

ham was closely associated. That scheme seemed to him to be a very inadequate interpretation of the announcement of August 20. He suggested that when the two committees had reported, the Cabinet had thoroughly considered their reports, and the Bill had been matured, there would be ample time and opportunity for their Lordships' House and the country to give full consideration to the scheme in its entirety. If that view was acceptable to their Lordships the motion might be amended in order to provide for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider a Bill, rather than a Select Committee of both Houses to criticise a Report of officials which had not at present been approved by the Government.

Viscount Bryce admitted that this was, as the Reports stated, an extraordinary experiment—an experiment which entrusted many millions of people with functions and duties which had taken the process of centuries to enable the peoples of Europe to discharge... viz., those of finance and administration. The Report recognised briefly but in an appreciative sense the value of Self-governing institutions, but he was disappointed to find that it contained very few proposals as to how Self-government was to be applied. He submitted to the Government that when they came to work out the scheme they should try to see if more could be done to create smaller local Self-governing areas. It was desirable not to be too bold in making experiments. With smaller areas they had a better chance of getting elections to make well and to observe due vigilance in observing the conduct of the members of the governing body. With regard to the motion he deprecated the adoption of any dilatory course which would be sure to be misrepresented in India. It must be recognised that when they got to a certain point they must go forward. When hopes were excited they could not lag behind in giving effect to them. They all knew that progress must be made in the direction of more Self-government, and it was better to go on always making some advance. They had talked a great deal of what would be done after the War. They had acknowledged the spirit in which India had come forward, and it would be most unfortunate if the feeling we spread abroad that we were failing to live up to the promises which had been held out, disappointment would cause discontent, and discontent spread disaffection.

The debate was then adjourned.

The House met again for this discussion on 24th October, 1918 when Lord Crewe opposed the motion and said the war cabinet had

not yet given any decision on the Report. Lord Shelborne supported Lord Middleton's motion.

Lord Donoughmore strongly urged the Indian leaders to make it perfectly clear that they were not connected with the Extremists who were so rightly condemned in the Rowlatt Report, otherwise the British public might be timid in conferring new powers on Indians.

Lord Curzon replying to the debate pointed out that the decision of the Joint Committee now would not be likely to carry confidence, as they would be unable to consult Indian opinion upon the proposals. Enumerating the objections to the course Lord Middleton suggested, Lord Curzon said that the Government would not be in a position to express a final judgment on the scheme of Indian Reforms, until the two special Committees which had been appointed had reported. He suggested that the Secretary of State for India should place his scheme in a draft bill before the Parliament at an early date thus giving the members an opportunity of expressing their views on the various principles of the scheme.

Motion Rejected.

Lord Middleton's motion was rejected by 25 votes to 21

House of Lords, Nov. 15—1918.

Unrest in India.

Lord Sydenham asked question regarding the riots in Madras and Calcutta of September last, and about the Chandravarkar-Beachcroft Internment report, and whether Government did not think necessary a further retention of the War legislations in India, especially in view of the disturbed state of that country.

Lord Islington, Under-Secretary of State, replied that the disturbances in Madras were purely due to economic causes; that Lord Ronaldshay and his colleagues in Calcutta had handled in an admirable manner the riots in Calcutta which otherwise might have been a very serious incident. The acknowledgments made of the conduct of the General Commanding in Calcutta, his staff, and the Commissioner of Police were well deserved.

As regards the Bengal internments, the report of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. Beachcroft would be published immediately. The report stated that in 800 out of 808 cases the reasons for the action taken was sufficient. In view of the tortuous webs of intrigue

that had to be unravelled and the nature of the evidence to be obtained when dealing with a widespread conspiracy in war time, the report remarkably vindicated the Bengal Government and the Special Branch of the Police which dealt with the matter and succeeded beyond all expectations, and a tribute was due to the loyalty and devotion of the subordinates of the Crown who carried out a difficult and dangerous task.

