

press their surprise and regret at the letter"; yet, "in view of Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyar's age, health, and past services, they do not propose to take any further action, but warn him not to do it again." In the meantime the Secretary of State does not propose to interfere with the discretion of the Government of India. I take leave to deprecate that inaction. This person is an ex-judge of the High Court of Madras. He is a pensioner, and it seems rather odd that he should, in his letter, take exception to exorbitant salaries and large allowances when he is drawing a very handsome pension, towards which, I imagine he has not contributed as an Indian Civil Servant would have contributed.

I should like to call your Lordships' attention to a comment in the "Madras Mail."

"We merely wish to draw attention to the existence of the Defence of India Act, which makes it criminal to spread false reports or report likely to cause disaffection or alarm, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with Foreign Powers or to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects."

The ex-Judge of the High Court of Madras who ought to be learned in the law has disregarded the law according to the opinion of the "Madras Mail" and, at any rate, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, has behaved "disgracefully and improperly." As I have said he is a pensioner, but the Government of India do not propose to take any further action than this mild reproval; therefore the Indian tax payer is to continue to contribute to a person what is probably handsome. Now, I have known of a case—and I dare say the noble Earl has known of others—where an Indian Civil Servant, who during a very long service had been contributing to the pension he was to receive, has been mulcted of a portion of his pension because he had, in the opinion of the Government of India, behaved improperly. That is the penalty which is meted out to an Englishman if he misbehaves in India. But apparently the Government of India do not think it necessary to penalise an Indian who, although he is a lawyer, ignores the law, and behaves "disgracefully and improperly."

I deprecate this inaction because I am certain that it will be a discouragement to the loyal and law-abiding subjects of His Majesty in India; and I have very little doubt that those who follow and support Mrs. Besant, and others who entertain opinions similar to hers, will claim this reply of the Secretary of State as a triumph for their policy. The British Raj may be vilified and the law may be disregarded by a lawyer, and the only action that is taken by the Government of India

is something like what one would say to a little child—namely, that he is a naughty old man and is not to do it again. So much for the Government of India and its inaction.

But the Viceroy exercises other authorities than those in participation with his colleagues. He is Grand Master of the Indian Empire, and this individual is a Knight Commander of the most eminent Order of the Indian Empire; and if the Viceroy contemplates giving some condonation to him what it amounts to is this, that in his opinion the Knights of the Order ought to be prepared for all time to accept this individual—who has, as the Secretary of the State says, behaved disgracefully—to accept him during his life as a comrade and brother of the order. If this man has behaved disgracefully he has certainly disgraced his knighthood, and if the Viceroy contemplates taking no action in the matter—not submitting any proposals to the Sovereign—all I can say is that I should imagine that there are other members of the Order besides myself who resent that we should be compelled to accept the comradeship of a man who has been breaking the law in the way I have described, and who has acted disgracefully. As my noble friend knows quite well, and a great deal better than I do, if this man disobeyed any of the rule of his caste—I do not know what his caste is—certainly if it is an honourable caste—he would be compelled to do some penance. The man has offended, according to the Secretary of State, against the honourable and chivalrous rules of his Order—in other words, of his caste—and I hope sincerely that the Viceroy may regard it as a duty to his Sovereign and to his Order to take some notice of it.

Viscount Haldane—My Lords, before the noble Earl answers, there are one or two observations which I should like to make. My noble friend opposite has proposed, in the case of Sir Subramania Aiyar, that his pension should be taken away or reduced, and that his name should be removed from the Order of K. C. I. E. to which he belongs. Now, there is no doubt that the letter in question was a very foolish and very improper one, and it has been stigmatised as such in unmistakable terms by the Secretary of State. No doubt it was very wrong to write such a letter as that to the head of a foreign State. On the other hand, these things are done in politics all over the world and I am not sure that things of the same kind have not been done in this country. Among ourselves they have certainly been done, and done with perfect freedom with no penal clause, however strong may be the stigma of public opinion attaching to them.

What is the situation? The situation is that the Government, on the 20th August last, announced a policy. The Government which the noble Earl opposite represents here announced a policy of the extension freely and progressively of responsible Government in India.....It is desirable while this is under discussion, as it is likely to be for some time to come, that as far as possible bitterness and action which can provoke violent reaction should be abolished. The learned Judge whose name is associated with what has been done is a very well known man in India. He is a retired Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, and has to my knowledge rendered very distinguished services on the Bench. As to his pension, that perhaps he regards as part of the contract into which he entered when he undertook to serve the Government of Madras as a judge.

Lord Haris—What about good behaviour?

Viscount Haldane.—Every Judge is appointed on those terms, but you cannot remove him except for grave misconduct—for what is, in effect, a breach of some very binding public rule. A retired Judge has perfect freedom to take part in politics—if he expresses himself decently if you like—and you would take away his pension only for gravest matters coming within the Criminal Law. To remove him from the order to which he belongs is again to make a declaration of war which I think is at this moment highly inexpedient in India. To my mind the most material circumstance of all is that the Viceroy advised the Government not to take any action, and in those circumstances I should be very sorry if the Government were to depart in any way from the line taken by their representatives in the other House of Parliament. However reprehensible it is, and however bad, violent action is not calculated to make things any better but probably a good deal worse.

The Lord President of the Council (*Earl Curzon* of Kedleston) :—My Lords in the regrettable absence of the Under-Secretary of State for India I will reply on behalf of the India Office to my noble friend, and I think I shall be able, in what I have to say, to throw some further light upon the incident to which he has referred. The worst parts of the language of the retired Judge are contained in the quotation which appears in the Question as put upon the Paper by my noble friend. As regards the language all of your Lordships will agree that it is, to use the adjectives which my noble friend quoted from the Secretary of State, disgraceful and improper in the extreme. I think that the noble and learned Viscount opposite did not by any means err on the side of severity in the

manner in which he spoke of that language. I think, indeed, he might have spoken rather more strongly than he did. These statements undoubtedly contain a series of outrageous calumnies against the British Government in India—calumnies which would be culpable if they emanated from a person of the age, experience, and authority of this ex-Judge, no one can possibly be found to excuse. It is quite true, as my noble friend Lord Harris points out, that the author of these remarks was a Judge of the High Court of Madras for twelve years and ended by being Acting Chief Justice, and that he received as a recognition of this long, and up to this point meritorious career the high honour of a Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire.

Now, what are the actual facts connected with this deplorable publication? This old man—he is now in very advanced years—I think nearer eighty than seventy—retired in the year 1907. He then fell under the influence of Mrs. Besant, who is very active in her operations in the Presidency of Madras, and under that influence he became President of the Indian Home Rule League. This letter by the retired Judge, although it came to our cognisance in England only a few weeks ago, was written as far back as the 4th June 1917. I have the whole letter here, a portion of which only has appeared in the Press in this country. The first part of the letter contained a plea, couched in not improper language, for Home Rule in India; the latter part consisted of an eulogy of the services of Indian soldiers in France and other theatres of war, but in the middle part of the letter occurred the passage which appears in the question of my noble friend and which no language could be too strong, in my judgment, to condemn.

The writer of this letter which was addressed to President Wilson, entrusted it to an American Gentleman and his wife travelling in India who were known as lecturers and authors in their own country, to be handed to President Wilson on their return to the United States. It was communicated at Washington to the British Embassy, by whom it was transmitted to the Foreign Office here. It was passed on by them to the Secretary of State for India, who was as much astonished at this incident as could be any member of your Lordship's House, and who took it out with him to India. The Secretary of State, I think quite properly, did not want himself to be responsible for bringing about the publication of the letter, which had not then appeared in any form in print; still less did he want to advertise the culpable folly of its author. Accordingly when he went, in the discharge of his mission, to Madras in com-

pany with the Viceroy, they sent for the writer of the letter—this is an incident which was, of course, not known to my noble friend—and administered to him a severe reprimand. That was, I think either at the end of last year or in the early part of this year.

At a latter date—in May of the present year—the letter appeared in the Indian Press, and from there it was communicated to journals in this country. The noble Lord probably saw it, as I did for the first time in the columns of the "Times." How it got into the Indian Press, who communicated it we do not know. There is some reason, I am told, to believe that it got in the first place into the American Press and may have been copied from there into the Press in India. Now my Lords, when we first saw the publication while there could be no two opinions as to its character the question naturally arose whether his act was to be treated with the extreme severity which no doubt the language in itself merited or whether it was to be regarded rather as a melancholy aberration on the part of an old man who had in the course of a long career rendered considerable service to the State, who is now in advanced years, in the enjoyment only of feeble health, and whose utterances on a matter of this sort, I believe are devoid of any influence and can carry no conceivable weight with any respectable class of his fellow countrymen.

This was a question which, feeling it difficult ourselves to solve without more local knowledge than we possessed, we naturally referred to the Government of India. They replied in the general terms which were quoted by my noble friend—namely, that they were addressing the Judge, through the Government of Madras, informing him that his action in writing to President Wilson in the manner he had done was regarded with regret and surprise by them, but that in view of his great age, failing health, and past judicial services they did not propose to take any further notice of his action. At the same time, the old man was warned that any repetition of such conduct could not be passed over by the Government of India. The noble Lord is dissatisfied with that notice. He thinks it was insufficient for the circumstances of the case. I believe that there were—and I think I can easily show to the House that there are good subsidiary reasons for taking the line that the Viceroy and his colleagues did.

In the first place, there was no direct evidence, as I pointed out just now, that the retired Judge was himself responsible for the publication. Again, as I have also pointed out, the letter had already been made the subject of a severe personal reprimand.

mand by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Further, although I would not wish to lay too much stress upon this, it must be remembered that there had been an interval of nearly a year between the original writing of the letter and its publication, whether accidental or not, in India and in this country. There is another consideration which is always present in the minds of the Government when they are dealing with cases of this sort, and that is the inexpediency of doing anything which may convert a person relatively harmless into a political martyr, and may arouse political agitation at a time when such a thing is extremely undesirable.

The noble Lord raised the question of the pension enjoyed by this person, and of his membership of a great and distinguished Order. As regards the pension, the Statutory Rules for High Court Judges in India do not provide for the withdrawal of pension, and it was felt by the Government of India that the forfeiture of his Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire, which would furnish him with an advertisement that the Government of India were not at all anxious to give, would strike an unfortunate and discordant note in the midst of the successful and loyal war effort in which the Government of India had invited the people of that country to take part, and to which they are responding with so much alacrity and success. These were the reasons my Lords that led the Viceroy and his colleagues in India to stop short at the action which I have already described. It is regarded as adequate by the Secretary of State for India. In a matter of this sort, knowing both ends of the scale, I should be very reluctant to interfere with the discretion of the Viceroy or his colleagues and I am disposed to concur with the Secretary of State in thinking that the action which has been taken is in all circumstance of the case, sufficient and adequate.

The Marquis of Crewe :—My Lords, my noble friend Lord Harris always takes so moderate, and if he will allow me to say, so reasonable a view of Indian administration that a motion of this kind brought forward by him, must necessarily engage the attention of your Lordships' House, but I am bound to say that in this instance the answer which the noble Earl, the leader of the House, has given does satisfy the reason of those who consider the question. There can, of course, be only one opinion about the language used by this old ex-Judge whom I remember, in my time as Secretary of State for India, as having a high reputation as a member of the Madras Bench, and as being regarded as a dis-

tinguished figure, what we should call in this country a somewhat extreme politician, although not extreme in the Indian sense where the term is used somewhat differently from what it is here.

I am not quite sure that I agree with my noble and learned friend behind me that at a time when a great policy of the amendment of the Constitution is impending you ought, therefore, to pass over language or action which at any other time you might deal with severely. I confess that this particular argument never appealed to me in connection with India or with Ireland. But I do think that in dealing with utterances of this kind the one main point which the Government has to bear in mind is what the effect of the language is likely to be in view of the state of the country and of the authority of the person who uses it. In this instance having regard to all the conditions and to the fact that the old ex-judge is of an age which would be advanced here but is in India very advanced indeed, I cannot believe it can be supposed that any real encouragement is given to sedition by such language as this. It can, I think, be passed over with some thing of a shrug of regret that a public servant of some distinction, possibly with some decay of mind, has become imbued with these ideas, which, as we know, are the common place of ordinary Indian disaffection, and I think probably that the Government of India and the Secretary of State are wise to leave the matter there.

I do not believe that either by attaching part of the pension of Sir Subramania Aiyar, or by removing him from the Order any genuine purpose would be served. As the noble Earl, the Lord President of the Council, has said some people might be tempted to regard him as a martyr to liberal ideas, and I cannot think that those who belong to that Order are seriously affected by the presence of that ex-Judge in their ranks. In all these circumstances I am therefore disposed to believe that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have taken the more sensible course.

THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

Madras, India, 24th June, 1917.

To His Excellency President Wilson.

Honored Sir: I address this letter to you as Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India, an organisation voicing the aspirations of a United India, as expressed through the Indian National Congress and the All

India Muslim League. These are the only two bodies in India to-day which truly represent the political ideals of that Nation of more than three hundred million people, because the only bodies created by the people themselves.

Over five thousand delegates of these two popular assemblies met at their annual convention in Lucknow last December, and they unanimously and jointly agreed upon identical Resolutions, asking His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self Government on India at an early date, to grant democratising reforms, and to lift India from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self Governing Dominions.

While these Resolutions, Honored Sir, voiced India's aspirations, they also expressed her loyalty to the Crown. But though many months have elapsed, Great Britain has not yet made any official promise to grant our country's plea. Perhaps this is because the Government is too fully occupied with the heavy responsibility of the War.

But it is the very relationship of the Indian Nationalist Movement to the War that urges the necessity for an immediate promise of Home Rule—Autonomy—for India, as it would result in an offer from India of at least five million men in three months for service at the front, and of five million more in another three months.

India can do this because she has a population of three hundred and fifteen millions—three times that of the United States and almost equal to the combined population of all the Allies. The people of India will do this, because then they would be free men and not slaves.

At present we are subject Nation, held in chains, forbidden by our alien rulers to express publicly our desire for the ideals presented in your famous War Message: "... the liberation of peoples, the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their ways of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."

Even as conditions are, India has more than proved her loyalty to the Allies. She has contributed freely and generously of both blood and treasure in France, in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary of State for India, said: "There are Indian troops in France to this day; their gallantry, endurance, patience and perseverance, were shown under conditions new and strange to them." Field Marshal Lord French said: "I have been much impressed by the initiative and resources displayed by the Indian troops." The London "Times" said concerning the fall of Baghdad: "It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the force which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry which hung on the flanks and demoralized the Turkish army and chased it to the corners of Baghdad must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end masters of the Turks, included Indian units, which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt."

If Indian soldiers have achieved such splendid results for the Allies while slaves, how much greater would be their power if inspired by the sentiments

which can arise only in the souls of free men—men who are fighting not only for their own liberties but for the liberties of mankind! The truth is that they are now sacrificing their lives to maintain the supremacy of an alien Nation which uses that supremacy to dominate and rule them against their will.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the official Government in India utterly failed to get a response to its recent appeal to Indians to volunteer for military service. Only five hundred men came forward out of a possible thirty million.

It is our earnest hope that you may so completely convert England to your ideals of world liberation that together you will make it possible for India's millions to lend assistance in this war.

Permit me to add that you and the other leaders have been kept in ignorance of the full measure of misrule and oppression in India. Officials of an alien nation, speaking a foreign tongue, force their will upon us; they grant themselves exorbitant salaries and large allowances; they refuse us education; they sap us of our wealth; they impose crushing taxes without our consent; they cast thousands of our people into prisons for uttering patriotic sentiments, prisons so filthy that often the inmates die from loathsome diseases.

A recent instance of misrule is the imprisonment of Mrs. Annie Besant, that noble Irish woman who has done so much for India. As set forth in the accompanying statement signed by eminent legislators, editors, educators and pleaders, she had done nothing except carry on a law-abiding and constitutional propaganda of reforms; the climax being her internment, without charges and without trial, shortly after printing and circulating your War Message.

I believe His Majesty, the King, and the English Parliament are unaware of these conditions and that, if they can be informed, they will order Mrs. Besant's immediate release.

A mass of documentary evidence, entirely reliable, corroborative and explanatory of the statements in this letter, is in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner, who would esteem it a privilege to place it at your disposal. I have entrusted this letter to them because it would never have been permitted to reach you by mail. They are loyal Americans, editors, authors and lecturers on educational and humanitarian subjects, who have been deeply interested in the welfare of India. They have sojourned here off and on during the last ten years, and so have been eye-witnesses to many of the conditions herein described. They have graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey this letter to you personally in Washington.

Honoured Sir, the aching heart of India cries out to you, whom we believe to be an instrument of God in the reconstruction of the world.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

S. Subramaniam.

Knight Commander Indian Empire, Doctor of Laws;
Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India;
Co-Founder of the National Congress of India in 1885;
Retired Judge and frequently Acting Chief Justice
of the High Court of Madras.

NOTE.

This letter profoundly convulsed America from one end to the other. It was delivered to President Wilson about Sep. '17, and he sent it at once to his Sec. of State, Mr. Lansing, with a note to look into it carefully. The next day a printed copy of the letter was placed on the desk of 533 Senators and Congressmen. A graphic account of the offer of ten million men was flashed all over the vast continent by the Press. There was a great sensation, 1500 Newspapers with their 20,000,000 readers took up the cry. England was strongly criticised. Military men were strongly impressed with the plea. American Labour at once wanted Home rule for India as in Canada and Australia, and pressure was applied on the British Govt. to consider the proposal favourably.

The immediate effect of the letter on India's Cause is not clearly known. But people in India witnessed some unwonted and phenomenal change in the '*angle of vision*' of the stolid Indian Govt: (1) the release of Annie Besant by the Imperial Govt. (2) the shame of the crest-fallen Lord Pentland's Govt. of Madras, and (3) the visit to India of the Sec. of State. In reality however there is nothing to connect these with the Letter.

Immediately after the discussion of the Letter in Parliament where the venerable Indian ex-judge and Congress-President was wantonly insulted—not on his face but behind his back, in the comfortable dovecot of a house where India is not represented—Sir Subramaniam issued the following Press communique which will be read with interest.

Subramania's letter to the Press.

Feeling that I should not allow any lapse of time to take place, I proceed at once to offer such explanation as is in my power in the present circumstances with reference to the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 3rd inst. The matter may seem personal at first sight, but in reality is one of supreme public importance. Of course I refer to the Secretary of States answer to the question by Mr. Hicks regarding my letter to President Wilson. Though there has been a great deal of discussion on the subject in the Press all over India, particularly in the Anglo-Indian journals, I have thought it my duty to refrain from saying anything myself about the said letter. Even had I adopted a different course, I could have added nothing worth the attention of my countrymen, having regard especially to the complete light thrown on the subject by what appeared in "New India" some weeks ago and which has since been made easily accessible to the public in the shape of a pamphlet under the title. "An Abominable Plot. But silence which I had imposed on myself must now cease and the strange utterance of the Secretary of State on the 3rd instant in reply to Mr. Hicks question makes it obligatory on me to take notice of it. In doing so, it is only necessary just to advert as briefly and accurately as I can to what took place in December last during the visit of H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to this city and to a communication received by me from the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government bearing the date 8. 2. 18.

The Interview with Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy.

Most are aware that I was among those who sought and obtained an interview with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. At the time appointed I presented my self at the Government House, and on taking my seat, the interview was begun by His Excellency the Viceroy in a spirit and warmth which absolutely startled me. In referring to what was said by the august personages and my humble self in connection with the letter in question at the interview, it is surely necessary to say that I am not violating any confidence. The interview was neither expressly nor by implication understood to involve any secrecy, and even had it been otherwise, the Chief Secretary's letter to me alluded to above removes any seal of privacy that may by any stretch of imagination be taken as attaching to what transpired at the interview.

To return to what fell from His Excellency on the special point dealt with here. The very first words, addressed to me in a tone which I most respectfully venture to describe as plainly exhibiting much temper, were in regard to the letter. I felt I was being treated harshly and not fairly for I was there to discuss political reform and not to answer to a charge of misconduct in addressing the President of the United States and I felt that I should not have been taken so unawares and made to defend myself without the least previous consideration and reflection. I did not, however, think it right to protest against the course adopted by His Excellency, but unreservedly placed before him that explanation which it was in my power on the spur of the moment to offer on the subject. In short, I told His Excellency that I found myself in a very peculiar position at the time the letter was written, and in addressing it I acted entirely 'bona fide,' and in the hope of securing through the influence of the President of the great nation that was in perfect amity with His Majesty the King-Emperor, nay more, in utter sympathy with the aims and objects of the Allies cause, that relief which we Home Rulers then stood imperatively in need of. I told His Excellency our position was this: Of the four chief officials of the Home Rule League, three of them, namely, Mrs. Besant the President Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, the Secretary and Treasurer, had been interned in the course of that very week, and the fourth official, myself, as Honourary President, every moment expected to be dealt with by the local government in a similar fashion; that it was widely believed that the action of the Government in the matter had the sanction of His Excellency, and possibly of the then Secretary of State. I urged with all deference, that it was hardly otherwise than natural and fair and just that I should avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the visit just then intended to be made by Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner to America, where I knew they had influential friends who would and could interest themselves in the welfare of India and her people, and in particular exert themselves towards the release of Mrs. Besant, well-known throughout that Continent and held in high estimation by many thousands among the citizens of that free American nation. I added that if it were necessary I could substantiate every

important allegation in the letter as regards the defects of the rule in this country by unimpeachable evidence and offered to submit to His Excellency, if permitted, copies of certain letters then in my possession as regards the inhuman treatment to which the internees in Bengal were systematically subjected, as a proof in support of one of the points urged in the letter with special reference to which His Excellency expressed his strong condemnation,

Madras Chief Secretary's Letter.

It is unnecessary to enter into further details. Suffice it to say that His Excellency conveyed his displeasure at my conduct in the most unmistakable manner in the presence of and with the express approval of the Secretary of State, and acting, if I may say so, on behalf of the latter also for the moment. Of what took place subsequently between the Indian Government and the Madras Government in relation to my letter I am unaware, save the intimation which I received from the Chief Secretary in a letter which runs as follows:—

Fort St. George,
Madras, 3-2 1918.

D. O.

Dear Sir,—His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has recently been placed in possession of printed copies of a letter purporting to have been sent by you to the address of the President of the United States. The letter is dated the 24th June 1917, and contains the statement that it was transmitted through the agency of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner (who are known to have left India within a few days of the date), on the ground that it would never have reached the addressee "if sent by Mail." It has been intimated to His Excellency in Council that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State personally questioned and rebuked you for your conduct in this matter. In these circumstances His Excellency-in-Council has decided to take no further action.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Lionel Davidson,
Acting Chief Secretary.

One would think that this letter put an end to the matter. Unfortunately, however, things are shaping themselves in a way hopelessly injurious to the interests of the Empire in special reference to India, under the unwise guidance of the War Cabinet, and the Secretary of State very shortly after his arrival in this country, became a pitiable prey to the machinations of the bureaucracy, the Anglo-Indians and Sydenhamites. He found himself incapable of acting with that dignity and responsibility befitting a Minister of the Crown at this critical juncture, and is apparently a tool in the hands of those who are exerting so bane-

ful an influence upon him since his return to his place in the Cabinet. Such is the inevitable conclusion which the events of the 3rd June point to.

I Waive all Opposition to Future Action.

Now it was admitted by His Excellency in the course of my interview with him that my letter to the President had been forwarded by the Cabinet to him some time previously. The Secretary of State could not therefore have been ignorant of the fact at the time of such transmission. Assuming that he was ignorant of it at first, he subsequently was a party to the rebuke administered to me, in the language of the Chief secretary's letter, expressing the final decision of the authorities on the subject and it could not have emanated without the full consent and sanction of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State likewise. Be this as it may it is only right that I should add that I do not for a moment intend to claim any exemption on the score of that letter from any action which may be taken in furtherance of the Secretary of State's answer on the 3rd instant. I waive all opposition to such future action if any. I go further and say that I court it with that eagerness and sincerity which my duty to the Motherland demands of me. It is superfluous to say that the case involves nothing personal, and that my cause is the cause of the whole country. In furtherance of that cause all that is mine, my name, my liberty, and every thing else, must be sacrificed and willingly sacrificed. Internment or externment, deportation and the like, have no terror for me; and at this time of my life, with no earthly expectations to realise, I feel I can have no more glorious fate to meet in pursuance of gaining Home Rule for India than to become an object of official tyranny.

The view I take of the situation is this. The internments of June last year were a step designed by those unseen Spiritual Powers who are seeking to uplift India and save the British Empire from certain destruction by the unwise rule of the bureaucracy here, and elsewhere. That step had the intended effect to a certain extent. It roused the country as nothing else could have done to a sense of its duty. It is evident however that we were lapsing into a stupour inimical to all our best interests, and a further rousing is necessary. In all humility I take it, I am the fortunate person, autocratic action against whom would afford the necessary stimulus now needed again.

