fictitious mixed descent, perhaps brought up in an orphanage with no parentage to own, may wear the King's

uniform and bear arms for His Majesty; but an Indian whose father may have been a distinguished judge and a jurist of the highest repute, a talented professor, or a successful Dewan, not of one state but of three states, earning the distinction of an Indian Turgot, and although he himself may be a robust specimen of a British citizen, must nevertheless reconcile himself to the infamy of perpetual disability for no other reason than that his mother, perhaps a very flower of womanhood, is also an Indian. Such a bestowal of the right of volunteering is apt not only to bring the uniform into disrepute, but to convince the Indian community that the policy of trust is as yet as far off as ever before, and that our equality of rights even in India exists only in name.

To come to constructive proposals: If the Arms Act is to be retained it should be made equally applicable to all classes of His Majesty's subjects; Indians should be under no racial disability in regard to volunteering; military schools and colleges should be opened for the training of young men of respectable families who may have an aptitude for a military career; in the Indian army there should be no barrier between Indians and Europeans either in regard to Indians being posted to commands or to their admission to any section of the army; recruitment should be more largely from the fighting stock of India and not to an increasing extent from the frontier tribes, as has been the case recently; Indian military settlements manned by the ancient and approved fighting stock of the country should be established on the frontiers on free tenure, so that the frontier may become the

habitat of an Indian military population domiciled therein; the formation of territorial units should be undertaken, to increase the military strength of the country at a much less cost than could otherwise be possible. After the isolation of Burma from the rest of India during the time that a single German cruiser was in possession of the Bay of Bengal, and the havoc the vessel played on the east coast of India, the importance of an efficient Indian Navy which can at least engage the enemy until the British fleet can come to our help has become patent beyond doubt. A naval school should be established, and the Indian marine should be gradually developed into an Indian Navy with provisions for the training of Indians in all branches of naval service; Indians should also, as funds may become available, be trained in the manufacture of arms and munitions.

The above are extensive suggestions, no doubt but they are extensive because too much has been allowed to remain unfulfilled and unattempted in the light of the German challenge to British supremacy and Indian safety, they are by no means extravagant. We do not contemplate that all of them should be carried out simultaneously, or that any of them should be undertaken without necessary safeguards; all that we urge is the recognition of the central fact that the military policy of India should be such as gradually to enable her to defend herself, not only with her own financial resources, but with the strength of her own arms. The British troops must gradually become merely an additional safeguard and leave the Indian troops in strength, training, and organisation *fully* competent and sufficient for the defence of the country so far as the

supply of *men and officers in every branch of the army* is concerned. To advocate that India should be kept feeble and demartialised, in order that she may be controlled more easily, is to ask the British to follow the example of Robinson Crusoe, who kept his live stock alive but maimed. To leave the Indian section of the army a mere auxiliary to the British troops, incomplete and insufficient in itself for purposes of efficient defence, and to deny to its men offices of command, is to secure the dependence of India on England by resigning her with all the achievements of British rule into the hands of the first invader, when British arms can no longer avail us. If any body is entitled to succeed to the heritage of Great Britain's work in India, unquestionably the natives of the country are, and there can be no reason whatever why Great Britain should deliberately pursue a policy tantamount to an act of disinheritance. To believe that the safety of British rule requires the adoption of such a policy is for England to be doubtful of her destiny in India, and of her own power of raising the great dependency to a position worthy of a century of British tutelage, or of India's capacity to benefit by such an effort on the part of England. Soberly examining the entire past of Great Britain, there is no warrant for the doubt or the fear, and whatever might have been entertained should have been completely dispelled by the magnificent stand India has made since the outbreak of the war. India has been described as England's right arm in Asia, but it will be long before the country merits the title and fulfils the rôle. Until British military policy ensures for India military autonomy in the sense that her military

defences will not only be maintained out of Indian revenues but fully and unreservedly provided for out of India's fighting stock, it will be more correct to say that England has its own right arm in India than that India is England's right arm in Asia. India, in surrendering herself to England, has given her sword also; it would be unstatesmanlike to disarm her and render her helpless on that account; rather that act of fealty should cast upon England the obligation of making India strong not only with the strength of her native valour, but with the resources of Western military science as well. Then will India *in her own personality* stand out as England's right arm in Asia, and render England's position in the world incomparably superior to what it is now. Then will she be in a position to defend herself against any possible assault at a time when England's resources may be needed to safeguard British integrity in Europe.

We have so far dealt with British policy in relation to internal affairs, but there are two problems of British influence rather outside the area of internal policy which have a close bearing on the future of British rule, and to these a brief reference is necessary. They are raised by the Imperial attitude, firstly towards Native States, and secondly towards the colonial question. An historical treatment of either is outside the compass of the present undertaking, but we may briefly set forth what is essential in each sphere for strengthening the moral hold of Great Britain or India. Sir William Lee-Warner, in his work on the Protected States of India, raises an interesting question which seems to furnish a clue to the feeling with which the average British administrator in

India regards the feudatory states. He asks how it comes that they escaped the British tide of conquest which submerged two-thirds of the continent of India. Sir William Lee-Warner's question shows that even men of his historical knowledge can yet lack historical insight. The fact is that the tide of British conquest flowed from the tableland of what are now called Native States, and submerged those others which could not rise to a higher level and would not consent to keep down to the level of the states that fell into the scheme of British paramountcy. The very imagery of an overflowing tide of conquest is essentially unhistorical; never was there any such tidal wave; there was no doubt a wave of annexation during Dalhousie's regime, but this was lashed into such a seething foam that the conditions which made it possible were completely eradicated. Previous to that, the struggle of the British power in India was for paramountcy, and the Protected States *were virtually the very ground from which that power asserted its claim and in the end made it good.* To imagine, therefore, that these states escaped a tide of conquest is to labour under a misapprehension, and to wonder at their good fortune in escaping it is to be unmindful, if not unaware, of the services which they rendered. Again, in that lurid hour when the question—British rule or no British rule?—was put in the most tragic form, the answer came forth from them unhesitatingly, demonstrating that, if they at one time formed the tableland of British paramountcy, they could at a subsequent period act as an invaluable breakwater when a tide of revolt threatened to submerge the British ascendancy. Not only the Sikh, the Rajput,

and the Mahratta States of Upper and Central India, and Hyderabad and Mysore in the south, but almost every principality and Raj in Northern India exerted an active and potent influence in stemming and repelling the tide. Even to-day, when a good deal is wanting in the treatment accorded to them, they are a reserve force whose power for good or evil cannot possibly be ignored save by the self-opinionated imperialist or the bigoted bureaucrat who believes that there is no use for anything in India except for an Enfield rifle and a despatch box, or if anything more can be imperatively required, a mosquito net. To these men Indian royalties are shadows—even a British royalty in India as a *de jure* and *de facto* Viceroy is a shadow—and if shadows have to be tolerated at all in their scheme of things, it should be distinctly understood that they are to be tolerated only as shadows, since they cannot be abolished. To tolerate them as shadows constitutes the main ingredient of their policy towards Native States. But even these paragons of political wisdom should have felt some qualms of conscience when they saw the stupendous array of resources in men, means, and their own persons proffered by the Indian royalties at the very outbreak of the war. For a long time, until the India Office came to be presided over by Lord Morley, they had the ear of the responsible authorities more than was conducive to the interests of British rule. Since then a steady change for the better has been visible in the counsels of the Empire, and it cannot but be most gratifying to see that a new statesmanship has emerged in relation to the Protected States of India and the hereditary nobility of the land. The

constitution of the Benares Raj as a feudatory state, the substitution of the instrument of transfer by a treaty in the case of Mysore, and the assistance rendered to Bekanir in the constitution of a Legislative Council are tangible proofs that British statesmanship, far from succumbing to the influences of a reactionary and self-satisfied bureaucracy, is yet fully alive to all the true sources of its power and prestige in India. To add to such tangible proofs may not be easy, but to maintain the spirit that has prompted them is neither difficult nor unnecessary; and it is to be devoutly hoped that not the least notable achievement of Lord Hardinge's Governor-Generalship will be the starting of a new tradition in the relationship between the paramount power and the feudatory allies. Not, however, until the Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship of India are separated, and the former is held by a member of the British royal family, can England realise the full scope of the influence which the princes of India can exert in adding to the strength and prestige of Great Britain in the affairs of the world. The influence of the Protected States is still a dormant factor as an Imperial asset. The institution of a Royal Viceroyalty in immediate contact with the princes of India will be a becoming and tactful appreciation of their inherent status as born rulers in the case of all, and of their ancient lineage in the case of many, will elevate their sense of loyalty in a manner that Great Britain can hardly realise. Not that there is any lack of loyalty now; but instead of feeling isolated units in the Indian Empire, their actual contact with a member of the royal family as the personal representative of the