Lord Islington emphasised firstly that in Bengal there was undoubtedly an undercurrent of lawlessness and hostility which, unless carefully watched and checked in every way possible, was liable to break out and involve all classes of population in bloodshed. Secondly, that the Government of Bengal, faced with a difficult and critical position, had shown and were showing promptness and decision, while paying scrupulous attention to the feelings of the various sections of the community. Thirdly, it was abundantly clear that the Government of India could not be deprived of the special powers needed to deal effectively with violence and disaffection. He did not say it would be necessary to maintain entirely the war legislation but it was imperative that the authorities should retain adequate means of coping with an extraordinarily difficult situation, which ordinary laws were not framed to meet, and of securing reasonable security to the peoples entrusted to their charge.

House of Commons—Nov. 20—'18.

India's War contribution.

Sir J. D. Rees asked: When will Parliament be asked to assent to the proposal that India shall defray a large share of the cost of the military forces raised in India?

Mr. Montagu replied: I am afraid that action must be postponed until the new Parliament meets.

India's Industrial Development.

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Montagu stated that he had received only a summary of the report of the Indian Industrial Commission. He proposed to arrange for the publication of the Report when he received the copies for which he had asked. When dealing with the Report he would consider the proposals in Sir Charles Bedford's memorandum of August to establish a representative London Advisory Council in connection with the measures relating to the Indian industrial development to co-operate with

similarly constituted Provincial Councils in India. He proposed to take action with regard to the industrial development policy, apart from the general measures relating to the Indian Constitutional Reforms.

Monazite Deposits.

Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Montagu stated that the Monazite supplies of India were now in British hands. The Government was fully alive to the necessity of preventing the Monazite deposits from falling under foreign control.

House of Lords, Nov. 21—'18.

Sir Reginald Craddock's Dissent on Reforms.

Lord Sydenham asked, whether the dissent of Sir Reginald Craddock to the proposals of Government of India in 1916 and any minutes of the Councils of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and the opinions of the heads of Provinces and their Councils would be available to Parliament before their report was complete.

Lord Islington replying emphasised that these documents, especially Sir Reginald Craddock's minute, were confidential in public interest. While he could not promise the complete publication of the Reports of Local Governments all materials useful in the discussion would be published. The object of real interest on which all criticism would be focussed was the Bill which would be formulated in due course, considered, and finally accepted by the Cabinet and presented to Parliament. The Bill when it was before the public would supersede the Report and all correspondence. The House should await the Bill, when there would be opportunities of subjecting it to the fullest criticism inside and outside the Parliament.

THE ELECTION AND INDIA.

On Dec. 28, 1918 the votes cast at the General Election were counted. The result proved an overwhelming majority for Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition. The Coalition total amounts to 484, a clear majority of 262, in a House (Commons) of 707 members.

The Asquith section of the Liberal party has been practically wiped out of existence ; Mr. Asquith himself has been soundly defeated and with him have gone many of his staunch lieutenants, including that constant friend of India, Mr. Charles Roberts.

A very large proportion of well known friends of India are no longer in the House. Mr. H. E. Cotton's all too brief membership is now at an end ; Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Sir Edward Parrot, Mr. J. M. Robertson, and Professor Lees-Smith failed to secure re-election. Amongst others who failed are Col Hugh Meyler, Mr. G. Lansbury, Mr Sidney Webb, Capt, Sidney Ransom, Maj. Graham pole, Mr John Scurr, and Dr G. B. Clerk—all well known in India for the interest they have always taken on Indian matters. Sir Herbert Roberts did not stand. Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks, the champion and spokesman of the Indo-British association, was unfortunately for India re-elected ; and so too that ardent supporter of the Montford Reforms, Sir J. D. Rees. Com. Wedgwood and Col. Yate were returned unopposed. Mr. Mc-Cullum Scott, whose speech in the House last session on the German menace to India attracted much attention, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, and Sir Donald Maclean also secured re-election. Amongst the new members is Mr. T. P. Bennett of the *Times of India*, Bombay, whose career would undoubtedly be watched with interest in India.