I most earnestly hope that this view of the situation will commend itself to the minds of my countrymen throughout the length and breadth of the land and make them once more rally round the standard of liberty for India as an integral part of the Empire, and persist in that ceaseless agitation on constitutional lines, and only on those lines, until the goal is won or lost, which latter contingency can come about only with the disruption of the British Empire and solely through the inconceivable folly of those who are guiding its destinies at this hour of peril.

It only remains to add that I would be descending to a level that decency would prohibit were I to bandy words with the Secretary of State with reference to the ungracious and ungraceful language, which he thought fit to employ, in replying to Mr. Hick's question—language which I am afraid was prompted altogether by petty party tactics. Surely he could have fully and adequately discharged his duty and with candour, had he told the House what had been done, when he was in this country, by way of censoring me.

I must however not flinch from protesting against the view that there was

anything in my position, past or present, that in the slightest degree rendered it discreditable to me to submit my representation to President Wilson.

Most happy to renounce the Knighthood.

The telegraphic summary which alone is before me throws no light on what the Secretary of State had in mind in referring to my position in the course of his remarks. If it was my membership as a Knight Companion of the Indian Order that he was thinking of, all I can say is, none can agree with him in supposing that the possession of this title debars me from criticising misrule in this country. It is worthy of remark that titles like these are conferred on His Majesty's Indian subjects without their consent, and however unwilling one may be to become the recipient of these official favours etiquette understood in this country precludes him from refusing to accept them. For my own part I shall be most happy to renounce this Knight Companionship and return at once the insignia thereof, which on my death my heirs have to return, or remit the value thereof, if the retention of the title and the insignia should in any way hinder the exercise of my right of citizenship to complain of wrongs and seek redress against the consequences of maladministration.

I doubt whether even half a dozen among my friends or enemies now know the history of my Knighthood. Needless to say it was not a reward for any liberal use of wealth which is the royal road to such distinctions, for the simple reason that I have never had money enough to make such use or show of it. Nor was it the reward for any special service, public or private, but due to a mere accident if I may put it so. Having acted as Chief Justice for a month and a half about August, 1899, on the retirement of Sir Arthur Collins, the announcement of the honour in my case followed on the 1st of January next as a simple matter of official routine, it being the practice to make every Indian High Court Judge that officiates as a Chief Justice for however short a time a Knight, as compensation, I take it, for the disability of such judges to be a permanent Chief Justice. How I came into possession of the insignia of the Order is also worth chronicling. Later on, when I was on leave and was staying in my cottage on the Palani Hills, I was called upon to state when and how I wished to receive the insignia. I replied to the effect that it would be most convenient to me to get it through the post. This was apparently unacceptable to the official that had to dispose of the matter, and one morning the acting Collector of the District came in with his peon and unostentatiously handed me the little casket that contained them. I was thus saved undergoing the ordeal which now awaits most of the members of my order. Such are the facts of my Knighthood which it will so gladden the heart of the Editor of the "Mail" to see me deprived of.

I would respectfully suggest to him to devote the next article on the subject that he should therein formulate the process by which my desknighting should be carried out. A Darbar of course would be indispensable, as well as a mourning costume to be worn on such an occasion. The rest I humbly leave to the ingenious brain of the Editor, among whose many noble qualities refinement and courtesy, non-vindictiveness and Christian charity, are not the least prominent.

I believe the truth about these titles was never more tellingly expressed than in an incident described in a book on Sweden which I read long ago. When titles were first introduced in that country, two friends who had just

received them met and exchanged congratulations. Then one of them put to the other the question "Brother, is your shadow longer now?" The thoughtful silence which ensued furnishes the necessary answer.

One cannot help observing that among Western inventions, none operates more seductively and to the detriment of public interests than these titles. They will verily be a delusion and a snare to be sedulously avoided by every honest man if by accepting them he is to be debarred from the legitimate exercise of his civic rights.

My Pension.

Next, if what the Secretary of State had in mind with reference to my position, was receipt of a pension by me, my answer is equally strong and clear. In the first place, the payment is made to me out of the revenues of the land of my birth and not from any foreign sources. In the next place, neither the original grant of it nor its continuance depended or depends on the good will and pleasure of any individual or any executive body. The right to the pension accrued under the authority of a statute of the Imperial Parliament, and none can deprive me of it save by legislation of that same Parliament.

It may not be out of place to add that in retiring on the partial pension which I receive now, I acted with a sense of duty that should protect me against taunts like those made in the columns of certain Anglo-Indian journals with special reference to my being a pensioner. For had I only thought of my own personal interest and continued to serve but eight months more, two of which would have been vacation time, I should be drawing the substantial sum of Rs. 5,000 per annum more than I do now. But I preferred to act otherwise lest the discharge of my duties as Judge even during that short period, should be in any way inefficient, and sent in my resignation notwithstanding the despatch of the then Secretary of State which entitled me to put in that additional service as a special case.

Lastly I say that I would more readily lose my pension than deprive myself, by reason of my continuing to draw it, of any right of my citizenship. And I say to writers in the Anglo-Indian journals who throw taunts at me with reference to my pension, that I do not mind in the least if they could succeed, in depriving me of the wages which I am enjoying as the fruit of the most laborious and conscientious discharge of my duties as a Judge in the highest Court in the land, and leaving me to find my own food and raiment. Let them know that these I shall get from that association of Sannyasins with whom I stand related, which entitles me to their care and protection, and therefore no pretended humane sentiments need deter my detractors from depriving me of my life-provision by the State. Let me add that that association is not the Theosophical Society, the present President whereof has been atrociously libelled as receiving vile German gold.

SIR. J. D. REES.

Just a line by way of a postscript in reference to Sir John Rees' observation that my letter was a senile effusion. He reminds me of a felicitous remark of Sir Fitz James Stephen; "Artful liars tell probable falsehoods." Undeniably the Honourable Member's suggestion as to my alleged senility is an absolute falsehood, thought to be probable only because of my age. I venture to say

that my intellects was never more acute or clear, and in the suggestion to the contrary, there is as little truth as in the suggestion that Hon. Member's career in the House of Commons from its commencement down to this day was ever marked by sanity and good sense.

RENOUNCEMENT OF TITLES.

Subsequently Sir Subramaniya Aiyar wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Govt. renouncing his titles. He wrote :—

After the contemptuous terms which so responsible a Minister of the Crown thought fit to use towards me from his place in the House of Commons it is impossible for me with any self-respect to continue to avail myself of the honour of being a title holder. I therefore feel compelled to renounce my title of K. C. I. E., and Dewan Bahadur. I have accordingly resolved not to receive any communications addressed to me in future with the prefix Sir, and affix K. C. I. E., or Dewan Bahadur and, hereby intimate such resolution to my correspondents."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MR. AND MRS. HENRY HOTCHNER IN INDIA.

Colonel Fate asked the Secretary of State for India : Who were the Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner who were described in the letter addressed by Sir Subramaniya Aiyer, K. C. I. E., to President Wilson as having graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey the letter to President Wilson personally in Washington ; what position Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner occupied in India ; of what nationality they were by birth ; whether they travelled from India to America on a British passport ; whether they were not engaged on propaganda work on behalf of the Home Rule for India League in America or elsewhere ; and whether they were to be permitted to return to India.

Mr. Montagu ; I understand that Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner are United States citizens by birth, who lived for some time at Adyar, in Madras, and co-operated in Mrs. Besant's theosophical work. They appear to be giving theosophical lectures in the United States. Mrs. Hotchner is said to be at the head of the American section of the Temple of the Rosy Cross or the Brotherhood of the Mystic Star. Presumably they travelled last year with a United States pass-port vised by the authorities in India. The question of allowing their return to India would be considered by the Indian Government, when they applied for a passport.

GERMAN PLOTS AND INDIA.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether he was aware that the trial of the German Indian conspirators concluded in May in San Francisco, clearly established the fact that the German consulate at that city instigated, aided, and abetted an Indian revolutionary movement in the United States and in many other parts of the world for the overthrow of the Government of India and the obstruction of Great Britain in the conduct of the war, and that proof was forthcoming at the trial of the payment of no less than £400,000 to one Bengali conspirator; and whether any statement would be made regarding the German plots in India on any occasion during the present Session.

Mr. Montagu : The statement of my hon. friend is substantially accurate, though I cannot vouch for the exact amount of the large sums of money undoubtedly paid by the German authorities in the hope of fomenting sedition in India. I will consider the question of making a statement if the House desires, but there are obvious difficulties in giving a comprehensive account of the matter.

REFORM PROPOSALS.

Col. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether any steps were being taken to embody in draft Bill form the proposals for Indian reform, or if that stage must await Cabinet approval of the scheme in detail.

Mr. Montagu : Yes, sir ; the steps to which my hon. and gallant friend refers are now being taken.

Mr. Whyte : When does the right hon. gentleman propose to set up a Standing Committee of this House on Indian affairs ?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot answer that question until the Government have decided what policy they will adopt.

Mr. Whyte : That is part of my right hon. friend's policy ?

Mr. Montagu : It is a part of the policy which His Excellency the Viceroy and I recommend to his Majesty's Government.

Colonel Wedgwood : Will the right hon. gentleman say whether this draft Bill will or will not be finished within three months' time ?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot say yet. My hon. friend will realise that it is a very complicated Bill to draw up, but it is being proceeded with as quickly as possible.

Mr. G. Terrell: May I ask whether the Bill for giving Home Rule to India is considered a war measure ?

Mr. Montagu: I don't understand that. I am not drafting a Bill for Home Rule for India.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Viscount Midleton asked whether it was proposed to invite the House to discuss in any form the Indian proposals of Mr. Montagu before the adjournment.

Earl Curzon said he had not had an opportunity of consulting either the Secretary for India or Lord Islington, and he would hesitate to give a definite reply. So far as he knew, it was not in contemplation on the part of the Government to seek a discussion on this matter. He should have thought that it was not very urgent to have a discussion at this moment and that on the whole it would be better to wait and to see what reception the proposals met with in this country and in India.

DR. NAIR AND MR. TILAK.

Lord Lamington put a question to the Government as to whether there is any precedent for debarring an elector of this country who has committed no offence against the law from speaking in public, and whether they will not reconsider their decision prohibiting Dr. Nair from addressing public meetings or writing to the Press. His lordship said that the question was founded on a report which appeared in "The Times" on July 8. He had had no communication with Dr. Nair whom he had never seen. He understood Dr. Nair came to England for private reasons and for medical treatment, and when he arrived he was informed that he would not be allowed to address any meetings or publish any writings as to his views on Indian reform. Dr. Nair was known as the leader of the non-Brahman movement in South India, and as the editor of "Justice." In view of the stoppage of the Home Rule deputation, he was informed on reaching this country that he must give an undertaking not to address public meetings or write to the Press. It was unfortunate that he should be debarred from expressing his views in admiration of our rule in India.

Lord Sydenham spoke of Dr. Nair as a loyal Indian moderate.

Lord Islington, Under-Secretary for India, detailed the circumstances under which Mr. Tilak was allowed to proceed to England in connection with his libel suit against Sir Valentine Chirol. A

condition was imposed that he should confine himself to that case, and not express any views on Home Rule in India. Dr. Nair, who was stated to have announced publicly his intention of coming to England to combat the views of Mr. Tilak, in the event of Mr. Tilak holding meetings here in favour of Home Rule, actually came for the purpose of receiving medical advice after being granted an unconditional passport by the Government of Madras. On grounds of justice and fair play, he was, on landing here, asked by the Secretary for India to sign an undertaking to observe the same reticence as had been imposed on Mr. Tilak. This course had the Prime Minister's approval. Lord Islington proceeded to examine three alternative courses of which the Government had had the choice, and contended that though the line of action taken might be open to criticism, it was that which for the time being and in the present juncture presented the least objection.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Wednesday July 17.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

Mr. Denman asked the Prime Minister: Whether having regard to the fact that each month's delay in granting constitutional reforms to India added to the difficulties of granting them and diminished their value when granted, he would allow an early discussion of the Secretary of State's Report.

Mr. Bonar Law: I cannot add anything on this subject to the answer I gave on the 10th instant to the hon. Baronet the Member for West Denbighshire.

Mr. Denman: Does not the right hon. Gentleman recognise that the continued neglect by this House of Indian subjects has a very bad effect in India, and while it is recognised that the Government can give no immediate reply, would not a Debate in this House give valuable ventilation to the whole subject?