Suzerain will attach the[illegible] the Imperial throne as practically nothing else [illegible] do. Until that time comes, apart from treaty [illegible]ations on both sides, certain necessary changes [illegible]e treatment accorded to them may be brought about, thereby obviating the chagrin now and then caused by a few prevalent practices. In the first place, so far as feudatory princes are concerned, the only authority considered a personal representative of the Sovereign should be the Governor-General, and to him alone their personal homage should be due. Those princes who are in direct contact with the Government of India should not be required within their own territories to call upon or receive except in their own residences any person other than the Governor-General, but only to return the visits paid to them by provincial rulers. In the next place, they should be allowed much greater consideration when they visit the provincial capital, and should be invariably received not by an Under-Secretary, but by the Chief Secretary to the Government and the Military Secretary of the ruler of the province. As regards the internal policy, the position of the Resident should never be permitted to grow into anything more than that of an intermediary, an informant, and a vigilant custodian of the rights of neighbouring territories. Every Indian prince should have the privilege of personal correspondence with the Governor-General without having the Resident or the Foreign Secretary as intermediary. Although it is much less frequently the custom for British officials to receive large presents from rulers of Native States, the evil has not been altogether banished out of existence. There also seems to be a growing need for

an express provision against subscriptions being raised from Indian princes for the purpose of commemorating the tenure of office of any person and for all extravagant receptions, sensational parties, and entertainments. The inspection of the private collections of jewels belonging to Indian palaces by distinguished officials and their wives, as a matter of habit, leads to erroneous impressions in the public mind as to the object of these visits. Baseless stories and distorted versions find rapid currency, and as the persons whose honour and reputation are concerned are necessarily ignorant of these damaging rumours, a tradition begins to grow round such inspections and visits, and its effect on the subordinate officialdom is certainly not wholesome. If Clive was astonished at his own moderation, his successors of the present day may perhaps confess now and then that they have every reason to be astonished at their self-restraint. For any British dignitary to place himself in such a situation is indeed improper. Nor should there be any sort of exchange of presents even as an indication of one's appreciation of the artistic merit of any article. The rule should be, "Give nothing, receive nothing"—except courtesy and consideration. In another matter not so much the rulers as the subjects of Native States have a legitimate grievance—their exclusion from some branches of the Public Service in British India. We do not know that any statutory bar exists against the subject of a Native State being made a member of the Council of the Secretary of State, or of any Executive Council in India; but he cannot, for instance, compete for the Indian Civil or Medical Service. It is sought to

justify this exclusion on the ground that the subjects of Native States are not British subjects. A moment's examination will be enough, however, to show that it is a forced and untenable justification. For all practical purposes British India and Native States are closely assimilated, and whatever may be the legal status of a ruling prince outside his own territory, all his subjects, so long as they reside in any part of the British dominion, are British subjects for all legal purposes. All the Technical and Arts Colleges in British India and the United Kingdom are freely used by them. They may even enter the House of Commons; if we are not mistaken, the first Indian Member of Parliament was a subject of the Native State of Baroda. British Indians and Europeans are allowed to occupy places of trust and importance in Native States, and it is ungracious, to say the least, that their subjects should be exposed to such a drastic and unreasonable disability in British India. There is a clear distinction between the ruling princes, who are not, of course, British subjects but feudatory allies, and the subjects of Native States, who, outside their own territory, acquire all the rights and are liable to all the obligations of British citizenship. Intelligent young men in Native States are beginning to feel it unjust that, while their own Public Service is kept open, they should labour under disabilities in the enjoyment of a similar privilege in the neighbouring British Indian province. It will not be inexcusable either, if some of the rulers themselves feel that such a restriction is not only ungenerous but implies a certain unexpressed lack of confidence on the part of the paramount power in the mental

and moral fitness of their subjects for service in offices of responsibility in British India. Above all, if natives of self-governing colonies can enter any branch of the Public Service in India, it is a preposterous provision to exclude natives of Indian feudatory states. The removal of the disability is imperative, regarded even from this point of view exclusively, and may be expected to be heartily welcomed by Indian princes as a mark of confidence and condescension. To these suggestions we may add one more, which is a demand for the exertion of a deterrent influence on the unbridled licence with which a section of the British and Anglo-Indian Press at times chooses to attack, on the slightest provocation, ruling princes and distinguished representatives of the ancient aristocracy of the land. Nobody will dispute the right of the constitutional authorities to obtain explanations for any untoward incident which may in their opinion need them; but it will become an intolerable abuse of the liberty of the Press if in any such matter a rancorous artillery should be opened by the fourth estate to the damage of British prestige and the detriment of inter-racial cordiality. One Anglo-Indian journal which is identified in the Indian mind with the interests and idiosyncrasies of the permanent European officialdom recently distinguished itself by publishing a vile attack on a nobleman of high lineage on grotesque and groundless assumptions, and worse still, made no amends whatever even after a dignified protest from him. No doubt these instances are, to the credit of the Anglo-Indian Press, few and far between, and papers guilty of such thoughtless provocation are also few in number; but the mischief done on one

occasion by a single journal is enough to embitter not only the person concerned but also the class to which he belongs, and a wider general public, against Europeans in India; and the memory of the bitterness engendered lingers long, to the prejudice of the good feeling which ought to exist between the two races. Responsible authorities cannot be too careful that what they assiduously build up is not thoughtlessly, and at times irreparably, damaged by a frenzied exercise of "the liberty of the Press" in a manner which implies that the Press is beyond the reach of all disciplinary influence when the victims of its peevish and perverse attacks happen to be the royalty or nobility of the land. We leave untouched the interesting but unbroken ground of the obligations of the paramount power towards the subjects of Native States in the changed conditions of to-day, as it has not an integral connection with a treatise dealing with British-Indian affairs.

Turning to the colonial problem, we come to issues far wider than those with which we have attempted to deal. In approaching it we seem to be face to face not only with the destiny of England in India, but with the evolution of the British Empire; for that Empire is still only a geographical expression; although, in one respect, its reality seems to consist only in emphasising the degradation of Indians in the name of an illusory Empire. A British Empire, in the sense of equality of rights and opportunities, exists only so far as the United Kingdom, the self-governing Colonies, and some of the Crown Colonies are concerned. Between them there is reciprocity of domicile and mutual extension of rights and privileges; but India is outside the

pale of this comradeship. Its reciprocity is only with "the mother country," which has been regarded as a mother country by India with greater fervour and loyalty than by any colony, although the identity of blood is absent in our case. Blood may be thicker than water, but gratitude, which we shall frankly admit includes a lively sense of favours to come, is even thicker than blood. So as regards India, the British Empire practically begins and ends, outside its own confines, with the United Kingdom only. The other sections of the Empire have no organic relation with India; whatever relationship has been either forced by the Government of India or sought by the people themselves has been an unnatural and tyrannical relationship. Where the Government has been a party in enforcing it on the people the tyranny has been the tyranny of the law, partly the law of the colony, partly that of the Government of India. Where the relationship has been forced by the people, the tyranny has been that of an idea, or rather a ridiculous notion that something exists when as a fact it does not exist, and for purposes of practical politics may never exist at all—the idea that there is or can be a common Empire to include the Colonies, India, and the United Kingdom. Lord Morley's mistaken diagnosis of Indian politics, that the difficulty in India is mainly racial and not political, holds good in regard to the Colonies; there the fundamental difficulty has been racial although it has appeared to be political; whereas here in India the problem is purely political although it has appeared to be racial. As a matter of fact, no British Empire in the conception of the Indian is likely to come into existence

for a long time yet, except in speculative claims. The Colonies want to remain exclusively European more than to remain a part of the British Empire in the full sense of the term and according to the conception attached to it by British subjects in India. They cannot and will not be forced into a wider relationship. The Colonists are not Asiatics, to be intimidated into compliance by a naval demonstration, and for that matter every Briton may to-morrow become a Colonial subject himself. Whether India and the Colonies will ever combine to make up a common Empire will depend upon India's development under British rule in the course of the next quarter of a century. If it develop its industries and resources, if the people wield a decisive authority in shaping the policy of the Government, if its autonomy in its own administrative, fiscal, and military affairs under the paramountcy of Great Britain be a proven fact as is the political status of the Colonies, then perhaps the chances that India and the Colonies will stand on a footing of equality as parts of the same Empire may be regarded as promising. In the present voiceless and impotent condition of the people of India, where not only is freedom of person not legally guaranteed, but where British subjects are expressly liable to a law of deportation, which allows the removal and detention of freemen without trial and without judgment; where, in fact, kidnapping is legalised if the culprit be the executive authority; where the police can by law retain custody of an accused person transferred from the custody of the magistrate, although time after time the horrors of a Spanish Inquisition have resulted therefrom; where there is one scale of punishment

for the Indian and another for the European, and the criminal law of the country makes a difference between His Majesty's subjects on the express ground of parentage; where practically or theoretically the natives are excluded from obtaining admission to certain branches of the Civil and Military Services; where the best men of the land are incapacitated by a colour bar from joining a volunteer corps—with such defective credentials of British citizenship, what right have we to expect copartnership in the Empire? If the racial aspect of the colonial question has prompted the Colonies at the risk of severance from Great Britain to exclude India from reciprocity, the feeling that, from a country governed as India is governed, they can get what they want by moulding its Government to their purpose, has made it easy for them to persist in their attitude. The primary requisite for arriving at a satisfactory solution of the colonial problem is the development of the Indian Government on lines of efficient autonomy and popular rights, promoting the self-respect of the people in their own land, so as to secure for them the respect of the Colonies. The South African problem would not have become the Imperial scandal that it became, and the menace to internal tranquillity that it almost came to be, but for the fact that the Government of India, an unautonomous body, had to consent to the exportation of indentured labour to the Colonies. It was this initial compliance that laid the axe at the root of India's right to be treated as a component part of the Empire of equal status therein, and prepared the seed-bed of all those disabilities which grew to such luxuriant and perilous profusion. Such were the iniquitous poll-tax, the

infamous decision that the monogamous marriage of an Indian whose personal law of marriage permits polygamy is invalid, and all similar administrative, judicial, and legislative atrocities perpetrated even after the African colonies had submitted to the flag of Great Britain as the result of conquest more real, thorough, and evident than the conquest of India. If at the very beginning Indian authorities had been jealous of India's claims to honourable treatment, there would have been no degradation of Indians, although they might have been denied admission entirely. After bitter experience, an enormous expenditure of money, and an immense personal sacrifice, the solution of the South African question has been arrived at to the satisfaction of the Indian community, the credit of the South African Government, and the self-respect of the Government of India. No true Imperialist will withhold the meed of praise due in this connection to the band of heroic Indian men and women who were resolved to win or be destroyed, and their sagacious and patriotic leader, Mr. Ghandi, whose name will pass into the history of India and South Africa alike. Nor will any Indian grudge the fullest measure of grateful appreciation due to Lord Hardinge, whose Governor-Generalship in this, as in other respects, is bound to raise imperishable landmarks in the destiny of India. Nor yet can the present generation of Indians forget the chivalrous and unequivocal stand made by British men of affairs, like Lord Ampthill, amidst the sullen surprise and the positive annoyance of their political friends and opponents, for the triumph of a larger Imperialism which lay in the redress of the wrongs of the Indian