Mr. Montagu was returned by a majority of nearly 6,000 votes over his labour opponent for Cambridgeshire. He must, to a very great extent, depend upon the benevolent influence of Mr. Austen Chamberlain who is to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fortunately Mr. Chamberlain has committed himself very strongly in favour of the Reforms. But the Prime Minister is surrounded and supported by a very vast mass of vested interest, and Capitalists who have great vested interests in India. This makes the outlook rather gloomy for India.

House of Commons—Feb. 17—19, '19.**The Reforms.**

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that the reports of the Provincial Governments on the reform scheme, views of the Government of India thereon and reports of Southborough Committees would be presented to Parliament.

Replying to questions by Sir J. Rees, Mr. Montagu gave assurance that the Government of India would consider the claims of European subordinate police officers who joined the Indian army reserve of officers to preferential treatment in respect of enlistment in Indian Police.

Regarding the Bombay strike, Mr. Montagu said he was sure the House would sympathise with Sir G. Lloyd at being confronted with such a difficult situation immediately on assuming office and that the House would congratulate him on the result of his action.

Mr. Montagu stated that the recent information from Moscow indicates that H. S. Suhrawardy who was studying Russian in Moscow on the outbreak of war was still living there.

Replying to Mr. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India contemplated the transfer from India of all enemy subjects, interned or uninterned subjects to exceptions for cogent reasons. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the Government of India already possessed statutory powers to exclude or expel aliens.

Mr. Yate draw the attention of the House to the very grave hardships of officers coming home on leave from India owing to high steamer fares. Mr. Montagu replied that the Government of India and he himself had been anxiously considering the matter. He was now consulting the Ministry of Shipping by which fares were fixed as to whether a reduction was at present possible.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wolmer Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was considering the extension to Indian army officers of bonus and increases of pay granted to British army officers for the period during which armies of occupations were necessary. Regarding the cancelling of exchange compensation allowance to officers of Indian army, Mr. Montagu referred to his previous reply on this subject and said he was of opinion that the feeling of Indian army officers in this connection was due to lack of appreciation of facts.

The Reforms.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Montagu stated that Lajpat rai would not be permitted to come to England from America at present, but Mr. Montagu would gladly reconsider the matter when peace was signed. Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was about to issue a new Arms Regulation, based on the recommendations of the Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council, abolishing all racial distinctions, and enabling all persons of recognised status and character to obtain licences. Mr. Montagu hoped that the Report of the Southborough Committee would be issued shortly. He hoped to introduce the Indian Reforms Bills during the present session. Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Bridgeman said :—The President of the Board of Trade would gladly cooperate with the Government of India in any practical measure to secure adequate supplies of India's Monazite sand deposits.

Replying to Col. Yate Mr. Montagu stated that he had up to present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments regarding the reform proposals but he expected shortly to receive them officially from the Government of India along with the Government of India's considered views on the whole subject. They would, of course, be presented to Parliament but he was unable to specify the date. In replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that he approved of the Government of India for increasing the scale of pay for the Imperial Police Service based on the recommendations of local Governments. He hoped to announce it shortly when one or two points of detail had been cleared up. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the general scales of pay of the lower ranks of the Police had been considerably improved in nearly all Provinces during recent years.

Replying to Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Amery said :—The Governor was giving attention to the question of the constitution of Ceylon and would submit his recommendations to the Secretary of State in due course.

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that in view of dearth of food in India, he had urged the Shipping Controller substantially to reduce freights on rice from Burma to India. He had heard that rates had been reduced by an average of 43 per cent compared with November and December. The rate from Rangoon to Bombay was now fixed at thirty rupees per ton subject to a rebate of ten per cent.

Captain Foxcroft :—"Will Territorials who went to India in 1914 many of whom have been in bad stations and away from England ever since although not in an actual theatre of war, receive any special recognition for oversea service."

Mr. Guest replied :—"A comprehensive statement of the conditions of award of all medals for services in the present war will shortly be published and services of Territorials in India will not be overlooked".