Mr. Bonar Law: I think it is a matter of opinion. In the first place time is very limited and I do not wish to give up time unless it is necessary. Then the subject is really a very complicated one and one must have time to study the documents.

Mr. C. Roberts: Does that answer cover the case of a Debate on the Indian Budget and does the right hon. Gentleman wish to convey the impression that he desires to shelve this Report and the urgent questions connected with it?

Mr. Bonar Law : I hope my answer did not convey that impression. It was certainly not what I intended. Everyone recognises the importance of this subject. I have myself tried to look at this Report, but I could not attempt to deal with it now. I think the same thing is true of all the members of the Government and I fancy it would be true of most Members of the House of Commons.

Sir H. Craik : Is it not absolutely necessary to receive opinions from all parts of India, which must take some time to reach this country ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I really do not think there need be much discussion in question and answer on this subject. I have already said if I found there was a general desire in the House to have it discussed I would find time. As a matter of fact I think nothing would be gained by discussing it before the Recess.

Mr. Roberts : Has not the right hon. Gentleman already received a formal request for a discussion on the Indian Budget and has it been granted ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I do not think I have received such notice.

Mr. Pringle : Has the official Opposition asked for a day ?

Mr. Guiland : I made a representation to the Noble Lord (Lord E. Talbot) asking for a day.

Mr. Bonar Law : I have no doubt what the hon. Gentleman says is true. Very likely it came to me, but I have forgotten it if it is so. It is a question of time.

Mr. Roberts : Is it not really neglecting India that we cannot spare a single day ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I really think to make that suggestion is itself to do the evil which the hon. Gentleman wishes to avoid. There is no such feeling in any part of the House. It is a question of the general arrangement of the business of the House.

H. of Commons—Monday July 22.

ARMY COMMISSION TO INDIANS.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India : what were now the regulations as to Indian citizens obtaining the King's commission in the Indian Army.

Mr. Montagu : The King's Commission will be granted to Indians under four categories :

(1) A certain number of substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have specially distinguished themselves in the present war.

(2) A certain number of King's commissions conferring honorary rank in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service not necessarily during the present War, and who, owing to age or lack of educational qualifications, are not eligible for substantive King's commissions. Such honorary commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension.

(3) A certain number of temporary but substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the Army.

(4) A certain number of King's commissions to Indians on qualifying as cadets at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. For this purpose ten Indian gentlemen will be nominated annually during the War for cadetships.

Colonel Wedgwood : Does that answer mean that Indian students in this country will be able to get temporary commissions, or will they be debarred unless they go to Sandhurst—under the third head ?

Mr. Montagu : Under the third head they will be nominated in India.

Colonel Wedgwood : Even if they have obtained the qualifications in this country by being at Oxford or Cambridge they will be eligible for commissions ?

Mr. Montagu : No commissions will be given without adequate training.

Mr. C. Roberts : Is there any provision for the military training of these officers, or candidates for that rank, in India as well as in England ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, Sir. No substantive commissions will be granted to anybody without adequate training. It is intended to provide that adequate training under Category 3 in India.

Colonel Wedgwood : Is it impossible for Indians to get into officers' training schools in this country ?

Mr. Montagu : I would rather not go into the details of the Regulations in answer to questions because I have not them before

me, but I will lay the Regulations in due course upon the Table of the House.

Colonel Wedgwood : Then we may take it that this decision is a victory for those who consider that Indians are not fit to go into officers' training schools in this country ?

Mr. Montagu : No, I think the answer I have given shows that commissions are going to be given to efficient soldiers subject to His Majesty's approval.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

In reply to Lord Sydenham regarding the grant of Commissions to Indians, **Lord Islington said**—The scheme which was already published marked the close of a long-standing controversy. Successive Secretaries of State, Viceröys, Commanders-in-Chief, besides many statesmen and distinguished military Officers, now urged trying the experiment. A united Indian people also favoured it. The Commander-in-Chief fully appreciated the delicacy of some of the issues involved, and the importance was not overlooked of ensuring that there should be no falling-off in the quality and quantity of British Officers in the Indian Army. It was not intended to grant an Indian a Commission merely because he was an Indian but only when he had earned it, as in the case of British Officers, by proving himself fit and qualified to occupy the position. The war had unquestionably proved that there were many Indians available who fully fulfilled those fundamental conditions ; and now in opening the door to Commissioned ranks gradually, there would be no ground for any apprehension. He hoped that British Officers entering the Indian Army would realise that this fresh departure in no way lessened the need for continued effort to do their utmost to maintain the high traditions of the Indian 'Army and would follow a career not less honourable because henceforth it would embrace comradeship with Indian fellowsubjects. He hoped that this measure would be regarded as the first step in the inevitable advance, which would more and more bring Indian and British fellow-subjects to a proper and natural relationship as comrades in arms, engaged in the common cause of the defence of India and the maintenance of the security of the British Empire.

In course of his speech, Lord Islington mentioned that three candidates recommended for temporary Commissions had served in the ranks in British regiments in France. One of them was a grandson of the late Dadabhoy Naoroji.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday August 6, 1918.

MR. MONTAGU'S BUDGET SPEECH.

Mr. Montagu, in moving that the House go into Committee on the East India Revenue accounts, reminded the House that the one outstanding feature of last year's finance was India's contribution of Rs. 100,000,000 towards the cost of the war. The intention was to raise as much as possible of that loan in India and to liquidate the balance by the Government of India taking over the required amount of the British war debt, meeting the interest thereupon, and gradually discharging the principal. The response to the loan raised in India far exceeded any anticipation. The estimate of a loan under previous circumstances was something like £4,000,000. The loan last year realised £35,000,000, which was in due course transferred to the Imperial Government; and at a later date in the same year the Government of India succeeded in raising for its own needs Rs. 30,000,000 in the form of Treasury Bills for the purpose of financing war expenditure in India. The applications for War Loan from all classes were most satisfactory, and large subscriptions were obtained not only in British India, but in the Native States also. It was hardly necessary to remind the House of the poverty of the people of India, of the undeveloped condition of its natural resources, and that contributions to loans of this kind could only be made, not by denying luxuries, but by severely restricting expenditure on such vital necessities, as education, sanitation, and the development of industries. This year a new War Loan had been issued, the proceeds of which also would be paid to the Imperial Government. The estimated yield was £20,000,000. Already, some weeks ago £16,500,000 had been realised, and therefore, it was obvious that of the £100,000,000, promised, well over £50,000,000 had already been raised in India itself. Everybody would agree that this was a very remarkable result.

India and the War.

In 1917 1,383,000 tons of wheat were exported by the Government of India for the needs of Great Britain and her Allies. Special measures were taken last autumn to increase the wheat area, and 44,688,000 acres of wheat were planted; but he feared that the esti-

mated exportable surplus would not be reached, because the monsoon for the first time for many years, was not progressing favourably. Two hundred million lb. of tea were exported last year, and arrangements had been made to export 250,000,000 lb. this season. Thirty one million pounds worth of jute and jute goods were exported for war purposes, £2,250,000 worth of wool, large quantities of Army blankets, and the tanned hides needed for the uppers of 60 per cent of the boots manufactured in this country were provided from India. Indian troops had played, and were playing, by far the larger part in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa and at the beginning of the war they played a very large part in France. This had been possible solely by the increase in the number of recruits. Before 1914 the annual intake of recruits for non-combatant purposes was about 15,000. Last year the figure exceeded 285,000, and reckoning non-combatants, 440,000. This year it was proposed to raise 500,000 combatants, besides a large number of non-combatants, and those responsible for recruiting had no doubt that India would obtain the men necessary to complete the new establishment which had been sanctioned by the War Office. The recruiting figures for June reached the record figure of 50,000 and it was remarkable that Provinces from which recruits had never come before—races which had never yet shown martial instincts, or only to a small degree—were providing their contribution to those numbers. The new recruits were not being asked to come to the war only as privates. They were to have an opportunity, comparable to the opportunity given to every other soldier raised for combatant purposes for the British Empire, of securing His Majesty's Commission.

It had been stated in the house the other day that the military members of the Army Council differed from the policy of the Government of India and of the Cabinet on the subject of Commissions in the Army. Without entering into controversy, he would say that if they asked a man to fight in this war—in this war above all other wars—then, surely, he should be given every opportunity of winning by gallantry any position in the Army, whatever his race. It was said sometimes that it was an intolerable thing to risk British soldiers being commanded by Indian officers. Those racial considerations were, wholly out of date. When Indians were eligible for the highest positions in their own country in civilian life, when Indian officers commanded large hospitals in Mesopotamia at this moment, it was idle to say that racial considerations should continue to debar Indians from becoming officers in his Majesty's Army. That controversy, which had extended through many years, was,

at last settled with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

Indian effort in Mesopotamia.

In regard to Indian effort in Mesopotamia, the railways which conveyed our troops in both Mesopotamia and Palestine had been largely constructed from materials supplied by the Indian railways, and were worked mainly by Indian labour. Seventeen hundred miles of track, 200 engines, and nearly 6,000 vehicles had been provided by India for the various theatres of war. The river flotilla on the Tigris and the Euphrates was composed mainly of vessels drawn from Indian rivers. The plant which now lit Basra and Bagdad was nearly all drawn from India, and was worked by Indian officers. With the help of expert advice, modern irrigation, and up-to-date agricultural machinery, a very large proportion of which came from India, the former fertility of Mesopotamia was being gradually revived. Those resources provided by India were gradually changing the appearance of the country, and eradicating the blight of Turkish misrule.

The Reforms—its Responsibility

The principles of the reforms which they had recommended were the logical and inevitable outcome of over a hundred years of Indian history. The demand for Indian Self-Government had been quickened by the war. A statement of our own ideals from our own Ministers and Allied ministers, the natural searching of men's hopes and aspirations for a better time to come, had added their impetus, and made an irresistible appeal for some further step in the development of self-government. The determination of the Government to do something more started in the time of Lord Hardinge. He (Mr. Montagu) inherited the situation from Mr. A. Chamberlain. It had been said that the whole movement was his conspiracy, and that he had led an unwilling and unfortunate Viceroy. That was a travesty of the facts. Lord Chelmsford and he were together responsible for their policy. They had both walked together, and neither was unwillingly harnessed to the other. Reading the announcement of Government policy made on August 20 last, he said that that was their terms of reference; it was the principle to which the Government stood committed. The House might, if it wished, tear up the specific proposals of the Report he had referred to, but they could not, without the grossest breach of faith, depart

from the announcement of August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they did not want responsible government for India then they were denying the principle enunciated on August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they wanted to do it at once and to have a stereotyped timetable taking it out of the hands of Parliament and the responsible Government, then also they were denying the principle of August 20. He could not conceive that there could have been any other answer to the history of India than that given in the Government proposals.

He said that if the idea was that the Indian Government was to be one of subordination and subjection, then Lord Morley's reform and the grant of high office to Indians, the actual inclusion of Indians in the Imperial War Cabinet itself, were all out of harmony with the announcement of August 20. They could not devote centuries to the tilling of the soil and then refuse to plant the tree. If they were going to institute responsible government in India, the first thing they must do was to give the people the vote and to exercise them in the use of the vote. They could not instil the customs, habits, restraints and conventions upon which representative institutions depended until they gave people the vote and the people used it. Nor could they teach people to use the vote wisely if the vote was to achieve nothing. They must give to the person voted for something to do, so that he could be trained in administration, and so that the person who possessed the vote would think it worth while to give it. Therefore, since they wanted responsible institutions in India, they ought to give the vote to the people on as broad a franchise as possible, and at the same time they must give the representatives elected by those votes real and responsible work to do.

House of Commons and India.

This is the rough outline of the scheme proposed. It was suggested that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the Votes of the House of Commons. There was nothing very novel in that—it was an old proposal—and nothing very revolutionary. It was proposed simply for the reason that the authors of the scheme desired that the control over Indian affairs, exercised by the Secretary of State, which could only be exercised in the name of this House, should be brought into proper relation to the House itself. He was not now talking of the financial unfairness which saddled the cost of his salary on the Indian taxpayer. Every other Minister's salary, with the sole exception of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was borne on the Votes

of this House and paid by the British taxpayer. He hoped he should not be considered lacking in respect to the House when he said that Indian debates suffered from their unreality. It was therefore also proposed that there should be appointed at the beginning of every Session a Select Committee of the House of Commons which should report to the House of Commons on Indian affairs for the past year before the debate took place on the salary of the Secretary of State for India. He pleaded for the acceptance of that reform. The experience of members who had lived in India was invaluable, particularly when they remembered that it was possible that conditions might have changed since they left the country. If there were in the House a body of members willing to devote themselves from Session to Session to the affairs of India, thus becoming acquainted with the broad outlines of its administration and its problems, India would gain by that real, sustained, and upto-date Parliamentary interest, and Parliament would be able with less effort to devote itself to its great Indian responsibilities. It had been said in answer to this suggestion that it would bring India into party affairs. He could not in the least understand that argument. It seemed to him that nothing was more likely to keep India out of party affairs than to have a Select Committee for considering Indian matters drawn from all parties in the House.