community in South Africa. Appreciating the joint contribution of all these factors towards the settlement, in all its stages, of the South African problem, that settlement is not tantamount to the solution of the problem of Indian emigration to other parts of the Empire, as the *Komagata Maru* affair has shown. Notwithstanding the new consciousness of Imperial unity which the War has doubtless generated, the colonial question may yet, in its fundamental aspect, continue to be the *pons asinorum* of British statesmen. The War has, no doubt, opened the eyes of self-governing Colonies to the place of India in the Empire, to the bulwark that Indian loyalty can erect for offensive and defensive purposes at a time of imminent crisis to British integrity and freedom. In spite of all this, however, and in spite of the rapid *rapprochement* between India and the other parts of the Empire, there is no guarantee that a colony may not choose to be perversely unimperial, self-contained, and exclusive to the detriment of Imperial interests. As in the case of Canada, it may not loyally enter into a scheme of Imperial citizenship in spite of all the splendid prospects which await it and will be the fruition of the Imperial instinct of the British race and the growing political sagacity of the Indian nation. Until it can be so, the proper attitude of Indian authorities in such a circumstance is to pursue, however reluctantly, a policy of unreserved retaliation wherever scope may be found for it, unflinchingly paying back the Colonies *mutatis mutandis* in the same method and manner. When, in the discretion of a colony, India ceases to be a part of the British Empire fit for perfect reciprocity, that colony must equally cease to be a part of the

Empire within the purview of the Statute [illegible] of India. The British Empire may hereafter consist of mutually adhesive parts; but for a long time to come it must necessarily consist of adhesive and repellent parts as well. This ought not, however, to necessitate a condition in which one part is free to exercise the prerogatives of a dominant owner, and another is bound to acknowledge its servitude. British statesmen must realise that it will no longer be possible to continue to hold all the parts of the Empire under the same flag except by recognising the right of each part to reciprocate the treatment it receives from another; otherwise the bond of Empire will, as regards some of its parts, degenerate into a bondage of the Empire, and a process will set in of sacrificing the loyalty of one part to the perversity of another.

One cannot but regret in this connection that even so far-seeing an administrator as Lord Hardinge failed to grasp the true inwardness of the problem in his reference to the *Komagata Maru* incident at a meeting of his Legislative Council when accepting the resolution of a non-official member recommending a contribution of men and money to the War. He rightly thought, no doubt, that the outburst of loyalty in India demanded a reference on that occasion to an important contemporaneous event exercising the public mind. But the line of advocacy he took, most conciliatory as it was, showed that he did not grasp the core of the trouble. He said that India as an Asiatic country could expect no more than the most-favoured-nation treatment, such as was meted out to Japan, and if Indians would be satisfied with it he would try to

obtain the admission of a definite number of Indian immigrants annually into Canada. He argued, in regard to the rejection of Indian immigrants, that Canada has exercised the same prerogative from time to time even in regard to British immigrants. A moment's examination, however, will be enough to show that there is more contrast than agreement in the comparison the Governor-General instituted. The conditions of acceptance or rejection for British and Indian immigrants are so entirely different that to ask the Indian public to be consoled by the rejection of the former is to be unintentionally amusing to a degree. For Indians it is not a test of personal fitness, but a test of a direct voyage which does not usually exist, prompted by a desire to secure their practical exclusion. The grievance of the British immigrant will be the same as that of the Indian when he is asked to reach Canada from England direct *via* the Cape of Good Hope and round Australia; or, considering the supreme advantages in navigation which the British people have, by imposing upon them the condition that they should reach Canada by an underground train. Until these conditions can be equalised, there is little good in asking Indians to take heart because the British also are liable to rejection. Then what are all the efforts made and the inducements offered by the Canadian Government and people to promote the emigration of the pick of the British labouring classes, on the one hand, and what on the other hand are all the ingenious devices resorted to by them to keep off their Indian fellow-subjects from the Canadian shores? "Canada wants you," is the spirit in which the British immigrant is accepted. "Come if you

please, by a prescribed route which does not exist for commercial purposes, and then take your chance under other conditions," is the spirit in which the Indian is welcomed. India has developed sufficiently in political stature for all parties to handle at least her outstanding problems in frank and fearless honesty.

As regards the argument of the favoured-nation treatment, the basic question for settlement is whether India is to be reduced from an integral part of the Empire to the footing of a favoured nation. If it can be no more than that, why should Canada be any more in the view of the Government of India? It is in grappling with this stiflingly logical attitude that the crux of the difficulty lies, and no solution that is based upon an evasion of that difficulty can be even remotely satisfactory.

Nor can this be regarded as a merely theoretical problem, as the sequel to the *Komagata Maru* incident has shown. When the rejected immigrants reached India, chafing under a sense of wrong perpetrated in compliance with a judicial decision which has been based upon an avowed law of exclusion, there was no doubt some ground for the belief that they would foment an undesirable agitation at a time of some anxiety to the Government. The authorities were therefore ready with a special train at their place of landing near Calcutta, so that they might be transported direct to the Punjab without marching towards Calcutta. Most of them, however, refused the proffered assistance of a special train free of charge, being prompted not only by the inviting proximity of Calcutta, but by motives and fears which the Indian Executive should have had

no difficulty in ascertaining. They declined to walk into the parlour of the Government because they evidently feared that each man would be taken to his own house, and there kept under police surveillance. This must have been as much at the bottom of their resistance as any other consideration. Instead of removing this apprehension the authorities insisted upon their taking the train, and alternately persuaded and coerced them, and began to intimidate them by the sight of troops and the production of recent enactments. As a consequence a large party of the rejected immigrants fell upon the police, a few with fire-arms and the rest with clubs. Four days after all this had taken place a censored *communiqué* was issued to the country at large, giving an account which erred none too largely on the side of adequate information. One European police officer was killed, besides the Indians killed or wounded on both sides. The result of this unfortunate affray has yet to be seen, as Canada contains a very large number of the compatriots of these people, all closely identified in interest and racial fraternity with the Sikh population. The want of discretion of the Senior Member of the Bengal Executive Council, an Anglo-Indian civilian who handled all these operations in person, stands out only less prominently than the unascertainable responsibility of the Government of the Punjab, which is presided over by another Anglo-Indian. The effects of any agitation which the passengers might have fomented in Calcutta could not have been half so bad as this exchange of bullets and blows. Agitation would have been an open affair, and would merely have emphasised the rights of the Indian as a British subject, but in seeking to

prevent it the authorities drove them to a defiance of law and order. Even if a secret seditious propaganda had been feared, that fear has been now made worse on account of the still stronger estrangement between a section of the Sikhs (with a large body of sympathisers) and the Executive. If they had been met face to face in Calcutta by Lord Carmichael and some of the members of his Legislative Council with a few public men of the city at a public meeting, and the intricacies of the question and the intentions of the Government had been explained to them, the Indian authorities would have come out with credit and advantage to themselves. With Lord Hardinge in Simla and Lord Carmichael at Calcutta, and with the Civil Service to counsel, control, and execute in the spirit of their traditions, with an ordinance in one hand, and a posse of police at their elbow, the *Komagata Maru* emigrants, ejected from Canada after a long, costly, and arduous voyage, concluded their troubles with a fatal affray with their own authorities at the entrance to Calcutta. When we judge of the signal want of tact with which the Indian officialdom concerned behaved in this matter, the patience, perseverance, and restraint which the Canadian authorities showed throughout, while the immigrant ship was lying in port, not to mention their generosity in provisioning it and bearing the cost of the return voyage, cannot but be worthy of grateful mention, despite their attitude of exclusion. The lesson to be laid to heart is that in this case, as in the South African question, and as regards every such conceivable contingency, the colonial problem must come home to roost, until the Indian Government make bold to come to a rational settlement. There

is only one such, apart from all that has been proposed till now by the authorities concerned. That lies in recognising that the British Empire must hereafter come to consist of parts, each of which will have to be governed in its own interests, and all or any of which may enter into a reciprocal or retaliatory relationship. That is the true basis of an Imperial policy which will not jeopardise the Empire, although it may not conduce to its unification; and its inauguration cannot brook vacillation in responsible quarters. To continue to recognise the right of a colony (to whatever extent it may be exercised or however rarely utilised) to enter our Civil and Military Services, to own plantations, to carry on business, and to enjoy all other exemptions and privileges specially reserved to European British subjects in India, will be a policy of trying too severely the fealty of a magnificent tusker in order to please an untamable wild cat. Nor should Indians harbour any resentment against Great Britain, or look down upon her, if after employing retaliatory measures she is unable to force reciprocity on the Colonies. The Empire of Great Britain is not, and ought not to be, bound together or maintained by force, although force is necessary to defend it from external aggression. To expect, therefore, that England can coerce the Colonies for our sake will be like the unreasonable and unintelligent demand that Great Britain's foreign policy should be mainly shaped by consulting the susceptibilities of any section of the Indian population. England cannot assume an attitude of coercion towards one part of the Empire for the sake of another. At the same time it is imperative that, in maintaining our rights and the self-respect of the Indian Govern-

ment, we should possess all the powers of a self-governing colony, if for nothing else, at least to vindicate the prestige of British authority in India and to deserve and merit the loyalty of the people. Our terms should be—give and take, or give not, receive not; there is nothing dishonourable, nothing politically wrong, in either. There is dishonour and danger alike in forcing India to accept the position that she shall not be permitted to take, although she shall be bound to give.