Sir M. Dokerel affirmed that Mrs. Besant was about to lecture in Ireland and asked in view of her dangerous activities in India whether she would be prohibited.

Mr. Samuel replied that he was not aware of the matter.

House of Commons—Feb. 24, '19.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Replying to Colonel Yate, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the Government of India had decided to increase the pay of Indian Army Officers by extending to them the bonus and increases of pay recently granted to British Army Officers for the period during which the armies of occupation were maintained. In view of this concession, the Government of India was not prepared to revise the permanent rates of pay.

Colonel Yate asked an assurance that the Government of India in meeting amendment in the Select Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Bills giving effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee would accept nothing in any way tending to weaken the measures considered necessary by the Rowlatt Committee.

Mr. Montagu replied that beyond the proposal to limit the the Emergency Powers Bill to three years he was aware of no change in the views of the Government of India with regard to this legislation. The Government of India, however, had announced in the Legislative Council that they would endeavour to meet in the Select Committee any reasonable amendments that did not destroy the effectiveness of the measure. *Mr. Montagu* said he considered that the Government of India in this regard had exercised a wise discretion.

House of Lords—Feb. 26, 1919.

LORD SINHA TAKES SEAT.

Lord Sinha took his seat in the House of Lords with traditional ceremony. He was sponsored by Lords Islington and Carmichael. Instead of taking the Oath he only affirmed. Members of Indian staff officers watched the ceremony from the Gallery of the House.

House of Lords—March 4, '19.

In the House of Lords Lord Sinha made his maiden speech in answer to questions by Lord Sydenham.

Lord Sydenham.

Lord Sydenham had the following Questions on the Paper—
To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India—

1. If he can say when the opinions of the Provincial Governments in India on the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State will be made available for the information of Parliament and the public.

2. If he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

The noble Lord said : My Lords, among the most important proposals in the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India were those which contemplated the establishment in all the Provincial Governments of a diarchical system. That system is quite unknown to past history and government, and I confess I regard it myself as impracticable and fantastic. It has now been carefully considered by the responsible Governments who would have to carry it out, and I feel sure your Lordships will agree with me that their opinions should be made known as soon as possible to Parliament and to the public. These opinions, I believe, have now been at the India Office for several weeks, and what I urge is that they should be given to us as soon as possible. There is another set of Papers which are not mentioned in my Question but on which I gave private notice to the noble Lord. I hope he will undertake to make public

the evidence given before Lord Southborough's Committees which I believe have now finished their work. If this is not done I assure the noble Lord that there will be the greatest dissatisfaction among the non-Brahmin communities in India, which, as your Lordships well know, compose the vast majority of the Indian people.

Lord Islington

Congratulated Lord Sinha on his high office. He had been associated with Lord Sinha in Public work in India and in England for thirty years, and he could easily understand how Lord Sinha had come to occupy very distinguished and responsible posts in connection with India and the Empire for the last ten years. His present post would doubtless present many serious difficulties. Those who knew India would realise that, and none would realise it better than Lord Sinha who had shown characteristic public spirit in accepting the post.

The Question asked by Lord Sydenham is an important one. He asks that the Reports of the Local Governments on the Secretary of State and Viceroy's Report should be published at as early a date as possible, and that full time should be given to Parliament and the public to study and consider that Report. Later on undoubtedly the report of Lord Southborough's Committees will be available for Parliament and the public, but these Local Government Reports stand rather apart from those because they have been considered and drafted by Local Governments mainly in the light of the proposals embodied in the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and as such must constitute an important part of the groundwork of any scheme which may be ultimately adopted in connection with constitutional reform. In particular, the views of Local Governments will be of the greatest possible importance on extremely urgent questions.

I am confident that a very liberal and definite policy is necessary in this connection. Discontent which undoubtedly has been rife in many parts of India during recent years is, I believe, to be attributable in no small measure to the fact that the Provincial Governments have been unduly checked and controlled by the distant Central Government. I feel that whatever shape constitutional reform may take as the result of discussion in Parliament, if it is to be effected it must be coupled with provincial decentralisation, and that should be on a thorough and comprehensive scale. That is a question which will require very careful study both as regards the opinions and experience of the Central Government and also, equally, as regards the opinions and experience of Local Governments.