Indian Legislatures.

It had often been complained that the Secretary of State interfered too much in Indian affairs. On the other hand, it had often been complained that he did not interfere enough. The Secretary of State interfered in the name of Parliament, and he and Parliament were trustees for the Indian people and as responsible Government in India grew, it followed that the control from here must be relaxed. He had been criticised for saying that. But was there any reason to fear it? Had not the history of our Empire throughout shown that control from home had gradually, or suddenly in some cases, been replaced by control on the spot, by the people of the country themselves? Had it ever weakened the Imperial connexion? Had it not been the source of the Empire's strength? Then as to the Government of India itself it was suggested that the Government of India was not a suitable sphere in which to start the first step towards responsible government, and that for the present, until it was seen how responsible institutions were growing in India, it was desirable to keep the

Government of India responsible to Parliament and to Parliament alone. So it was proposed to maintain the powers of the Government of India. But they could not, he submitted, leave things as they were in the Government of India. They could not call a Legislative Council, which contained only 27 elected members, a sufficiently representative body to constitute a Legislative Council for India suitable to the present day. Thirty seven members was not enough; they must enlarge it in order to make it more representative. Since it was suggested that the council should be enlarged, and since it was suggested that the Government was to enforce its will when it wished, it seemed to him that they were inevitably led to the consideration of a Second Chamber. That was the proposal contained in the report. The advantage of this machinery seemed to him to be that it did make the Legislative Council far more representative than it was at the present time, and it did ensure representative criticisms in Delhi and Simla, and that it could easily be developed from time to time into the ordinary bicameral legislative machinery. It was suggested that there should be another body composed of the Princes of the Native States. It seemed to him that if they had this germ of a Second Chamber they also indicated a way by which in due course the Princes, now rather isolated in the Constitution, might join for joint deliberation of common affairs, and only for common affairs, with the Upper House.

The Provinces.

It was in the provinces that they suggested the first steps towards responsible government should be taken. This would enable them to differentiate between province and province according to their readiness for responsibility. In dealing with the provinces they had only three choices. They could go on as they were with an Executive Government wholly responsible to the electorate, but that was not a step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. Or they could have complete responsible government in the provinces. He believed they would hardly find a single instance of a province which was ready today for complete responsible government. Therefore there was only one other alternative left, and that was responsibility in some subjects and the reservation of others. That was the system which they ventured to submit to public opinion for criticism. They could transfer more subjects in one province than they could in another, and they could, as time went on, increase the number of transferred subjects—and he had little

doubt it would go faster than many people supposed—until they got to the time when there were no subjects to transfer and all had been transferred. Then they would get full responsible government in the provinces. That was the principle of the provincial proposals.

The one provision to which both Lord Chelmsford and he attached great importance was the periodic review of the working of the whole scheme by a tribunal appointed by this House every ten or twelve years. It would be the authority working in the name of Parliament which would decide upon the increase in the number of transferred subjects. The knowledge that this review was destined to come at stated intervals would make for the smooth working of the machine. The official and the non-official elements would all realise that they could take their grievances for remedy to the High Court of Parliament itself at stated intervals, and he believed this necessary transitional machinery could only work if there was this periodical review.

Reply to Criticism.

At every stage of the whole proceedings his colleagues and he had almost daily discussions on all the recommendations that were made to them by public and private individuals. Not only that, but at each stage those who came from England sat in informal conference with the whole Government of India, and there were constant sub-committees of two sets of people to consider the details. Besides that they received innumerable deputations and had innumerable and long interviews from early morn till late at night with anyone who had anything to contribute. There had been a suggestion that this work should be done all over again by another Committee. He did not think that that was possible. He did not believe they would ever be able to convince the Indian people that they (the House) were in earnest if they adopted such a proposal as that, but both Lord Chelmsford and he were absolutely sincere when they asked that the Government should publish this Report for criticism. It was not a finished document which they sought to translate unaltered into an Act of Parliament. It must be sifted and tested. Did it carry out the principles which it professed? For example, they had stated their objections to communal representation. He did not go back one single hair's breadth from what had been said on that point. If they wanted to build up community of interests, to get over racial antagonism and antipathies, surely the worst way to begin was to send people to different polling

booths, making them into different constituencies for returning their representatives. They had also been accused of trying to divide the people of India in order to rule. If they established communal representation on a large scale there would be some justice in that criticism. The whole success of the scheme depended upon getting an electorate thoroughly representative of all the peoples of India. The report itself said that it was not, and ought not to be; their aim to hand over the Government of India, or any part of the Government of India, to the representatives of any particular section. They wanted an electorate as representative as possible. And for that reason, although they recognised right through that it was upon the development of a successful electorate that the whole scheme depended, the scheme would not be complete until that electorate had been devised. It was recommended that two committees should be appointed at once to consider the electorate and the differentiation between the reserved and transferred subjects, and also what should be the Government of India's concern and what should be Provincial. Until those Committees had reported the scheme was not complete and therefore, in order to complete the scheme, His Majesty's Government had assented to the immediate appointment of those committees to recommend to them what electorate was possible. Those who thought that communal representation was the only way to obtain a representation of all the peoples of India would have an opportunity of arguing that as an open question before the Committee which would sit in India. He should regret very much if it was proved that that was the only way. He felt convinced that the way to beat your enemy at the poll was to fight him and not to ask for special representation of this sort. It seemed to him that if responsibility for certain subjects was transferred to Indian Ministers we must ensure that we had given them the machinery which would enable them to discharge their responsibility. Similarly, if responsibility for other subjects was reserved to the existing Executive Council, we must ensure that we had given them the necessary machinery to discharge their responsibility. He thought the report did this by means of Councils of States and Grand Committees. He invited the assistance of every one who would accept the announcement of August 20, and who would offer not destructive but constructive criticism. He did not think it was necessary to be argued that the Indians who were anxious to embark upon this experiment were imbued with a patriotism and a love of their country which he did not think had ever been equalled in the history of the world, a patriotism which was almost religion, and which was becoming slowly a national patriotism.

India, the defence of India, the working for India, pride in India—these were all emotions which animated those who accepted the announcement of August 20. There were some who did not accept it, not because they did not believe in eventual responsible Government, but because they did not like the progressive stages proposed.

Nature of the Limitations.

All the limitations which were to be found in the scheme were limitations not of distrust or fear but of facts and of time. It was useless to expect that Parliament, proud of the India that Englishmen had done so much to make, were going to give up the control of Indian affairs to an Indian electorate which did not exist. It was impossible to pretend that all the disabilities and obstacles to democratic progress which were presented by illiteracy, by caste distinction, by communal antagonism, did not exist. They did. They were only pointed out by the true friends of India because they believed that with the development of free institutions they would tend to disappear. He did not mean for one moment that caste would disappear, but the features of caste which made it impossible to regard India as a democratic nation might, with the flow of time, disappear. As these antagonisms between communities disappeared, and as education spread, the reasons for the limitations would disappear with them, and India would have a right to claim from the House through these periodical reviews that the limitations imposing these conditions should be swept away. We must create, train and exercise an electorate before these things could happen. Therefore it seemed to him that people had no right to reject this proposal because it did not give them to-day things which could only be got to-morrow. What they were entitled to ask was that they should be placed upon the road and that they should have access to Parliament at stated intervals for the hearing of their case. It seemed to him that there was no other course. Agitation could produce chaos and revolution and that was one way of proceeding. But these things had always imperiled liberty and retarded progress, and they had always caused misery untold and hardships unfathomed to those who had lived through epochs of that kind. If we were to set out to build a free, self-governing, responsible India under the aegis of the British flag, and as an integral part of the British Empire, with fixity of purpose and determination, it seemed to him that we should do well to start now. We are piling up work for ourselves after the war. Ought not we to do what we could to-day? Was there a better time for doing this work than now, when we were face to face with the re-

cord of India's share in the war, when we were able to point on the one hand by looking at the lack of ideals that have made Germany the enemy of mankind, and on the other hand, by looking on those unhappy events which had made Russia the object of all men's compassion?

INDIAN BUDGET DEBATE

Speech of Mr. Charles Roberts.

The following is taken from the speech of Mr. Roberts on the occasion of the Indian Budget debate.

The debate had revealed so far a singular unanimity. There might be reservations, and there might be slight criticisms, but one had the satisfaction of seeing that Sir J. D. Rees agreed with Mr. Cotton. And yet the amount of unanimity which had prevailed might perhaps give a wrong impression, for he could not but remember that his right hon. friend had not at the present time his Government behind his proposal. To-day he made a very welcome announcement. He said he was prepared to take a very notable step in setting up two committees. He (Mr. Roberts) did not want to press that unduly, but it clearly did commit not only himself, but the Government of which he was a member, to further steps along this road. He did not suppose it would be fair to assume that they had done more than accept the Report on its general principle. He hoped that might be so. At all events, they had not rejected it as being inconsistent with their declaration in August last, and the fact that they wished to see it worked out and proceeded with was an omen of their intentions of which they should take note. He did not wish at this present stage to put inconvenient questions. They were told by the Leader of the House that the pressure of business had been too great for the Government yet to make up their minds. One understood their preoccupation, but at the present moment they remain of course bound by their declaration of August last year, and after the holidays it would be their duty to press them a little further about that declaration, for as his right hon. friend made it clear, that declaration did commit them to taking substantial steps as soon as possible, and if those substantial steps were not the acceptance of his right hon. friend's report, then they would have to ask what were the substantial steps which they were going to take? The words, "as soon as possible", were also words they could not forget.

They certainly did not mean the latest possible date, and although they gave a reasonable time, yet this was one of those matters to which the story of the Books of Sibyl was applicable. He admitted the scheme is difficult to grasp as a whole. It was not merely that the details were somewhat complicated. They were novel expedients in the art of government perhaps, but it was a balanced scheme, and different speakers had already laid stress upon different parts of it. Sir J. D. Rees was satisfied with the safeguards. He found that there were satisfactory assurances for the maintenance of British power, and he himself thought there were safeguards in the scheme. But the existence of those safeguards did not prevent this measure in reality from marking a great transition from a bureaucratic and autocratic system of government to the popular government on which the Government of India will have to rest in the future.

First stages of responsibility.

It began the first stages of the responsibility of Indian Ministers to an enlarged Indian electorate, and it provided statutory machinery for extending that measure of responsibility at recurring intervals. It did give to the Indians a place consistent with their own self-respect in an ultimately self-governing India which would form an integral part of the Empire. They would be in the future no longer mere passive subjects of Imperial rule, but conscious partners in an Empire which, in spite of differences of race, creed, and language, existed for ideals of freedom and civilisation which appealed to Englishmen just as much as to Indians.

There had been a great deal of agreement as to principles expressed in the discussion up to date. And yet the reluctance of the Government to commit itself to the principles of the Report at the present time joined with hostile voices that had not only found expression in that House, but had also found expression in the Press, were a real danger signal to impatient idealists who, whether in this country or in India, were not content with the rate of progress which was being proposed. It was always a mistake, in judging of reforms, to measure them by a standard of theoretic but unattainable perfection. It was rather wiser to consider whether in practice they did represent substantial improvements on the existing state of things, and he defied anyone of honest purpose, who would take the trouble to grasp the scheme in its general principles and in its details, to fail to see that, in spite

of the safeguards which were provided, it did give a very substantial and marked advance of self-government in India. He said this because he noticed a letter in a leading journal within the last few days which, on behalf of unofficial Indians in this country, complained that though they did not wish the Report rejected, yet it gave little or nothing of real value to them. It was very difficult to summarise. He admitted it did provide—and rightly provided—during a great transition, during the evolution of popular government, power to maintain law and order. It left the Government free with full power to discharge its Imperial responsibilities. But if they look—he would not say to changes in relation to the Secretary of State, to Parliament, or to the Indian Parliament—but taking the actual changes in India, it was impossible to say that there were not substantial improvements from the standpoint of any one who wished to see self-government carried into effect or to see India marching upon the road to self-government.

Stages in the scheme.