SECTION III

Our Share of the Work

In dealing with what the Government ought to do for us, we cannot forget what the people ought to do for themselves, what different communities ought to do for one another, and what the educated and moneyed classes of all communities must do for the country of their birth. Indians have doubtless been too exacting in expecting the Government to do everything for them, partly as a result of an all-appropriating bureaucracy having accustomed the people to look to it for the initiative, encouragement, and ultimate success of most undertakings; and partly as a result of our racial lethargy. But social inefficiency and political power cannot co-exist except for a time, and either the one or the other must soon undergo necessary modification. Although it is often said that no Government can do for a people more than the people themselves are prepared to do, still, as a fact, the Government in India has done much more for the people than they have for themselves. What individual Englishmen have done for Indians

in India, what European missionaries have done for our poor and sick and illiterate, what European savants have done for our classical literature, history, and antiquity, what retired members of the Indian Civil Service have done in quickening our political consciousness and developing our political organisations and in sustaining British interest in Indian affairs,—are all standing monuments of the British love of labour for a people less favoured than themselves, and of the British sense of justice and fair play on the one hand and our own pitiable and at times culpable incapacity and want of power as a race on the other.

What the British manufacturer does for our raw products, that the British men of letters, the British philanthropists, and British lovers and devotees of freedom and self-government have done for the people of India. Verily we have been no more than raw products in their hands. Such a spirit of content as regards our own shortcomings and of acute discontent with those of the Government is bound to detract most unfavourably from the reputation of our countrymen, and can never lead to substantial results even in political aspirations. After all, every exercise of any kind of privilege or right makes a certain amount of capacity to combine and a certain degree of social efficiency indispensable. Without them the privilege must soon lead to dissensions, not for the public good as in other countries, but for private ends; from this danger political advancement in India has to be anxiously protected. Again, we have to burn it into our memory that no nation can get more than what its best men strive for. If our best men strive only

for opportunities in Government service, it is unreasonable for us to complain that the country can get nothing better. No people can make good a claim to self-government of any kind merely on the ground of its ability to furnish suitable candidates for salaried offices in the Public Service. That claim must be established in the management of self-governing institutions of an official or non-official character, and by an exhibition of civic efficiency which will leave no doubt as to the sincerity of our professions and our capacity to adhere together and to suffer for what we deem to be rightly due to us—not in subterranean caverns of intrigue, plotting anarchical crimes, but in the fullest and freest assertion in open daylight of what we mean to be under the British flag.

The great need of India is a sense of civic duty apart from a sense of individual patriotism, and a realisation of a common political identity despite the barriers which her people have in common with others, but many of which are peculiar to themselves. If only the Indian's sense of civic duty had been half as alive and fruitful as his sense of domestic duty, India would present to-day, to her honour, a magnificent spectacle, having been able to combine in equal efficiency high standards of domestic and of civic responsibility. Unless Indians begin to act early in appreciation of the forces that are at work around them, and to liberate themselves from their bondage to a priesthood, their social inefficiency cannot but seriously hamper them in their progress in politics. They should realise that the time is come for them to get the better of those institutions which impair their capacity for

effective combination and cripple the buoyancy and utility of almost every one of their number. We do not mean to say that, because of the Hindu system of early marriage, the combination of judicial and executive functions is a justifiable administrative arrangement; or because the Mahomedans and a section of the Hindus confine their women and deny them God's sunshine and open air, that the Government is justified in detaining any one in incarceration without trial and the sanction of a Court of Justice. Nor can it be suggested for a moment that because in India one man will not eat with another, for no other reason than that each is born of his own parents, an Indian who is in every way competent to be an Assistant-Superintendent of Police should be debarred from holding that office on account of his birth; nor can it be argued that because a Hindu widow is not allowed by social sanction to remarry, and is in certain provinces disfigured and subjected to perpetual cruelties, while a Hindu widower of threescore and ten is at liberty to marry a child between whom and himself there is a difference of two generations, there should therefore be one penal law for the Indian and another for the European; nor that because a Hindu of one caste will not go near a Hindu of another caste, the non-official members of the Legislative Council should have no power to alter a Budget allotment; nor that because Hindu custom forbids sojourn in foreign countries, an accused person should be remanded to police custody, and compelled to stand the ill-treatment and brutality which this often means. These are administrative abuses which call for eradication, whatever may be the defects and deformities of our

social system, just as our domestic and social institutions call for a thorough reformation without any reference to the system of administration obtaining in the country.

No one can possibly be blind to the havoc that some of our social institutions play in enfeebling the vitality of the race, in depreciating our social resources, in narrowing and thwarting the opportunities that are even now open to us, and in dissipating the enormous volume of social energy otherwise available for the good of the country. Once again, when we desire to advance from the domain of administrative reform into the region of real political power, that is, when we take our destiny primarily into our own hands, we shall find that our present-day social institutions will absolutely paralyse us if allowed to exercise mastery over us. It is impossible for us to exercise material privileges efficiently and for the greatest public good without developing a sense of civic duty and social service, both of which demand a deliberate and conscious modification of our unquestioning homage to the ritualistic tyranny of a mediæval priesthood. To be possessed by an unbounded admiration for the enthralling literature of our country, to have implicit faith in the spiritual verities taught in it, to feel as confiding infants at the feet of those saints of a past day whose places of interment are even now store-houses of spiritual power and healthy beneficence, to feel one with the past and to pray for a future in keeping with it, is not identical with the spirit of crawling and creeping like earth-worms in the face of social iniquities, because they are customary iniquities, and because the protecting arm of an irresponsible priest,

who neither knows the condition of his country nor can appreciate the labours of his countrymen, is extended to guard them from change. To keep the womanhood of our country among the higher classes ignorant although intelligent, and out of tune and touch with our aspirations, endeavours, and sufferings, is not only to forgo helpful co-operation, but to make our burden infinitely more oppressive than it need be. It is in fact trying to obey two forces at the same time: the force of stagnation and the force of advancement. It is like trying to swim when a whirlpool below the current is dragging the swimmer down.

The Hindu-Mahomedan problem is another of those Indian problems, the importance and difficulty of which no thoughtful person will endeavour to minimise, but which at the same time must strike many as much less formidable than ignorant or interested critics have generally supposed it to be. It would appear from the standpoint of these critics that Hindus and Mahomedans have tried to live together in amity and peace only since the advent of the British Government. They forget that, whatever religious bigots seated on the thrones of Indian kingdoms might have done to foment religious ill-will and animosity between the two classes, the bulk of the population, Hindus and Mahomedans, have been for centuries accustomed to look upon one another with the feelings common to humanity in every part of the world. In numerous affairs they are brought together every hour of their life, and even in religious matters there are instances of orthodox Hindus worshipping at the shrines of Mahomedan saints and of Mahomedans fulfilling

vows for Hindu saints and deities. In the Mahomedan state of Hyderabad and the Hindu state of Mysore, there is scarcely any Hindu-Mahomedan problem. With all its reality it is not half as insoluble as the antagonism between capital and labour in England, although lovers of antithesis have taken a keen pleasure in emphasising the points of difference between the two communities. If recently it has taken an unpleasant turn, it is due partly to the mistaken notion that local authorities here and there favoured Hindu-Mahomedan schisms; partly to the influence of a reactionary group who thought that the progress of other communities should be at a standstill until they themselves were equally ready to advance; partly to the controversies engendered by Lord Morley's Reform Scheme, the palpably wrong way in which some men presented the Mahomedan case, and the warm refutation thereby called forth; and now and then it occurs in connection with the slaughter of cows. Every one of these is capable of satisfactory handling, as has been proved by recent events. The official attitude changed for the better under Lord Hardinge, and there is no reason to believe that there will be a retrogression, especially since the significant expression of His Majesty's hope that there will be amity and goodwill among all classes of his subjects. The bulk of the Mahomedan community is now keenly sensible of the fact that, as the effect of constitutional agitation carried on almost exclusively at the expense and effort of their Hindu fellow-countrymen for a quarter of a century, when they themselves declined time after time to share in the burden and obloquy, they no less than the country have been vastly benefited. As regards out-

standing Mahomedan claims, those on behalf of education have been amply satisfied, and the Hindus have cordially endorsed the policy followed. As regards special representation on Municipal and Taluk Boards, wherever there may be a considerable Mahomedan population, this may be conceded without expecting therefrom any dire calamity to the cause of local self-government. For one thing such a concession will ensure Hindus and Mahomedans working side by side on all representative local bodies, and will efficiently meet the local needs of the two sections. The great lesson to be laid to heart in this connection by leaders of public opinion is that Hindu-Mahomedan unity and co-operation are worth securing in local affairs, since local bodies only exercise delegated powers from the Legislature. Each locality has its peculiar problems, and some of them may call for such a provision.

The leaders of the Mahomedan community, even more than their followers, must turn aside once for all from dividing their patriotism and allegiance between pan-Islamism and co-operation with their non-Islamic fellow-subjects in India. They must realise that their country is Hindustan, that their language is Hindustani, that their ruler is the King-Emperor, and that it will be a fatal mistake to encourage the notion that they are an offshoot in India of a parent-stock somewhere between Asia and Europe. The only really outstanding difficulty is the slaughter of cows, and that has been so because the Government has failed to approach the question from the proper standpoint.