There is one other Report which was not alluded to by Lord Sydenham, and on which I should be grateful if the noble Lord could give us some information. It is the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. This again is a question of absolutely first class importance to India, not excepting even constitutional reform, because the future prosperity of India must in a large measure depend on the extent to which her vast native resources can be manufactured and dealt with by her own people effectively and profitably.

Lord Sinha.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (Lord Sinha) : My Lords, it is with considerable diffidence that I rise this evening to address your Lordships, and I hope I may be not altogether out of order if I begin by thanking my noble friend Lord Islington, from whom I have in the past had a great deal of courtesy and consideration, for the more than generous terms with which he has been pleased to refer to me, and I thank your Lordships also for the very kind reception you gave to the remarks.

With regard to the Question on the Paper by the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham, my task is comparatively easy, because I have only to draw your Lordships' attention to what has been already promised as early as November last by Lord Islington himself and also last month—on February 17 and 19—by the Secretary of State for India in another place. The first set of Papers which Lord Sydenham asked should be published refers to the opinions by the Local Governments on the great scheme known at the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for constitutional reforms in India. Replying in the House of Commons to a Question put on February 17 and 19 respectively the Secretary of State said :—

“I have at present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments as to the proposals for constitutional reforms, but I expect before long to receive them officially from the Government of India, together with that Government's considered views on the whole subject, and of course they will be presented to Parliament, though I cannot at present specify a date.”

Then, as early as November last, Lord Islington speaking in your Lordships' House, said this—

“The reports from the Local Governments on the Reforms Report and all the material which will be of use in the discussion of this matter, in so far of course as they do not contain confidential

matter, will in due course and without unnecessary delay, be published."

I repeat that assurance, but I cannot add anything further to it. The Government of India's Despatch giving their views on the opinions of the Local Governments has not yet been received, though it is expected that it will not be very long in arriving, probably not latter than the end of this month. The Report of the Government of India should then be in the hands of the Secretary of State. As soon as it is received and has been considered by the Secretary of State, it will be placed before parliament.

There is another set of Papers for which the noble Lord asked—the Reports of the two Committees over which Lord Southborough presided in India, and also the evidence which may have been recorded by those Committees. As regards the Reports themselves the Secretary of State has definitely pledged himself to place them before Parliament. The Reports, so far as we know, have not yet been signed—at least our information is that it is only one Report of the Committee, that to determine the electorates, that has been signed. We have no information regarding the others. Lord Southborough and the members of his Committees are, I believe, already on their way back from India, and the Reports will be in the hands of the Secretary of State, I hope before the end of the present month. As soon as they are received they will be placed before your Lordships' House. As to the evidence, all that I am in a position to tell your Lordships at present is that the procedure to regulate proceedings of these Committees was left entirely to the discretion of Lord Southborough and the members of the Committee. It is not known whether they have recorded evidence with a view to publication, and in any case until the return of Lord Southborough and receipt of the Committee's reports it is not possible to give any information on the subject or to publish any evidence that may have been given.

May I take this opportunity of expressing my entire concurrence with what fell from the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham. I also consider that absolute frankness is essential in the consideration of these most important matters; and so far as the Secretary of State is concerned, and so far as I myself am concerned, I hope that there will be no occasion on the part of your Lordships to complain in that respect. With regard to the documents to which my noble friend Lord Islington referred—namely, the Report of the Indian Industrial Com-