The stages in the scheme towards self-government in India were popular control over local government (in districts and towns) ; the extension or rather creation of electorates, mainly on a direct territorial basis ; a largely increased measure of autonomy for the provinces, as distinct from the Government of India ; the institution of Executive Councils in four additional provinces, the placing of an Indian member on those Councils in all the eight provinces concerned ; the enlargement of provincial councils, the increase of the elective majority, and their control of certain departments to be transferred to them ; the establishment of Indian Ministers, who could, together with the Executive Council, form part of the provincial government and would have to administer the transferred departments ; the accountability of these Indian Ministers primarily for the first five years to their constituencies, and thereafter their full responsibility to the provincial councils ; the separation of all India and Provincial finance, and a much freer hand to the Indian Ministers and to the Provincial Council to propose and carry new taxation and to raise loans ; in the sphere of the Government of India the addition of a second Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council of six, and the enlargement of the Viceroy's Legislative Council with a view to making it more representative of Indian opinion ; and the institution of a statutory machinery for the enlargement of this measure of self-government at recurring intervals. He could not understand anyone who

wished to take an honest view of this subject, not realising that it did mark a very substantial advance. But his right hon. friend said that he was prepared to vary details. It was not quite clear whether that might not open a somewhat dangerous prospect. Certainly none of these details was regarded as having any special sacrosanctity. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, for instance, thought there was too great complexity. He did not think he would find it, if he gave his mind to it, very easy to frame a simple system to carry out the declaration of August last. Full responsible government was not a very simple form of government if they try to set out on paper all the unwritten conventions and understandings on which it rested. Bureaucratic and responsible government they knew, but the hybrid between the two—a transitional form of government, which was to be neither the one nor the other, but to lead from one to the other—could not be very simple, and he thought his hon. friend tried to solve this riddle by arguing that it would be very much more simple to have the Cabinet system with which they were familiar in this country. That, of course, was going far beyond the limits to which that House was prepared to proceed.

He had a very honest and sincere desire to see this great adventure of instituting self-government in India succeed. He believed it was possible. He did not see any reason why the Indians should not succeed in this task, on one condition—that they would give themselves the necessary training time to master what was involved in learning the practical art of self-government. Given that, he saw no reason why they should not succeed, just as did our Allies the Japanese, who also had no historical basis for the Western institutions, which they had been able to blend with their own traditional principles of government in a way which had produced marked success, and led to the greatness of their country. He would like those who might be impatient, who might wish to see a greater rate of progress than his right hon. friend was prepared to admit, to be warned that there might be dangers which they would have to face in carrying their point, and that unanimity in that House at the present stage did not get them over their difficulties. They would find that this scheme—or some thing like it—was, under present conditions here and now, really the limit of what was attainable. He did not see conditions in the immediate future which would enable them to obtain a greater measure of reform. He was of course not forgetting the recurring intervals at which the present proposals for reform might be increased by means of the Statutory Commission. It would be wise for those who had the

difficult task of judging how much it was well for them to ask to remember that if they wanted reforms they could only get them by purdunt and energetic concentration upon them, and that those who had not the statesmanship to accept a good offer when it was made generally paid the penalty by many weary years of waiting in an arid and possibly storm-swept wilderness.

Several other Members also spoke, of whome—

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald declared that the Secretary of State's Council should be abolished. There could be no satisfactory system of representation for India under the present system of education and unless agriculturists and workmen had their share. The Civil Service should be given a task commensurate with their great political capacity.

Sir John D. Rees urged a speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Report. If the establishment of democracy in India led to a period of Brahmin oligarchy that should not be greatly deplored—Brahmins were the natural leaders of the people of India. The reception of the proposals by Extremists such as Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant showed that the proposals were not likely to give away British power in India.

Mr. Cotton wholeheartedly supported the Report. He urged action now.

Captain Lloyd suggested the setting up of a Parliamentary Committee to examine the proposals.

Mr. Chamberlain commended the very satisfactory character of the debate and said the Cabinet had not had time to arrive at a detailed conclusion regarding the Report. The Committees mentioned by Mr. Montagu would be appointed and would proceed to India as soon as possible to deal with the questions which were essential to the drafting of the Bill. There need be no apprehension that the Government would go back in letter or in spirit from the declaration of August 20th. He did not pretend that the immediate result of the changes contemplated would be to increase the efficiency of Government of India. Progress in India must be through mistakes.

Commander Wedgwood declared that the Report was based on a genuine desire to see India become a nation. He was glad that the House had unanimously received the proposals as the right thing to do.

Mr. Denman regretted that no progress was possible until the Committee reported and suggested that the main fabric of the structure should be set up and the details filled in by an Order in Council.

In winding up the debate *Mr Montagu* said that the wholehearted acceptance by all speakers of the principle of Self-Government for India was a remarkable fact in the history of the House and India. He did not see how it would be possible to introduce legislation this year owing to the necessity for giving an ample time for discussion and the difficulty of drafting the Bill. He hoped that the reports of the two committees to be appointed would be received early next year. He emphasised that the Government though it could not hurry, would not pause in carrying out the policy contained in the announcement of August 20th.

House of Lords—August 6, 1918.

Debate in the House of Lords.

Lord Sydenham drew attention to the report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on Indian reforms, and moved for papers. It was most unfortunate that before the present Secretary of State assumed office he made some caustic and not very well-informed criticism of our rule in India, and the result was that his official declaration was quite naturally coupled with his previous unofficial utterances. This has aroused the most exaggerated expectations throughout India. He could not help thinking that the visit of the Secretary of State to India at a time when this country was fighting for its life was a real misfortune. It had the effect of stimulating throughout India a very dangerous agitation, and incidentally of lowering the high office of the Viceroy in the eyes of the Indian population. He also regarded the manner of the presentation of the report as somewhat irregular.

He warmly welcomed some parts of the report. The reconstruction of the India Office was long overdue, and any proposal in that direction should be carried out at once. He believed that to give a federal form of Government to India was essential to the self-government of India. The arrangement of electorates and seats and the reconsideration of the franchise in certain cases were the most important and necessary steps and ought to be taken at once. He was sorry to see that the report ignored protests and warnings

from many parts of India, which deserved consideration. Surely the report might have devoted at least one paragraph to the working classes of India, who represented the majority of the people of India. As far as he could see a quarter of a million of people wished to rule the millions of India. Was that democracy? The report said that the war had accelerated the demand for Home Rule. That was so, *because the little band of Home Rulers had through German influence tried to raise trouble in India*. It was difficult for the people of this country to follow the events in India owing to the meagreness of news due in a large measure to the war. The moral seemed to him to be this that owing to the weakness of Government in recent years in India, the margin of safety was now very small. There never was a time when it was more necessary to carefully scrutinize any proposed changes of Government. The scheme set up a system which would have the effect of destroying the present high standard of the Indian Civil Service. If that deteriorated he did not see what we should have left to keep our hold on the affections and respect of the masses of India. He believed the position of Governor would become quite intolerable, and that no man who understood the situation would accept the office. The general effect of this very complicated scheme must be a long delay in public business, frequent conflicts between the two Houses, and a weakening of the high position of the Viceroy. There would be enormous opportunities opened out for intrigues. In his view of the Report under it the authority of the British Government would be weakened all over India at a time when that authority was more than ever needed. Have we any right to force on India a form of democracy which the greatest democracy in the world would not tolerate?

It Would Cause Chaos.

The main fault he found with the whole of the Report was that it ignored the genius of the Indian people and was mainly a *concession to a denationalized intelligensia*. Mr. Tilak had said of this scheme that "it was entirely unacceptable and would not satisfy anybody." These proposed reforms would be *abhorrent to the gallant Indian soldiers* who had fought in this war when they came home and yet it was on the achievements of these fighting men that the intelligensia based their claim to rule. He firmly believed that these proposals would cause chaos. The Report contained some admirable sentiments which might divert attention from some of its dangers. Excellent advice was given to every class in India. The pity was that it would never reach those classes and would not have the

slightest effect if it did. The authors of the Report could not have realized the chasm which separated the Hindu, the Moslem, and the Brahmin and others, a chasm which was formed hundreds of years ago and was still deep. They believed that representative institutions would tend to soften the rigidity of the caste system; but that system went back a thousand years and had been intensified in our own day. The castastrophic possibilities of this contention among a population of 315 millions did not seem to have occurred to the authors of the Report. Russia was now giving a most appalling object lesson as the result of the break-up of centralised authority, and the effect of the weakening or destruction of British rule in India must be even more disastrous, because the antagonisms—social, religious, and racial—were far deeper. It was only the authority of the British rule which now stood between the people of India and the welter of bloodstained crime caused by the breck-up of the Mogul Empire. The difference between Russia and India to-day was British rule and nothing else. He hoped the Government would hand the Report over to some competent examining body. He moved for the following papers:—(1) The opinions of the local Governments on Indian Reform; (2) a selection of addresses—giving opinion on both sides—to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State; (3) the Report of Mr. Justice Rowlatt on Sedition in India.

Lord Carmichael said whether we liked it or not, the demand for political reforms and for self-government would go on in India, and whether we liked it or not, there would be political changes, and he had no hesitation in saying that the changes would be in the direction of self-Government. In his opinion India was not fit at this moment for self-government but many Indians were fit for it, and we should do right if we did our best to make all Indians fit for it. India was not like this country before the first Reform Bill, nor like our Colonies were before we gave them self-government. Many difficulties lay before us, but it was something to know that in facing them we were all agreed that the path of progress was to be in one direction. We were pledged to start in that direction as soon as possible. There could be no swerving from the path which led to responsible Government. But it seemed to him that first they wanted to know what the scheme of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy was. Until they knew that in greater detail they ought surely to refrain both from condemning or approving it. Indians generally were of opinion that a solemn declaration made on behalf of the Government was meant to be acted upon. If we rejected the scheme which was a fair presentment of the Indian view, without putting forward arguments

which the people of India would understand, what would be the result? It would be said that we had flouted the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and the Leader of the House. Many Indians would consider that we had committed as bad a breach of faith as any Government had ever been guilty of.

The Marquiss of Crewe said that he listened to the speech of Lord Sydenham with some feeling of depression. The noble Lord seemed to view the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in a spirit of almost unrelieved gloom although he admitted there were passages in it which he regarded with sympathy. His lordship had remarked that the Report involved a departure from the principles which were laid down by Lord Morley in 1909. It appeared to him unjust criticism to say that the Morley-Minto reforms introduced nine years ago had failed. The circumstances had been altered by this world cataclysm in a manner no human being could foresee. Lord Sydenham had made various polite references to the advance towards self-government in India but he had not indicated in terms any plans by which he desired to move in that direction. He was prepared to run the risk of attempting some freedom of provincial government in certain circumstances. He was prepared to allow people to make their own mistakes to some extent, provided that these mistakes were not made on a scale or at a cost which would be serious to the people of India as a whole. He did not deny that there might be a sacrifice of efficiency and some cost. That might be the penalty which had to be paid for entrusting people with the management of their own affairs. He thought that Lord Sydenham took too gloomy a view when he foreshadowed something like a permanent hostility to the Government on the part of the Legislature with its elective majorities. He had always rather dreaded the principle of veto. The veto was a weapon which could rarely be used, if it could be used at all. No doubt it could be used more in India than in Australia or South Africa. But it was a weapon which became blunted by use. The Report was undoubtedly complicated in appearance, but he thought that those who studied the various alternatives would begin to favour it more the more they went on. It was no doubt in one sense a leap in the dark, as all great propositions for reform must be. And he could well understand any man who loved India, and who knew what India owed to the British Crown, asking himself whether if the main lines of the Report were followed, we should be travelling on a road which led towards the separation of that connexion. It was not to be supposed that any Englishman who belived in our service to India, or

any Indian of moderate opinion who held a similar view, would desire to proceed on that road. All the Indian reformers with whom he had the honour at different times of discussing this question had expressed themselves absolutely convinced that so far as it was possible for a man to look ahead the idea of the separation of India from British influence, and to a large extent from British control, was a possibility that they would regard with horror and which they did not believe existed. He regretted that Lord Sydenham took a view so unfavourable to the visit of the Secretary of State to India at the request of Lord Chelmsford. As his noble friend knew, the Secretary of State was not responsible for that; the original invitation was addressed to Mr. Chamberlain. He could not think that the studious care that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Montagu) took all the time he was in India to play second fiddle, and the fact that he accompanied the Viceroy to some of the great centres, would have done anything to depreciate the unique position of the Viceroy. Without committing himself to any particular proposal or paragraph in the Report, he could say with the utmost confidence, having studied the subject with some degree of care, that it had his full concurrence.