In reality the cow question in India is not so much Hindu-Mahomedan as economic and agrarian. In

the interests of rural prosperity, of an adequate supply of fresh consumable milk for the infant population of the country, and of a sufficient supply of that essential dietetic commodity of India, "ghee" (clarified butter), it is imperative that the slaughter of cows should be absolutely prohibited. Beef may be imported from abroad for the soldiery and for popular consumption, just as ham, bacon, cheese, and many other articles of food are at present imported. The Mahomedan religion does not make the slaughter of a cow indispensable on any occasion, and should there be a complaint in any quarter that this prohibition would add to the cost of any religious sacrifice by necessitating a large purchase of goats or other sacrificial animals, the cost will be cheerfully met by voluntary gifts from the Hindus, which may be placed on an organised footing. The attitude of a Mahomedan potentate like His Majesty the Amir, who rendered his visit memorable by prohibiting the slaughter of cows during his visit, furnishes a rule of conduct to the Mahomedan community and the Government of India alike. The cow in India is the universal mother. There is no tenet in Mahomedanism compelling its sacrifice, and every Mahomedan, we believe, offers a sacrifice to please his God and not to spite his neighbour; if so, without any expense to himself, he may substitute the slaughter of other animals, especially when the cow is a necessity of universal importance and an object of deep reverence to millions of people. It is to some extent want of faith on the part of the Government that with tactful and firm handling the difficulty could be got over to the satisfaction of all parties, and to some extent the presence of other outstanding issues

between the two communities, that have made the solution of this question a matter of greater difficulty than it need have been. The time is now propitious, and its solution seems most hopeful. Even Anglo-Indian policy which till recently had a skulking partiality for the continuance of the cow problem as an unsolved difficulty, as a wholesome reminder that times of intense communal trouble have not entirely passed away, has now learnt that such an unnecessary advantage may be relinquished. In other matters the occasional breaches between Hindus and Mahomedans are not of much greater importance than dissensions and disputes and occasional breaches of the peace among the members of each community, while all of them can be composed in good time by the constitution of reconciliatory Boards in each Presidency town. In no case need the Hindu-Mahomedan problem be exaggerated into an issue likely to wreck Great Britain's political destiny in India.

SECTION IV

The Destiny of British Rule

We have had to traverse a somewhat wide field, since British citizenship in India is still in its swaddling-clothes, and since bureaucracy, everywhere baneful, has played, and is still playing, an all-engrossing part in India, from fixing the spelling of Indian names to the disposal of Indian revenues. The problem of Indian Government is therefore, in the main, a problem of relaxing the hold of the bureaucracy; and if we have not been generous in our estimate of its future utility, we have not failed to

appreciate the zeal and ability that have distinguished its labours in the past in and on behalf of India. It is rather, on the other hand, that there can be no room for autonomy and bureaucracy to thrive together, while British responsibility can no longer be delegated to the Civil Service. As autonomy in India grows, bureaucracy must shrink and dwindle, and be gradually transformed into a substantially different kind of agency. At the same time, as the concern of the British becomes more real and earnest, the authority of the Anglo-Indian proxy must diminish. Anglo-Indian rule has not only reached the zenith of its authority, but has fulfilled its purpose in perfecting official system and method, and must now begin to give place to what may be described as Indo-British rule. The necessity for this was not only distinctly perceived, but was definitely formulated, at the beginning of the third great period in the history of progressive British statesmanship in regard to this country. When local self-government was cast on an elective basis in order to give effect to the policy enunciated by Lord Mayo in the year 1870, the era of Indo-British government was clearly foreshadowed in a resolution bristling with inspiring sentiments which at once evoke deep respect for its authors and convey to us what we may confidently expect of British rule. The Government of India desired the Local Governments to understand that a deliberate departure in the previously accepted canons of administration had been definitely decided upon. They justified such a departure in the following words: 'As education advances there is rapidly growing up all over the country an intelligent class

of public-spirited men whom it is not only bad policy, but sheer waste of power to fail to utilise. The task of administration is yearly becoming more onerous as the country progresses in civilisation and material prosperity. The annual reports of every Government tell of an ever-increasing burden laid upon the shoulders of the local officers. The cry is everywhere for increased establishments. The universal complaint in all departments is that of overwork. Under these circumstances it becomes imperatively necessary to look around for some means of relief; and the Governor-General in Council has no hesitation in stating his conviction that the only reasonable plan open to Government is to induce the people themselves to undertake, as far as may be, the management of their own affairs; and to develop or create if need be a capacity for self-help in respect of all matters that have not for Imperial reasons to be retained in the hands of the representatives of the Government." Also, the acknowledgment was made: "It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education." If we can only realise to-day the volume of surplus energy which in the absence of Lord Ripon's scheme will have to struggle without legitimate outlet under the rule of an alien people, we can well imagine the service rendered by Lord Ripon to the cause of British supremacy and Indian advancement. The full extent of that appreciation will become clear when one comes to know how profoundly Lord Ripon was convinced of the unqualified wisdom of his statesmanship. When the Bombay Government naïvely

suggested that it would be better "to create and educate a public spirit" before beginning such an experiment, the Government of India met the suggestion with a rejoinder that must have made the Anglo-Indians of the day suspect that after all theirs was not the sole or the ruling vision in Indian politics. "It is not explained," ran that rejoinder, "what are the measures which His Excellency in Council would have proposed to adopt for the purpose of creating and educating public spirit; and in the absence of any information on this subject the Governor-General in Council cannot but feel much doubt as to the power of any Government to create public spirit otherwise than by affording to the public a practical opportunity of displaying and cultivating such a spirit in the management of some portion, however limited, of public affairs. It is far easier for an executive government by its direct action to check and hamper the development of public spirit than to create it." How many district officers are there even to-day who bear out the truth of this statement whenever municipal papers require their attention! Anglo-Indian trusteeship of India will not allow the Indian to wet his feet in political waters before he has learnt to swim, whereas British statesmanship had no difficulty in perceiving that until he entered the water he could not be expected to learn. It is this difference that has persistently manifested itself between the popular party and the bureaucracy in India; and on every occasion the Indian view has had to be enforced, not only over the heads but in spite of the bureaucracy, by British statesmen. The development of Indian autonomy calls, in effect, for nothing more than the systematic

espousal of Lord Ripon's policy of substituting for Anglo-Indian rule Indo-British governance. The process of substitution cannot be a process of violent uprooting of the one and planting of the other in its place. To be accurate, it cannot be even a process of substitution; it is, in fact, a process of transformation. The period of inconsequential association of the non-official element in the Imperial and Provincial Councils must be succeeded by a period of effective association by making it a definite factor possessing a constitutional status of its own. As it grows and justifies the confidence reposed in it, the bureaucracy should be transformed into an Executive responsible to the non-official element. But for the enormous vested interests that have grown round the system of administration in India, Anglo-Indians themselves would be foremost in furthering the efforts of Indians for the expansion of popular rights. For bureaucracy is, after all, more alien to the British spirit than we are by outward appearances led to believe, while bahadurism is assuredly not a native trait in the Briton. Nor is it that the people of India, who for a century have been in close contact with the British, and for half that time have been dominated by their institutions, history, and literature, prefer the Indian bahadur to the British bureaucrat. To them the one is as bad as the other, and as unserviceable in the evolution of India's future. It is not that we want to replace a British bureaucracy by an Indian bureaucracy, when we ask that the executive agency in India should be composed of Indians with the exception of an irreducibly necessary minimum of Britons. It is on economic and administrative grounds that the change has been

advocated. Nor can we be satisfied if an Indian autocracy should take the place of the British bureaucracy. Trying to steer clear of both, India desires to enter Great Britain's harbour of perfect goodwill, and trusts to be trained in the art of political navigation for their mutual benefit and honour, always under the British flag, so long as in the ordering of Providence it flies high enough to protect India with India's unreserved support in men and means. If ever it should cease to fly over India, through all the long night of misery that may ensue the severance, India's anguish will only be that such a day should have been followed by such a night. So long as the sunshine of the British Empire falls on India, let not a moment be wasted in raising doubts and difficulties on the one hand, and fomenting antagonism and antipathy on the other. Let us not, whatever our position may be, forfeit the right we have earned to the confidence of England by seeming to encourage a policy of foolish terrorism and dastardly outrages on Englishmen in India, whether on a scribbler in the Anglo-Indian Press who disseminates the infamy that the best products of British education are "base-born B.A.'s," or on a Viceroy who has shown himself as great as Canning in clemency, as sincere as Ripon, as sympathetic as Sir Thomas Munro, and as far-seeing and sagacious as the great Marquis of Wellesley. Whoever may be the mortal victim of an outrage, the real victim is Indian political progress. For, except at a time of great crisis, when an outrage may reflect the dominant and ungovernable passion of the community practically as a whole, all outrages only serve to put back the progress of a country, and rivet more strongly the fetters of authority whether

responsible to the people or not. India has never swerved from the faith that in the British connection alone is the security of its political progress. That faith has mellowed into an unassailable assurance since His Majesty's Durbar at Delhi, and under the resolute policy of goodwill of Lord Hardinge. Those who run counter to that adamantine conviction can only discredit the country's cause and deserve the opprobrium reserved in all lands for political parricides. By all means let public spirit and sacrifice, unfaltering courage of conviction, and all the virtues of an awakened, organised political manhood flow in abundant and growing evidence; but let it be made clear there can be no place in Indian politics, however assertive a course may be laid down for it by men of varying shades of political conviction, for a creed of outrage and assassination. Further, the identity of interests which the War has so fully established between India and England forbids the very thought of an India separate from England.