mission—may I remind Your Lordships that it was formally laid before Your Lordships House on February 19 last, and on inquiry of the printers it has been ascertained that copies will be available for circulation on Thursday next by noon. Therefore copies will be available both to Your Lordships' House and to the public on Thursday next. I entirely agree, if I may say so, with Lord Islington as to the importance of this report, and also with regard to the complaint which he has made—though perhaps it is not for me to urge it now—that the Government of India, before this Commission was appointed, could hardly be accused of having been too progressive in industrial matters. It is the earnest hope of all who are concerned in the Government of India, as well as of the Indian people themselves, that effect may be given to the recommendations of this Commission as soon as they have been considered by the Government of India in the first place, and then by the Secretary of State and by Parliament. I can assure my noble friend that, so far as any action on this Report is concerned, the Secretary of State has already intimated to the Viceroy that no action should be taken until the opinion of the Government of India had been received by him, and there will be ample opportunity given to the members of Your Lordships' House to study and consider this Report, and, if need be, to raise any discussion upon it before any action is taken in regard to it. That is, I think, all that I need say at this stage with regard to the first Question on the Paper.

Lord Crewe.

My Lords, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding one word to the very full tribute to the services in the past of my noble friend who has just sat down, and the high hopes we all entertain of the work which he is going to do here in the future. I also have had the pleasure of being associated with my noble friend in the past, and I know very well what the value of his services is; and I think that Your Lordships here, from observing the easy mastery with which he replied to the Question of the noble Lord on the cross-benches and the manner in which he developed the various points which arose out of that Question, will agree that we can look forward with the utmost confidence to the conduct of the very important measures of which he will no doubt have charge in the future in Your Lordships' House.

[Noble Lords: Hear, hear.]

I have practically nothing to add, except to express my great satisfaction at the phrase which fell from the noble Lord op-

posite regarding the necessity of complete frankness and openness in displaying all the facts which may come from India to this country ; and I feel certain, therefore, that he and the Secretary of State will put the closest possible construction on the word "confidential" when he stated that it would be only confidential matter which would be excluded from publication in regard to these Provincial Reports. I can quite believe that those Provincial Reports, or some of them, contain things which, from the mere point of view of the promotion of a particular policy the India Office would just as soon should not be placed on the Table of the two Houses for discussion, possibly with the result of supplying argument to those who may oppose the policy of His Majesty's Governments. But I am quite certain that the India Office will not in any way succumb to a temptation to set aside, or not to reveal, any such statements that may come ; and as a matter of fact, knowing what the general line of the policy of His Majesty's Government is. I think, we may confidently assume that a great deal of approbation in this matter of devolution, of which Lord Islington spoke, is certain to come from all the different Provincial Governments. We can look forward with great interest to the appearance of these Reports, and I sincerely hope that their advent will not be much longer delayed.

Lord Sydenham.

I beg to thank the noble Lord for the answer he has given me, and especially for his promise—which I know he will carry out—that there shall be greater frankness on the part of the India Office in future. I have now to ask the Under-Secretary of State the second Question standing in my name—whether he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

There is a very great difficulty at the present moment in watching events in India. I do not know whether the Censor is still at work, but I see in private letters allusions to happenings which never appear in our public Press, and it does not seem to me as if we were not quite sufficiently informed as to what is going on in India. Since it was known that the Secretary of State would make large concessions to Home Rulers there have been certain distinctly unpleasant symptoms in India. There were riots in the three great Presidency towns, and in all cases there was some evidence of political inspiration. As to Bengal, the Government of Bengal itself has said so in its resolution as regards the very serious disturbances in Calcutta. As

regards the strikes in Bombay it has been denied, but in a private letter from an Indian who was behind the scenes and who also did his utmost to preserve tranquillity, these words occur—

“Home Rulers were abroad in the mill centres, instigating and assisting the strikers, and asking them to hold on.”

In Rangoon troubles were planned, but were apparently frustrated by the action of Government. Other disturbances have taken the form of organised attack by Hindus upon Muhammadans. To the worst case of that kind the House has already had its attention drawn. That was in Bihar when an area of 1,000 square miles was held up by the rioters for several days. Something of the same kind appears to have occurred at Katarpur on the occasion of the last Bakr-Id ceremonies. From the little I have heard of that case it does seem as if effective steps were not taken in sufficient time, but that impression may be wrong, and if so, doubtless the noble Lord will correct me.