Lord Harris speaking of his experience in India recognized that reforms of some kind were absolutely necessary. The Government had before them the proposal of two officials, who no doubt had taken a great deal of evidence in India, but surely they were bound also to take into consideration the views of those voiceless millions, who, so far as they knew at present, had not had the opportunity of expressing their views as to what would be the effect of such a wide-reaching idea as that underlying the Memorandum. The authors of the Memorandum had jumped over local affairs and gone into the more advanced sphere of government. He should have thought it would have been possible to give wide powers in the direction of reforming district councils. Such a reform would have educated the people of India by degrees up to a capacity for administration of more important affairs. We ought not to stand in the way of giving to India such a reformed system of government as she is capable of enjoying for the benefit of the masses of her people.

Lord Lamington said that he had thought that the Secretary of State went out to India with preconceived views, and that the Report was framed in such a way as to reconcile itself to his views; but he confessed that having now had time to read the Report, it did not seem to contain so many dangers as he had

at first thought. Personally he would be only too glad to see the day when, under proper conditions, they could safely entrust a far greater share of the administration of India to the Indian people themselves.

Lord Islington, Under Secretary for India, speaking on behalf of the Government, said he thought that an examination in detail of the scheme at the present juncture was not really desirable and would not serve any useful purpose. There were outstanding questions of such importance as the system of the franchise to be adopted in India for the election of members to the proposed revised legislature, the character of the services which it was proposed to transfer to Ministers nominated from the Legislative Council, and the amount and extent of the modification of control exercised by the Secretary of State and by the Government of India. Any scheme which left still undetermined provisions on such vital points as these can for the time only be regarded in the light of a skeleton scheme. Then the Government, owing to the war, had been unable up to now to give consideration to the scheme, and he was not, therefore, in a position to state the opinion of the Government on the Report. The issues involved in the scheme were of great importance to India and to the Empire. Its success depended on the close consideration of the provisions both in principle and in detail. He trusted, therefore, that a reasonable period for consideration under the circumstances would not be mistaken or misrepresented in India as any attempt on the part of the responsible authorities in England to postpone it, or that it would be thought they had exercised dilatory action. The Government, after consideration, had authorized the Secretary for India to appoint two committees to deal with the subjects outstanding in the Report, in paragraphs 225 and 238. Those two Committees would consider first, questions of franchise and constituencies, and, secondly, which services were to be transferred to the provinces and which were to remain under the Government of India. Only by reforms undertaken at an early date could we retain the loyalty of the people of India. All responsible authorities in India were unanimous in thinking that, whatever else took place, it would be fatal to put off any longer an unmistakable declaration in India of our future policy. It was incumbent upon the Government, if they were not to be charged with the greatest breach of faith in the history of the Empire, to adopt a scheme of constitutional reform in India at the earliest possible date. He admitted that some of the proposals were

susceptible of improvement and modification. As soon as it was decided by the Cabinet that Mr. Montagu should go to India to consult with the Viceroy, a committee was set up in the India Office to work out the outlines of a scheme consistent with the announcement that had been made. That committee consisted of the highest officials in the India Office, of members of the Council of India, and of more than one official in England at that time who occupied a high position in the administration of India. The recommendations of that committee constituted the starting point of the discussion in India and formed the material for what was now known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. In their deliberations Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy were continuously and closely assisted by members of the Government of India and members of all the various local Governments. The Report was really the result of the collaboration of gentlemen intimately connected with the affairs and the sentiments of India. He believed that it would be found that this scheme in its broad outlines, subject to modifications and improvements, would present fewer difficulties and carry out in closer fulfilment the announcement referred to, than any other scheme likely to be devised. The proposals of the Government should not be regarded as a reward to India for her services in the war. Such a view as that would be deeply resented in India itself. They should rather be regarded as the inevitable consequences of the recognition of the new position and status which India had attained within the Empire during the war. It was not overstating the case to say that some of the campaigns essential to our victory in this war could not have been successfully conducted without India's supply of men and materials.

Lord Donoughmore said he had been privileged to take part in most of the discussions in India on which the Report was based. Lord Sydenham was very extreme in his condemnation of the scheme, though he thought the Government could congratulate itself that the course of the debate had not followed on exactly the same lines, and that the noble Lords who were not favourable were at least ready to suspend their judgment. He was convinced that the statement of the two Committees would have excellent effect.

The Marquiss of Salisbury said that they had been told that the Report had not been approved by them. He desired to say on his own behalf and that of his friends that they must reserve complete liberty of action not merely as to details, but as to the principle of the Report.

Earl Curzon replied that his noble friend was entitled to make the reservations that he had made. He did not think the situation was really open to misunderstanding. Lord Islington made it clear that the Cabinet had not had time to discuss it. Their inability to make up their minds was not merely due to the great pressure resulting from the war, but was due to the fact that they had not yet received informations to enable them to make up their minds. For instance they had not had the opinions of the local Governments of India. They would also have the reasoned opinions of the Indian Government, and there were in addition important sections of the religious communities in India who would pronounce upon the scheme. Further, in this country there were important associations which in the next few months would acquaint them with their views. The two committees were really appointed to carry out the work which the Secretary of State and his colleagues would have done had they had the time.

The Earl of Selborne suggested that when the Government were prepared with their recommendations to Parliament for consideration it would be a convenient way of dealing with the matter by the aid of a Select Committee of the two Houses.

The Earl of Curzon said that the suggestion of the noble lord was one worthy of consideration. It had been before the minds of the Government and no doubt at a later stage an announcement would be made on the subjects.

The motion of Lord Sydenham was, by leave, withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—July 31, 1918.**Indian Currency.**

Mr. R. Gwynne asked the Secretary of State for India : What was the current price in rupees to-day paid for a sovereign in Bombay and for an ounce of silver bullion.

Mr. Montagu : According to the latest information received the bazaar price of sovereigns was about Rs. 19, and the quotation for bar silver Rs. 115 per 100 tolas fine.

Mr. Gwynne asked whether the Indian mints were now coining Indian silver bullion or bangles ; and on what terms.

Mr. Montagu : The Indian mints are coining silver bullion. Bullion is at present being purchased for coinage at the equivalent of one dollar per ounce, 1,000 fine, both in America and Australia. The output of the Bawdwin mines in Burma is being bought under contract at the same price. In April last the Government of India bought up the available stock of bar silver in Bombay at prices ranging from Rs. 109-3 to Rs. 113 per 100 tolas fine, the rupee fineness being eleven-twelfths. No bangles have been bought.

Mr. Gwynne asked whether the Indian mints were now coining a gold currency for India ; and whether such a currency was opposed to the Report of the Indian Currency Commission of 1913, and calculated to increase the drain of our gold to India.

Mr. Montagu : The Royal Commission saw no objection in principle, either from the Indian or from the Imperial standpoint, to the establishment of a mint for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. The special circumstances which have led to the minting of a gold coin other than the sovereign were explained in the answer which I gave to the question of the hon. member for East Nottingham on June 26.

Mr. Gwynne asked how much gold India had imported from the United States of America in the past two years.

Mr. Montagu : During the two years ending March 31, 1918, gold to the value of £3,371,652 was imported into India from the United States of America.

Mr. Gwynne asked how much gold India had imported in the twenty years since her standard of value was changed from silver to gold in 1898, and how much gold did she import in the period 1878 to 1898.

Mr. Montagu : £253,625,656 worth of gold was imported into India during the period 1898-1918, and £52,563, 3c3 worth during the preceding twenty years.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—October 17, 1918.

Rowlatt Commission's Report.

Sir John Jardine enquired about the Report of the Sedition Committee.

Mr. Montagu stated : The Report is dated April 15, 1918. It gives an account of the connected conspiracies in countries outside India. I greatly regret the delay which has occurred in presenting the Report, and I am sure that the House will accept from me an assurance that their was every desire to furnish Parliament at the earliest possible moment with this most important document. Indeed, the suggestion that there had been any reluctance to publish in London what had already been published in India cannot be seriously entertained. The Report was addressed to the Government of India, and when I heard in July last that that government had decided to publish it, I instructed to them by telegraph to send me 2,000 copies for presentation to Parliament. I was informed that they would be ready for despatch in August. In reply to a further enquiry in September, I was informed that 1,000 copies had been despatched on Aug. 16. It was only last week that I heard that though the Controller of Printing had made over the copies on the date named for despatch through some unfortunate oversight they had not, as a matter of fact, been actually sent. I immediately arranged for the Report to be reprinted here with all possible expedition, and I hope that it will be ready for presentation in the course of the next week or two. I am not reprinting the maps which are included in the Report as published in India, but they will be obtainable in the copies of the Indian edition when received. In publishing the Report, the Government of India, in the public interest, made a few small omissions which do not in any way affect the arguments or conclusions of the Report. The nature of the slight changes is explained in a resolution of the Government of India which will be published with the Report. The reprint of the Report will follow the Indian text.

Monday, October 21.

Indian Commissions in the Army.

Mr. Cotton asked the Secretary of State for India if he could state how many commissions in His Majesty's army had been granted up to the present to Indians; whether it was proposed to add to the number, and, if so, when and to what extent; what were the names of the recipients and the class and provinces to which they belonged; and what were the conditions as to training which had been decided upon.

Mr. Montagu: I presume that my Hon. friend refers to the scheme for the grant of King's commissions to Indians which the Government of India announced in July last. The first avenue to such commissions is through distinguished service in the War. I understand that with a view to selections enquiries are being made from the various theatres of War in which Indian troops have been or are being employed, but recommendations have not yet reached me. In other cases, the award of commissions will depend on the results of probationary training. The Government of India are engaged in selecting candidates for ten cadetships at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and are nominating probationers for admission to the special military college which they have established in India for training for temporary commissions. So far some forty-four probationers have been nominated.

Sir J. D. Rees: Is it not intended that this concession shall be of a wider character than indicated by the number of forty-four, which would not amount to very much spread over the whole of India?

Mr. Montagu: That only applies to temporary commissions from among those who have not been in the Army. I have not the figures yet about the recommendations from among those who have been in the Army.

Indian Prisoners of War.

Replying to questions by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Alden, Mr. Hope said: I am informed by the India Office that there are 2 Indian officers and 513 rank and file at present prisoners of War in German hands, 2 officers and 13 rank and file have been exchanged, and 9 officers, of whom 8 have since been repatriated, and 60 rank and file, of whom 2 have since died and 16 have been repatriated,

have been transferred to a neutral country. I am informed that the great majority of these prisoners have been transferred to Roumania, the remainder being interned in various camps in Germany. On the whole, their treatment appears to be satisfactory. The number of Indian officers and men prisoners of War in Turkey is 217 and 6,659 respectively, and the number who have been repatriated on grounds of health is 6 and 1,170 respectively. None have been transferred for internment to neutral countries as there is no agreement in force with the Turkish Government for this purpose. The only recent reports on camps in Turkey are those by the representatives of the Netherlands Minister at Constantinople referred to in my reply of the 17th instant to my hon. and learned friend, the Member for Bassetlaw, on seven working camps and hospitals in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Only a few Indians were interned at these places, the greater number being in the working camps on the Bagdad Railway, in the Taurus, and to the south-east of the Taurus. The latter camps are, unfortunately, not within the districts which the representatives of the Netherlands Legation are entitled to visit. I may add that under the exchange of prisoners with Turkey which is fixed for next month, 700 Indians are entitled to be released.

Sir J. Butcher : Would it be competent for any neutral Power to send representatives to the Taurus to visit the camps there and report?

Mr. Hope : Up to the present that has been refused, but a further request will be made.

Sir J. D. Rees : Have any representation been made as to the supply of warm clothing to the Indians now in the uplands of Asia Minor so that they do not suffer in the coming winter?

Mr. Hope : Oh, yes; that has not only been ordered but provided, and will, I understand, go out at the first opportunity.

Mr. Cotton : Will the hon. Gentleman be able to publish the reports of which he spoke in reply to my question?

Mr. Hope : There is always a difficulty about these because of the conditions laid down, and which have been mentioned on previous occasions.

Mr. Roch : Up to what date do the figures apply as to prisoners in Turkey?

Mr. Hope : I cannot say that offhand, but I think it is up to quite recently.

Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck : When will be the first opportunity of sending this clothing?

Mr. Hope : When the repatriation ship sails from Alexandria.

Riots in India.

Replying to Sir John Jardine Mr Montagu gave details of riots in Madras and Calcutta in September last. He characterised the article (in the Indian Daily News about Islam) which caused riots in Calcutta as foolish and offensive.