Since, therefore, all the outrages cannot disestablish the British Government, so long as they continue to be outrages on the political conviction of India as well, their only effect will be to cripple the efforts of Indians and Englishmen for the good of the country. Does any man in his senses think that if the British make the country over to us to-morrow we shall be able to preserve it for a day either as our own, or for ourselves? Even if we are able to do it, can we retain it as a country governed *by the people for the people* as the United Kingdom and United States are? To become self-governing, it is India that needs England indispensably. So far as England's integrity, independence, and popular

political freedom are concerned, India does not enter into her needs at all. Without India she possessed all these; before the last Mahratta War was over, Napoleon had been finally overthrown; before the Charter Act of 1833 was passed, the Reform Bill had been passed; before India came under the direct control of the Crown, England had been for twenty-two years under Queen Victoria. On the other hand, as we turn to India, our every prospect rests on the continuance of British supremacy; our unification as one political people, our immunity from external aggression, our security from internal anarchy, and all hopes of political control by the people for their own good. Severance from Great Britain must therefore mean a long farewell to all these hopes and efforts, and a plunge into abysmal misery. As we have shown, it is the need of India that keeps England here, and it may be well borne in mind by extremists on both sides, by those who bend their knees to the sword, and by those others who prostrate themselves before a bomb, that no country, especially no country of the vastness and resources of India, can be governed for a day, although it may be conquered time after time, without the concurrence of the people governed. England's empire in India does not rest upon the sword, nor can it be terminated by a campaign of outrage and assassination. British destiny and India's future have been linked together by Providence, and have received the blood-oblations of both countries. Such a possession cannot be discarded either by unreasoning pride of birth and irrational prejudice of colour, nor can it be consumed in the perversity of political incendiarism. The sacrifices made on both sides for British rule and for

India's political future are too great to allow us to succumb to such a contemptible contingency, so long as the heart of India is sound and the discernment of England is unerring. Any one who can take in at a glance the history of Great Britain's relations to India —from the time British seamen sought to discover a northern route and were frozen to death, like Hudson, pen in hand, to the time that a British Viceroy, recovering from an outrage inflicted on him in the Imperial capital at an historic entry, assures the people that it will not deflect him from his progressive policy—will see that Great Britain's destiny in India is too great and powerful to be perverted or arrested by sectional prejudices, vested interests, communal bickerings, and demented outrages. India seems to have always waited for her political future until the advent of Great Britain, while England's preparation in politics seems to have been specially designed for the task that has fallen to her in India. Nor did England fail to assimilate and profit by the successes that fell to the lot of each European nation in India, and by the discoveries each in its turn made in the course of its Asiatic experience. She profited by the maritime discoveries of Portugal, whose zeal for scientific navigation won for Europe undiscovered bournes and unknown ocean routes, and whose intrepid valour recalls the glory that was Greece; she profited by the genius of Holland in the organisation of Eastern trade so as to secure wealth from commerce as well as from territorial revenue; she once again profited by the moves made by the French on the political chessboard of India, moves which made it plain that an unprecedented Asiatic dominion awaited the European Power which

could steadily and resolutely bring to its aid diplomacy, courage, and fidelity in its dealings with the ruling houses of India.. Is it then too much to expect that when, in founding her Eastern Empire, she has profited by what was not originally hers, she will not fail to call into requisition what is not a legacy from other nations, but her own splendid self-acquisition, her own unrivalled inborn political aptitude for training the countries under her sovereignty in the path of political autonomy? Is it likely that her own experience will fail her when she has profited by the experience of others to such an extent that her own historians have described her as the residuary legatee of the nations that went before her in India? She has been more than an architect of her liberties, she has been in modern history a source of political illumination to the nations of the world.

A mere speck on the known globe, she has, step by step, advanced herself to a position of such commanding pre-eminence and such an intensity of political lustre, that from the British Isles may be said to have radiated as a law of nature for a century and a half the world's sunshine of civic freedom. Any one can find in her history the process of her transformation, but the secret of her success has not been so much in the institutions she has developed, in the constitutional bulwarks she has raised, in the great guarantees of political liberty she has established, as in that national genius of the race which made them all possible. They are but the expression and the outward manifestation of that God-implanted law of self-realisation which seems to have been the maintenance of political authority

as the instrument of popular freedom. National institutions are but the physical organs of a nation, evolved in the course of its growth, for the realisation of the spirit indwelling in the community. There are communities which are made by institutions and communities which make institutions, which create constitutional marvels, and leave great pathways of enduring reality on the tract of time. Others who have the capacity benefit by them, but in their origin these institutions are the product of a society which threw them up in the course of fulfilling the conditions of its own law of existence. British institutions are of this order, and the British people are of this category; of them it may be truly said that they are a people with a mission. They have had to fight for and obtain all political rights, from the meanest to the most magnificent, from the rudimentary rights of the subject to the practical sovereignty of the subject, and they have done this as a necessary condition of their existence. One by one their great national rights and freedoms were acquired as the result of a strenuous struggle of the weak against the strong, of the unprivileged against the privileged; freedom of person, freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of conscience, the control over the Executive, and the right of legislation. When such a people build up an Empire, not solely as a matter of their own seeking, it cannot be a case of *Imperium et libertas* in the sense that the two are to stand divorced from each other, that liberty is to be for themselves, and Empire for others —a political conception against which their most brilliant statesmen and political architects have passionately protested and resolutely set their face.

In the days of the Roman Republic there was liberty for Rome and Empire for its provinces, but the Roman despotism abroad, benevolent as it was on the whole, reacted on the capital with the result that Roman liberty was no longer what it used to be. When "All" became "Citizens of Rome" there were no longer Roman Citizens in Rome, but only Roman subjects. When "*Civis Romanus sum*" became possible, there was no Roman *Civis*. Great as was Rome's contribution to the cause of civilisation, she had not found the art of reconciling imperial authority with the freedom of the Empire—which Great Britain amongst her civic and political triumphs, and following the ascendancy of the people, has slowly come to possess. It is true, no doubt, that what she has yet to accomplish is as great as what she has accomplished already in the realm of Imperial politics. Our great hope of success lies in the fact that she means to accomplish them. With her it has become increasingly an article of political faith that no problem is beyond the resources of statesmanship; and this faith is not a theoretical assumption made in the hey-day of ministerial confidence, and when the forces of the nation are at a high pitch of vibration. On the contrary, the assumption is confirmed by no little evidence gathered over a long period and reaching from the time that an impossible monarch's abdication was contrived as a bloodless revolution to the day that the hereditary chamber of the realm had to relinquish national finance and, for all necessary constitutional purposes, national legislation also in deference to the pronounced opinion of the people. During this period British statesmanship triumphed over every ordeal except in one momentous issue

which confronted it at a time when the voice of obstinacy dictated the policy of the nation and overbore the audible counsels of prudence and fair play. But that exception has not been without its blessings. It has illumined the political vision of England and opened out a whole vista of larger domestic policy. As a result of her entire history, England has reached a rule of political conduct which guarantees the maintenance of the political identity of every part of the Empire and at the same time the retention of her Imperial suzerainty over the constituents. That working rule of British statesmanship, that political formula, has been expressed in unmistakable terms by one of the most brilliant intellects ever concerned in the practical affairs of a state Nearly a generation ago, just before he definitely started upon the Home Rule campaign, Mr. Gladstone, in his manifesto to his constituency, stated what ought to be the governing principle of England, and said : " To maintain the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the Empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that unity is the first duty of every representative of the people. Subject to this governing principle, every grant to portions of the country of enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs is, in my view, not a source of danger, but a means of averting it, and is in the nature of a new guarantee for increased cohesion, happiness, and strength." British political experience has come to this bed-rock of political faith after a long and arduous journey, by overthrowing obstacles, and benefiting by errors of judgment, strengthened and refreshed at frequent stages by the gratifying triumphs that have always attended the pursuance of a policy

prompted by such a faith. The extent of the grant of enlarged powers at any particular period in regard to a particular part of the Empire may admit of differences of opinion, but as to the value of the axiom as the political compass of British statesmanship there can be, and ought to be, no question in regard to any part of the Empire. Nor should there be any attempt on the part of responsible statesmen to define for all time to come the ultimate possible limit of a British realm in receiving the benefit of that axiom. It is not the part of a statesman to play the rôle of a prophet, especially a prophet of despair. How far India can advance under the British Crown must depend upon her own capacity and not upon the measure of liberality that will mark the application of that axiom to the case of India. By whatever name the goal to which India can make under the flag of Britain be designated—Parliamentary Government, Self-Government, or Colonial Government—it is futile at the present day to ask if India is fit for, or will ever reach, that destination. It is far worse than futile, it is impolitic to a degree, to asseverate that it cannot—and to assure us that India is destined to be at best a well-cared-for political cattle-farm of the Empire. Unless one can pretend to take stock of the entire course of events in Indian, British, and world politics destined to happen so long as India remains under British rule, it is obviously unwise and absurd to set limit to her political advancement under British sovereignty. If there be any country on the face of the earth at the present day which eludes even modest political prophecy, that country, as events have shown, is India; we of this country are ourselves a race of prophets, and when

any one, however high his political or literary rôle may be, assures us that India for all time must forgo Parliamentary Government, we refuse to believe that he has read our destiny aright; nay, we go a step further, and affirm that he has quitted his sphere of authority. Furthermore, it is no part of statesmanship at any rate to dogmatise or prophecy in regard to India; it only irritates all those whom it does not amuse. Those who believe that they are thereby avowing an honest political faith do not realise that no Indian can be blamed if he takes it as the betrayal of the cloven hoof. Every canon of political prudence forbids a man in actual authority to hurl against a people a prediction of perpetual disability. While there is little to warrant its soundness, it implants in the mind of the governed a germ of positive belief that British rule is pledged in the innermost recess of its heart to a policy of perpetual tutelage with the secret motto of Divide and Rule, and the conviction is forced upon them that the only course that can benefit them, if there be any at all, is to unite and overthrow. Unrealities assume greater importance with both parties under speculative possibilities and impossibilities, and the result is deplorable. For a country so well matured in political experience as England, the only attitude which justice and prudence counsel is at once to refrain scrupulously from such a *non possumus* position, and to make it plain that every part of the Empire can attain its majority under Great Britain by carrying out those reforms for which it may from time to time be fit. There is no ground to believe that England will perversely fail in the mission that seems to have been allotted to her by the hand of

Providence, and unless the gods deprive her of reason, she cannot deny her whole history. If she has dived deep and long in the depths of political turmoil to find political wisdom, she will not permit herself to be seized by a political paralysis in the case of India, especially at a time when the whole Empire is consciously striving to become one and indivisible more than ever before. It is not probable, either, that India will miss her future by trusting to the overweening confidence of those who will leap beyond their own shadow, seeing that India's isolation might only mean her coming under a domination in which all persons and things exist for the will of one man.