In other cases disturbances which might have been serious have been averted by the prompt action of British Officers. There is some significance to be attached to these happenings, and that significance must not be ignored. The number of Indians who really understand what Home Rule means is, in proportion to the population of India, very small, as the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State admitted. But there is not a bazar in all India where stories that Government is weakening or that Government is afraid would not be understood and would not be believed. That, I am afraid, is what is going on, and in a telegram from Delhi which *The Times* published yesterday there are these words.

“The Extremists appear to be animated by blind hatred of the Civil Service, which constantly finds expression on the platform and in the press. The existence of this rancorous sentiment accentuates the difficulties of the political situation.”

I really fear that the gross calumnies against the Government of India and against everything British which are rife at the present time are becoming a source of growing danger to the peace of India.

Lord Sinha.

My Lords, with regard to the second Question on the Paper, in so far as information has been asked for by my noble friend, I shall proceed to give that information at once. As regards comments, with your Lordships' leave, I will reserve them until I have given the narrative of facts. This Question relates to riots which undoubtedly took place in a village called Katarpur in September

last. The information which has hitherto been received by the India Office from the Government of India has been by cable, and is therefore necessarily meagre. I would have contented myself with giving your Lordships the bare facts as received by us by cable from the Government of India, but I thought it would give satisfaction and to the members of your Lordships' House if I were able to give a fuller account from any other source that was available, and I have accordingly compiled one from a newspaper account of the opening speech of counsel in the prosecution which has arisen out of this case in order that your Lordships may have fuller information as regards the facts.

A serious riot took place in the village of Katarpur, in the sub-division of Roorkee in the district of Saharanpore, on September 18 last, and it is alleged that in the riot at least thirty Muhammadans were killed, sixteen injured, and a large part of the village burnt down. The circumstances which led up to the riot extended over a series of some days. The village is one in which, according to the latest census Report, there were 538 Hindus and 238 Muhammadans, and there is a mosque, or idgah as it is called, in the village. The surrounding villages were in the main what might be called Hindu villages, and the town of Kankhal (also chiefly Hindu in population) as well as the great place of pilgrimage, Hardwar, is also within a few miles of the village of Katarpur.

On September 11, the Bakr-Id festival of the Muhammadans being close at hand, the police moved the sub-divisional magistrate to bind over the leading Muhammadan and Hindu villagers to keep the peace during the Bakr-Id festival, which extends from September 17 to 19 inclusive. They did so, inasmuch as there seemed to be a controversy—which is the usual controversy in these cases—as to whether Katarpur was a village in which cow sacrifice at Bakr-Id was customary or not, and it therefore seemed necessary that precautions should be taken. On September 13, owing to the intercession of local officers, the parties appear to have come to an arrangement by which it was agreed that sacrifices should be quietly performed in the houses of two of the Muhammadans of the village. Later on, however, this agreement is alleged to have been repudiated by the neighbouring Hindus, with the results that on September 17, the first day of the Bakr-Id, a crowd numbering thousands arrived at this village armed with big sticks. The local officers tried to get the people to come to some settlement but, failing to do so, wired to the sub-divisional magistrate at Roorkee to come to

the place and he arrived there on September 11, accompanied by a number of police constables. He found an excited crowd moving about in groups. It was when the local magistrate was present in the village that suddenly some cry was raised which seemed to be the signal for a general attack by the Hindu on the Muhammadans, who were fewer in number, and the huts in the Muhammadan quarter were set on fire by groups of Hindu rioters. The fire stopped in the afternoon, and in the meantime an armed guard had been wired for from Roorkee. This guard arrived, and no further rioting took place. It is said that seventeen corpses were found by the sub-divisional officer, either burnt or partially burnt, and some more corpses were found later inside Muhammadan houses. A number of arrests were made later, and about 100 persons are now on their trial. At the proposals of the Local Government, a Special Tribunal constituted under the Defence of India Act, 1915, presided over by Mr. Justice Tudball of the Allahabad High Court, was set up for the purpose. The Government of India has promised to telegraph the result of the proceedings as soon as they are finished. Those are the facts with regard to the rioting.