The Indian Army.

Replying to Mr Yate, Mr Montagu stated that he had endeavoured to secure that officers returning to duty in India from the expeditionary force had received a notice in time to make their own arrangements for remitting money to their families. He would again draw the attention of Govt. of India to that point. He could not undertake to extend to Indian army men serving in India concessions whereby Indian army men serving with the expeditionary force are permitted to take family allowances through the India office because this would involve a heavy increase of work in the accounts dept. of India office, the staff of which was depleted.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Montagu stated that Genl. Allenby's forces included over 100,000 Indian troops. All accounts testified to the courage, discipline and endurance of all ranks. It was particularly gratifying that new Indian units which replaced European troops sent to the western front rivalled the conduct of even veteran troops and fought in a manner worthy of the high traditions of the Indian army. Mr Montagu recalled the fact that Genl. Allenby himself telegraphed him that Indian cavalry and Infantry had taken a leading and brilliant part in fighting. He was proud to say that the Indian cavalry figured prominently in a long distance ride which led to the fall of Damascus.

House of Lords—Oct. 23, 1918.**Debate on Indian Reforms.**

Viscount Midleton calling attention to the Report on Indian Reforms moved "That it is desirable that a Joint Committee of both Houses be appointed to consider and report thereon." He declared that a proper examination of the question had not been made. Public opinion here should have been made aware whether the Government did or did not approve not merely the principles of progress, but, in some degree, the principle adopted or suggested by the Secretary of State and Viceroy. To this day they had no indication of whether the principle of this scheme commended itself to the Government or not. In the meantime the attention of the people of this country was being focussed upon the scheme put

forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford—whether it was going to be accepted by the Government or not—as if it were the only scheme that the Government would consider. It was obviously a case for examination by experts and by a committee. The Government were putting themselves in a position in which, before they had made up their minds as to whether the position were sound or not, they would have to occupy it and not be able to go back upon it. They had a right to press upon the Government one of two courses; either to take into consideration at once the principle of this scheme and declare that it was the only one which they could present to Parliament, or—and this was the alternative he suggested—they should allow the public enquiry to take place in this country, which was almost foreshadowed by the Leader of the House on August 6, and make it possible for such an authority as a Select Committee of both Houses to consider and report upon the scheme. This was an attempt to adapt Western methods, where they were inapplicable, to Eastern sentiments and habits. In order to promote national spirit they were acquiescing in the restarting of abuses which they had spent a century and a half to stamp out. He regarded that as an impossible proposition for this Parliament to undertake. He was anxious that the Government should consider whether there were not some means of achieving the result devised without the same sacrifices. It was desirable to consider whether, in the case of an Empire like India, they should not keep the central power unimpaired in the hands of the British majority, and draw a distinction between the central power and the provincial assembly. He did not take a gloomy view of the future, although he recognised that this attempt to hand over certain subjects entirely seemed to him to be fraught with the greatest danger. If they went so far as granting the franchise, then they must educate those who were going to use it. There was an enormous scope for development of sanitation, and India must deal with this question as well as that of education. He suggested that the Committee should consider whether some of the steps it was proposed to take might not prove to be reactionary. Let them also consider whether there were not other means by which they could associate Indians with their institutions. He begged the Government to consider whether this was the moment for pluming themselves on replacing institutions which had worked well, merely because they could be called bureaucratic by other institutions. After the War there would be great development in this country, and he hoped there would be great developments in India also. It would be tragic if we won the

War in the West and yet be witted with having failed to give freedom in the East. In order to give that freedom they must proceed with caution, and therefore he invited the Government to reconsider the situation by allowing the report on Indian Constitutional Reform to be examined by a Joint Committee of both Houses.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said the argument for further consideration appeared to be irresistible. The proposals spelt, in fact, revolution in Indian Government. What the House was asked to agree to was no mere development of a system already in existence, no mere natural progress along the path of reform, but an abrupt transition from the old to the new. And the proposals were made at a very critical time in the History of India, when the margin of safety in the country was none too wide and they were presented while they were still in ignorance on many important points. He complimented the authors of the report on the manner in which they had handled their work, for he had never read a more interesting document or one compiled with greater skill or which contained more interesting suggestions. One of the most attractive characteristics of it was the absolute frankness and sincerity with which many passages admitted the difficulties which lay in the way. But how far were the Government committed to the scheme ?

He associated himself with the sentiment in the report that Indians should be more closely associated with the Government and with the development of Self-Governing institutions. But his doubts began with the third limb of the policy of 1917. They found at the end of the announcement this intimation that the goal at which we should aim was the earliest realisation of full representative government. That was an intimation which SEEMED TO HIM TO BE FULL OF DANGER. India was to have full representative government which would entitle her eventually to be on an equal footing with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth, and machinery was to be set up by which the whole system was to be examined and overhauled after an interval of time, in order that it might be tested by the democratic standard and tuned up to a democratic feeling. That seemed to him to amount to an invitation to place ourselves at the top of an inclined plane with the full knowledge that at the bottom of it we should find unmitigated democracy. He viewed with the utmost apprehension the idea that we should accept a proposition of that kind. He profoundly distrusted the idea of imposing Western democratic institutions on motley congeries of peoples who had very little in common except that they were Eastern and not Western peoples.

They were, to use a phrase which was not his own, Asiatics apart, dominated by Asiatic ideas. Towards the end of the report there was a very attractive picture of a great British Empire in which eventually India was to find her place alongside the Self-governing British Dominions.

Self-governing Dominions were British to the back bone and would remain British ; India was Eastern to the back bone and would remain Eastern. She would remain a country to be judged by Eastern standards and compared with other Eastern countries, and she would remain unmoved, except on the surface, by Western democratic ideas. Caste was one of the greatest difficulties which Indian reformers had to encounter, and he found nothing in the Report taking that into account. Could they imagine the Self-governing institutions prevailing in Canada or Australia working as smoothly as they did if they had anything like the caste system of India ? Another weak point in the scheme seemed to be the manner in which the Native States were dealt with. They were told that this great boon was to be given to India as a reward for practical co-operation in the war. He yielded to no one in his admiration for the manner in which India had played her part in the great struggle. But he was not quite convinced that the way to reward those who had been fighting so gallantly for us was to reward them with democratic institutions.

In the pursuit of this great democratic goal—they ran the risk of losing sight of a very different goal—the goal for which great Indian administrators of the past had always striven. He meant the goal at which they found peace and prosperity, contentment, freedom from risk of invasion, freedom from pestilence, and protection against the tyranny of the usurer. That was the goal of the old Indian administrators, and that was the goal which to his mind mattered most. He did not believe that they would get any nearer to that goal by attaching great patches of European veneer to an Oriental system. There were one or two danger points in the proposals. The outstanding danger point seemed to be that the whole object of the reform was to convert these legislative councils, armed as they were now with the powers of discussion and criticism, into Parliaments on the European model. He placed no great confidence on the safeguards which had been provided. Such a plan always meant the same thing, giving something with one hand and trying to take back a great deal with the other. If they succeeded in taking a great deal back, they created indignation. If they did not get it back

their safeguards were not worth the paper they were written upon. He could not conceive an arrangement more likely to lead to the general embarrassment of all concerned—the Viceroy, local Ministers, and the Legislative Council itself—than that outlined in the report.

He was much afraid that the adoption of the proposals would be the destruction of the Indian Civil Service as they had known it in the past. Than that Service the Empire had no more splendid asset; there was no Service of which the record had been more distinguished. It was quite clear, indeed, that the authors themselves knew in their hearts that there was no room in the scheme for the Indian Civil Service that they had known in past years. He thought it was likely to be done to death politically. Hitherto the strength of the Service had lain in the fact that its authority was unchallenged. The district officer depended on the support of the Government, and he got that support as long as he did his duty. Would he be equally sure of the support when his Departmental chief might be an Indian, and when the greater part of his colleagues were Indians? He could conceive no greater misfortune to India than that in that country British rule should no longer be interpreted by British agents.

Lord Sydenham said he could not help feeling that the time chosen for the announcement of the new policy was peculiarly inopportune. A very dangerous Revolutionary movement with German support was in full operation, and a serious organised rising had been discovered and frustrated just in time. It would not have been difficult to say that until the War ended, a great radical change in the Government of India could not be considered. Instead of that, every Indian malcontent was given to understand that great concessions were in near prospect. The Report had raised the most extravagant hopes among the agitators and created widespread alarm among the people who furnished most of the revenue of India, and who were beginning to be afraid that we were about to abandon them. A startling feature of the Report was the absolutely frank admission by the authors of the most striking facts and the ignoring of those facts when they came to substantive proposals. One result of the narrow basis of representation was that no less than 48 per cent of the seats of the Legislative Councils of India were held by lawyers. That was a misfortune in any country but was really a disaster in India, where the interest of the legal profession and the agricultural masses were always in violent conflict. Under the system of representation non-Brahmin Hindus had no chances

whatever of taking any part in the affairs of their country. Was it to be wondered at that the non-Brahmins population were beginning to be most seriously alarmed? It was a little difficult to take some parts of the Report seriously. The prestige and power of the district officers, who had often been made the targets of unjust criticism, must be maintained.

The Government reply.

Lord Islington. Under Secretary for India, said he did not propose to follow in any detail the discussion, which had ranged over a wide field. The Report which was the subject of analysis and discussion was quite incomplete at present. As he understood it, the main charge in regard to procedure was that the appointment of the two Committees about to arrive in India and their enquiry in India ought not to have taken place until His Majesty's Government had considered and approved of the Report. His answer was that these Committees had been instructed to go to India in order to report on subjects which were really an integral part of the scheme. The Government required the whole scheme to be submitted to them before they gave their considered opinion upon it. He repudiated the suggestion that by the procedure which had been adopted the Government and Parliament, and possibly the country, might be committed to a particular line of policy from which it would be difficult to withdraw. The elaboration of a particular scheme in detail did not necessarily commit the Government, nor the country to it if hereafter it was found, on close and further investigation, that an alternative scheme was preferable and Parliament was satisfied that that was so. Apart from that, he submitted that it would be quite unreasonable to ask the Government to devote their time to these questions, when every one throughout the country and the Alliance was demanding of them undivided attention to the War. There was another vital aspect of the scheme which had not been very closely alluded to, and that was in regard to the future organization of the India Office, and the relation it should bear to the Central and Provincial Governments of India, and the extent to which, and the method by which, it should bear relation to the Imperial Parliament. Those questions would require the most careful investigation, enquiry, and deliberation. An outside Committee had now been appointed to deal with this matter and report. This Committee would at an early date commence its work, and the Government would be able to report the result of its labours at a time which would coincide with the Report of the other Committees.

Those reports would constitute a comprehensive scheme, and then it would be possible for Parliament and the country to form a really considered opinion on the proposed reforms. For those and other reasons he strongly urged that the right moment to set up a Parliamentary Committee was after, and not before, the Bill was introduced. The Viceroy had been compelled to refuse passports to Indians who wished to put before Parliament and the public their views on Indian reform. It would be highly inconvenient if a Select Committee were to be sitting in this country in the next few months while that restriction would remain in force. Only the other day the Viceroy promised that as soon as circumstances permitted every facility would be given to enable deputations and representatives of different classes of opinion in India to visit this country and lay their view before representatives here. He thought therefore, it would cause a great deal of misunderstanding if a committee were appointed now to take evidence and Indian deputations, owing to the emergencies of the War, were unable to come over and take a share in the proceedings.

When the Government had introduced the Bill and it had been read a second time *it should be Referred to a Select Committee* consisting of representatives of both Houses specially appointed to take evidence. Evidence could then be taken from Indian deputations and from all groups of people who desired to advance their views. At this juncture he did not intend to attempt anything in the nature of a detailed analysis of the points raised in the course of the debate. He hoped that his action in that respect would not be misunderstood in India, and that it would not be thought that because he did not enter in detail into any attempted defence of the Viceroy's Report, he in any way accepted the criticisms that had been made on many of the proposals in that Report during the debate. He ventured to point out that it was incumbent upon the Government and upon this country faithfully and with sincerity to interpret the announcement of August 20 last. He believed that the more exhaustive the enquiry made by their lordships the more it would be found in the end that, with all its imperfections and shortcomings, the scheme embodied in the Report would probably present less objections than any other scheme that was put forward. Indians who had resided in British India had become accustomed to certain standards and customs associated with our rule, the continuance of which would not be guaranteed if such a drastic change were made as indicated in the only counterproposal he had the opportunity of discovering—that with which Lord Syden-