In the face of the New Providence that menaces the nations of the earth with an open malignity, it will be the part of a maniac to weaken the forces of world's freedom, whatever may be the race, country, or political status of its adherents. Weak as she might have been, powerless as she has had to be as a factor in World Politics, India has valued of all possessions freedom from time immemorial for the highest of human purposes. She has, in fact, lived for and suffered domination and bondage for interpreting the lessons of freedom in its highest sense. She has taught one militarist power after another of the days that have gone by that no nation and no person can get what is worth while to get unless they get it through the freedom of others, as an uncompelled, free choice of theirs. To her worldly freedom has always been a means for an end. It is because the Western ideal has no such end to it that freedom in the West has come to mean freedom to aggress and aggrandise as between class and class and country and country, and its so-called economic verities have

been built upon ethical heresies. In India, even as a means, freedom, whether for the individual or the community, never meant an instrument for the acquisition of the good things of the world irrespective of its tendency to corrupt the individual or the nation in the very process of acquisition. One freedom after another, from one stage to another, through means and methods every one of which was considered to be a high end in itself, was meant to lead to the ultimate realisation of the self, whose freedom consisted in being free of all conditioned existence. But when we have parted with our freedom ourselves in its lower stages of national existence, and have been incapacitated from being what we may have been in our country, from the teaching of the alphabet to the child to the raising and the disposing of the taxes of the country, India's loss of freedom is not her own loss, but the loss of the world's freedom also, and which, if not restored to her at the hour of her demand, the world will be justified in avenging the refusal if only the world knows the value of India as a link not simply between the past and the present, but between the present and the future in history. And be it borne in mind by students of history and men of affairs that we parted with our freedom in the full knowledge of the need for an alliance with a Western nation that has developed organs of national existence other than our own. And this alliance India is determined to maintain on a stabler and broader basis as will allow her further national evolution and not snap the past relationship between England and India. Shall India be driven now to choose between that alliance and the *raison d'être* of our national existence coupled with

the motive of all that inspired Indo-British solidarity for nearly two hundred years now? As was so happily described by Mr. Charles Roberts, who will always be remembered as the author of that memorable sentiment conveying the change in the angle of vision of England towards India, what is at stake now is "the consolidation of right feeling between England and India." What is it that stands in the way of this consolidation now that the time for it has come? The confession proceeds from a Bishop, although it might not have been intended as such. The Lord Bishop of Madras, the Rt. Rev. Henry Whitehead, in a significant article he recently contributed to the *Nineteenth Century and After*, admits:

"It is exceedingly difficult to develop any system of real Self-Government under the shadow of the existing bureaucracy."

The position is in a nutshell. Either that shadow must vanish, or our purpose and identity as a nation. He could certainly not have meant, and no self-respecting person can mean, that India should be content to develop a semblance of Self-Government which will be more debasing indeed than open despotism even of the Prussian mould. Mr. Montagu, who has been regarded with a pathetic and implicit confidence in his sincerity as the very preservative spirit of British political instincts, did less than justice to the bureaucracy in India when he described it merely as an anachronism, a century-old wooden mechanism. It is neither, so far as the people of India are concerned. It is, on the other hand, a veritable Upas, under whose shadow lifeless artificialities and unreal semblances may be displayed, but nothing that really matters to the country can grow.

It is not a solution to chop off its branches here and there, and to fell down its trunk is not politics. The solution is to sterilise the roots. It must be left to stand and wither gradually, lacking sap from the soil. By the time it stands as a pole, casting no shadow, the plant of freedom would have struggled and grown, green with foliage and fragrant with blossom. To deaden the roots of the one, as we nourish the roots of the other, is the constitutional process, possible only if the British nation decrees the most magnificent of all political transformations in ancient or modern history. This *Gigantica Indica* in politics must either cast no shadow, or British history in India must after all take a turn as will be an eternal stain on a whole nation's protestations called forth by another nation's implicit faith.

Every time Self-Government has been admitted as the goal of British rule in India, it has been conveniently thought of as a fixture to be reached by Indians by such imperceptible progress as may be compatible with the maintenance of the present order of things in all essentials. And even when this imperceptible rate of progress has brought them to a touching distance, responsible authorities speak of that goal as though it had automatically moved away from the people as they advanced towards it. The fact is each generation admits it as a goal, but not as one to be actually reached in that generation. When it comes to a matter of entering the citadel the authorities defend it as an inheritance which they are pledged to bequeath to their heirs. Thus as the country advances the goal is moved away. So long as ninety-five years ago Sir Thomas Munro wrote: "There are two important points which should

always be kept in view in our administration of affairs here. The first is that our sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest possible period, and the second is that whenever we are obliged to resign it, we should leave the natives so far improved from their connection with us as to be capable of maintaining a free or at least a regular Government among themselves." And still we continue to hear from the lips of Anglo-Indian rulers the consoling statement that Self-Government is the goal of British rule! If to-day the British are compelled to leave India, by no means a malicious, dreamy assumption, in what a helpless, chaotic condition will they not have to leave it? Apart from what was necessary to raise the revenues and to perpetuate their rule, what have they done towards Sir Thomas Munro's contingency? We see nothing but a gaping void. Nothing but desolate, unfilled chasm after chasm. And who is responsible? The Civil Service.

The fact is, it is unnatural to expect a guardian who benefits by his trust to equip his ward to a full and independent control of what is his. An ordinary court of law of the first instance will set aside such a guardianship as against equity, as iniquitous, in fact as against "law of nature." Under this rule of the proxy, whose interest is not liable to terminate, and subject to a distant, absentee principal, the goal can never be reached. Even in such a matter as the independence of the judiciary in India according to the testimony of Sir Richard Garth, an eminent Chief Justice of Bengal, "if the Government had its will, the independence of the judges would be still further controlled, and the High Courts themselves made subservient to the will of the executive." The

combination of judicial and executive functions, which he has described as "a scandalous system," as a "shameful abuse," and by which even to this hour the Civil Service is standing, will, he said, "bring its retribution." With such a record as this in a matter of administration pure and simple, how can it render a different account of itself in matters which will effectually disestablish its powers as the governing body? How can it tolerate the growth of Self-Government under its shadow? Verily, verily can the camel pass through the eye of the needle, but not the Civil Service voluntarily through the enabling provisions for India to become self-governing.

Its policy after the outbreak of the War has deepened the conviction of the people that unless they throw off the yoke of the bureaucracy they will have to face a future without hope. Never before had the genius of the Civil Service appeared at such a low ebb, as an absolutely dead asset in the future of the country, as during the last three years of the War. No elevating example came from it. No inspiring self-sacrifice owed its origin to its initiative. It gave up nothing that contributed to its luxuries on the heights or on the plains at the expense of the public revenues. It actually obtained an unheard-of compensation for lack of promotion during war-time. It courted every opportunity for adding to its own emoluments and of the European commercial agencies in immediate contact with it. The zeal of heads of Provincial Governments in regard to War Funds by the side of such glaring conduct of the Civil Service appeared as a process of exploiting the liberality of a section of the wealthier members of the community with an inborn weakness for the smiles of the bureau-

cracy which portend in their view titles to come. But what it failed to do in setting a higher example is as nothing when compared with the obstructive policy which it adopted to stem the tide of demands for reform. The decision of the High Court of Bombay in the case brought against Mr. Tilak by the executive, the cancellation at the instance of the Secretary of State of the orders of internment of the Government of Madras, the apology that had to be tendered by the Viceroy for the irrelevant and provocative declamations of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Circular of the Government of India itself issued to the Local Governments in regard to their attitude towards Self-Government for India, the contents of which still remain undisclosed—all these throw a flood of light as to what the bureaucracy aimed at after the change in the angle of vision had been admitted by Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., as Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India. These facts, however, pale into insignificance by the side of the stimulation of caste and sectarian antagonisms as political issues by prominent members of the Civil Service and the crop of memorials and deputations to which it led, sub merging the discussion of the reform scheme under a dense miasma of communal claims in which nothing but communal antipathy, much of which of quite a recent origin, could be understood. All these we owe to the genius, the good faith, the elevated sense of duty and the devotion to higher ideals of that section of the bureaucracy which guides the State policy of India. Indian experience of this policy of divide and debase—not simply divide and rule—and of the attempt to uphold the bureaucratic form of

Government as the Government established by law in British India, to speak against which is to be guilty of sedition, as though it is identical with the British Crown—Indian experience of all these within the last thirty months has shown beyond doubt that what India wants to terminate the bureaucracy feels pledged to perpetuate. Accustomed only to obey, trained to issue and carry out orders, it is incapable of counting in the cause of Indian Reform except as a power that does not want to be dislodged—if it can help it. Its be-all and end-all is only to take care of itself. It is none of its concern what may become of India in future, or what becomes of the Empire at present. A certainty before the War, it has now become a post-War experience—the last reality in the Imperial problems of Great Britain—that with its consent the bureaucracy cannot be ousted from its place, and it will not consent to be ousted without calling to its aid all its resources in silent action and open hostility.

The truth is, unless what is regarded as an end becomes also the means, the end will never be attained. For anything else as means will only continue to keep us from the end. If Self-Government be the end, the continuance of the bureaucracy as a means to that end will never take us to it, any more than the tempting visitor to the Garden of Eden could have taken its inmates to the gates of Paradise. And the longer the people continue under it the more and more unfit will they become for Self-Government. As a fact, many a manly virtue the nation has lost since it came under the bureaucracy—and it is now, pitiably enough, a nation of litigants—not a civil population. How long, how long after Sir Thomas

Munro's stainless dictum is England still to labour in the conviction that a means so antagonistic to the end can achieve the end? The East, which knows higher verities than the West, knows that unless the end becomes the means, the end and the means will continue to stand divorced, however much we may seem to be brought near the end by other means. In a word, to expect the bureaucracy to give political manumission to India will be expecting the person in possession of the goose that lays the golden eggs to give it freedom of habitat.

England's position towards India is, on the other hand, different, and its ideal towards India is also different. And now, strong after trial, clear in vision after experience, when the mists of doubt of India and the fog of misplaced trust in nations of her own civilisation have rolled away from her, hers is not the place of an unworthy henchman of an unnatural system that leaves a nation increasingly impotent from year to year. Her outlook cannot be limited to the purposes of her proxy. To liberate India from the thraldom of the proxy is her national duty now. Nor can British statesmen delude themselves into the belief that, if they have been negligent in the past in exercising control over their proxy in India, they can hereafter be more alert and exacting in their control. The time for that better control from England is past, and the hour is come for control being established in India, subject to the powers of veto and sanction of the Crown in England. Instead of this, to continue any longer under the domination of the miserable half truths and untruths wafted as the very breeze of this Upas will be for her to belie the present and betray the future with a criminal

disregard of national conscience and honour. The call is for a new era of an unblemished and manly realisation of ideals and endeavours, far more sublime and vitalising than have affected nations till now, and out of which a new civilisation is to emerge to make for a higher right than that based on physical power, a sounder economics than that contained within tariff walls, and a more effective internationalism than that now secured by expedients as powerless as door-mats. If in this new era India is not to be a subject of international discord and jealousy, it must enter on its heritage without being debarred or put off by the direct or indirect voice of the vested interests on the spot. Such a contingency will also be to debar and put off Great Britain entering on its heritage in India, much nobler than what has fallen to her lot till now. Whether it will lend its ear to-day to succumb to that voice after all or will overrule it for the splendour of the Commonwealth to be is the one supreme thought exercising the higher mind of India at this critical juncture in the annals of the Empire and the history of bloodless revolutions. India has earned the right by all tests and standards, and according to all disinterested testimony, to be free within a free Empire. It is for England now to decide whether there will be a free India and a free Empire, or an India and an Empire without freedom, and a world without one material guarantee of future peace.

There may possibly be a spurious impression that there is a want of unanimity in regard to India's fitness or desire for efficient autonomy amongst Indians themselves, if not in all provinces, in one province at least. Nothing can be more misleading and less warranted than such a conclusion. Not

even the most reactionary supporters of the bureaucracy from among Indians even of that single province have come forward to call in question the announcement made in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917. None of them took exception to the policy of that statement. During Mr. Montagu's tour in India, when addresses on the Reform of the Indian Constitution were presented to him by numerous bodies of varying degrees of representative worth, not a single body advocated the continuance of the present order. There were differences as to the ways and means of effecting the devolution of power from the present custodians to popular bodies—but no note was struck denying the need for such a devolution. And if in regard to any scheme of reform one should expect an absence of difference, a solid unanimity of opinion, then one should be prepared to wait in vain for the day that will never come and has never come in the history of politics, sociology, or religion. If a few years back, before the passing of the Veto Bill, a friendly foreigner like the President of the United States should have travelled through the United Kingdom on a friendly mission, receiving addresses and deputations and holding interviews with men of all parties, to compose differences or arrive at a unanimous verdict of public opinion, a solid vote without a dissentient voice, to settle the constitutional difference between the majority in the Commons and the majority in the Lords, what a wild-goose chase would he have not entered upon—what a mirage would he not have attempted to clutch at! No question of any consequence in the history of any country was made to wait for want of unanimity. Was Morley's scheme fortunate enough to

get it ? Was his special preference to the Mahomedan community based upon a unanimous vote ? Is there anything in the present system of administration in India for which even a pronounced majority can be obtained by a referendum among men of education, or wealth—or even among the thinking section of the Civil Service ? In regard to so fundamental a matter as the continuance of British sovereignty over India—have not the authorities admitted by their action against and conviction of persons accused of conspiracy against British rule that the British possession of India lacks unanimity ? Let not British authorities be misled by looking forward to an exceptional consensus of opinion as regards any scheme of devolution of power from the bureaucracy to representative bodies. It is true that the final responsibility in regard to every matter of any importance should be with the Crown until such devolution is satisfactorily effected. Under this reservation the time is come to begin a process of devolution, retaining the legislative machinery mainly as it is so far as franchise is concerned ; providing for direct representation through local assemblies so as to bring into existence a representative form of Government ; and finally doing away with the veto and sanction of the Crown as an agency in the internal administration of the country. The veto of the Crown over self-governing Colonies is now a political, sovereign veto confined to matters of importance outside the sphere of strictly internal affairs. This is complete Self-Government. But this is not what is advocated in this work. If it were so, the communal and caste difficulties, the want of experience, and the stakes involved might warrant some hesitation on the

part of British statesmen. On the other hand, I recognise, such a form requires our growing what I may call organs of political representation and control. Until such growth has begun to manifest itself the veto of the Crown will not be merely a political or sovereign veto, but an administrative veto, relating as it will to internal matters whenever the Executive may differ from the Legislature. Secondly, in Colonial matters there is only a power of veto—but no power of sanction of legislative or financial proposals not emanating from the Colonial Legislature—whereas in regard to India in the tentative scheme of devolution proposed for the present period such a power is reserved for the Crown. Between the stage when the Executive will cease to exercise its present powers of Government and the period when a machinery of Self-Government will come into existence to exercise powers analogous to those exercised by Colonial Legislatures, the Crown makes the adjudication between the Executive and the Legislature. During this period formation of district assemblies, electoral reforms, formation of a chamber of deputies, and lastly reorganisation of provinces may all be completed. The present Executive and the Legislature will effectuate all these reforms with the Crown to adjudicate on their differences, while the routine of administration will go on subject to the authority of these three constitutional factors. At the same time as this process is undergoing completion an Indian Executive Service wholly recruited in India on a scale of pay which the country can afford would have come into existence to displace the present Civil Service—as a self-governing India must have a Service recruited in India and composed of Indians with provision for

necessary exceptions. Provision has been made for the evolution of such a service also.

If necessary, a permanent Board of Adjudication for these purposes may be constituted in England, consisting of the Secretary of State for the time being and two leading Parliamentarians. All references proposed to be made to the Secretary of State may be submitted by him to such a Board and the decision may be given effect to as that of His Majesty's Minister for India. It need scarcely be emphasised that such a Board of Adjudication is no more an Advisory Board than the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, exercising as it will a constitutional privilege under Parliamentary Statutes, and exercising it only for giving a decision in a matter of difference between the Indian Executive and the Indian Legislature. Nor need there be any misapprehension that this will become a case of governing India from England. For, while it will have the right of giving a binding decision when a reference is made, it will not be open to it to take the initiative in any matter. The fact is under such a system India will come under real British rule, going out of the rule of the proxy; and the significance of India having remained under the British among European Powers will become patent to an extent which no other constitutional or administrative feature can make manifest.

An adjustment of this kind for displacing the bureaucracy as the ruling power of the Indian Empire has become inevitable after a century of government by it. To quail from the accomplishment of this task will be for British custodians of India to leave it to enter upon a career counselled by the belief that the country must shift for itself, having outgrown all

that Great Britain can possibly do for it. If there is no room for expansion, if the Indian Constitution should be deemed to be inelastic, the expansion from within must make its way, breaking open the mechanism, or the forces of expansion must shrivel with the lapse of time. The question of questions for the self-governing British Federation now is to decide if India, with its past, with its record under British rule, and with its magnificent part in this Imperial and World crisis—whether India in having come under British rule has entered into an elastic and expanding invention of human will and choice, or into a nailed coffin, or a shell which must be burst open from within. *The bureaucracy and the exploiting agency which is* its coadjutor will prefer to have it a coffin, while the irreconcilable extremists will prefer to look upon it as a shell to be burst open from within. But the vast section of India and the Empire will see its destiny guided as a design of mutual choice and free will on lines of trust, courage, and sincerity. If this should be granted, India ought not to be expected to become a miracle of human virtues and a wonderland of unanimity, or required to remain a marbled patience waiting for the day when the footstep of an *Avatar* will vivify it into the warm breath of life. India cannot be an exception to the rest of the civilised world in any of these respects. The dominant note has to be realised, a scheme of transition introduced, and while Great Britain assumes direct responsibility, the country must be fitted up with the machinery for becoming a fully self-governing part of the Empire while this responsibility lasts.

This, in brief, is the task of England, a strenuous task indeed, full of purpose, intent, and momentum—a

task that must be entered upon to avert England's failure and India's plunge into the formulation of truly catastrophic changes. Furthermore, it is plain to all that unless England makes up her mind to solve the Indian problem with a will of her own, there will continue to be rival demands and schemes and vacillation and discord. England cannot continue to have India as an eternal infant to be protected by her wet and dry nurses or by herself in direct possession of the political baby. She must make Indians understand that they must behave as men, who will have to take care of their hearth and home, of their heritage and their future. She must do this with the earnestness of a labourer of God, of a nation with a mission which is resolved to work while it is day, for the night may at any time come when no man can work. An impulse felt so, translated into deeds with a sense of sanctified sincerity, will impart to India a freshness of purpose, a youthfulness of gait and enterprise, and a manly self-regard as though from a galvanic battery a new life has been imparted to the oldest of civilisations. It will be like the succession of a spring to a long course of winter, and the flowers and fruits will be England's and the world's also. When such an impulse has been imparted, even the Civil Service will manfully and nobly forget the past, and Indian dissensions will culminate in a pæan of joy for a new political brotherhood to which History will extend an admiring welcome as a flower unknown in the past, as the fruition of Indo-British connection, the fulfilment in part of the ideals of the British Constitution, and the making of the future of a civilisation that has never been too old or too young to be of service to humanity.

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