I do not for a moment seek to minimise the significance of these riots; but your Lordships will have noticed that this particular riot in any case had nothing whatsoever of a political character about it. Unfortunately it is correct to say that these outbursts of religious fanaticism are still common in India, and on the occasion of these festivals, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, you find rioting taking place between the two factions of those communities. It is confined to the lower and poorer classes and, after all, the real remedy for this state of things is the progressive enlightenment and education of those classes, and the closer co-operation of the educated and wealthier classes in both communities for the purpose of getting rid of or preventing these disturbances. This riot had no political significance whatever, as I have already said, and I confess that I am surprised that the noble Lord took this as an occasion to point a moral with regard to the grant of Home Rule, which no one has yet suggested so far as I know, or anything in connection with that. Nor, if I may say so with regard to the three other riots mentioned—in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Rangoon—is there any reason to suppose they had anything to do with the proposals for constitutional reform, or any reason of a political nature of that kind.

Your Lordships are aware that during the course of the war there has been considerable excitement amongst the Muhammadan

population of India, an excitement which has in some cases and in some Provinces been shared by the Hindus. But to say that any of these riots can be justly ascribed either to the proposals for constitutional reform or to the supposed weakening of the Government, is, I submit, saying something which is not borne out by the facts. So far from the Report, of which so much has been said by the noble Lord, ignoring occurrences of this kind, as I read it—and as I believe most of Your Lordships will have read it—the Report lays special stress on the fact that these religious dissensions still exist, that these religious riots still occur; and it is for that reason principally that they refuse to allow any controll to the Legislative Councils over the departments of government which are concerned with the administration of justice and the preservation of law and order. Therefore it seems to me at any rate, and I submit it with confidence to your Lordships, that to connect these riots—which have existed I am sorry to say for many years; long before any constitutional reforms were thought of—with the Report, or with the supposed concessions which are alleged to be going to be made, is somewhat far-fetched and unfair, if I may say so, with great respect to the noble Lord.

After all, human nature being what it is, outbursts of this kind, however much we may deplore them, will occur from time to time. In countries blessed with one of the noblest religions, one of the most civilising and humanising religions known to the world, we find people fighting with each other, and we find them doing so not for any supposed spiritual benefit but for mere material benefits; and, after all, when these Hindus and Muhammadans fight on the occasions of these religious festivals, they are fighting, not for material benefits, but for what they believe to be the interests of their eternal souls. The only remedy is a closer co-operation of the official with the more educated people for the purpose of spreading enlightenment and education amongst those poorer classes, and the more the people of the country co-operate with the Government and with the official of the Government the greater will be the checks and safeguards for the prevention of these deplorable occurrences.

House of Commons—Mar. 10, '19.

Lajpat Rai.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian patriot, Lajpat Rai, may yet be permitted to return from America to this country.

Mr. G. Terrel.—Before the Right Hon. gentleman answers, may I ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is quite in order to describe a person of doubtful character as an Indian patriot in a question ?

Sir H. Craik—And may I ask, Sir, whether it is not the case that the person whose name is in the question was deported for seditious and treacherous conduct in India ?—Colonel Wedgwood.—He was not deported.

The Speaker.—I don't know anything of this. Everybody calls himself a patriot in these days. (Laughter). Mr. G. Terrell asked whether Regulation 53 in Manual of Procedure did not provide that a question may not contain any argument, inference, imputation, epithet or ironical expression and whether the expression in the question did not offend the rule in every way ?—

Commander Bellairs (Maidstone, C. U.)—And may I ask, on a further point of order whether the hon. member is entitled to have ten starred questions on the paper (cheers), and may I point out that he has already asked four supplementary questions ? (Laughter). *The Speaker.*—The remedy is not to call the last two questions on the paper. (Laughter.)

Mr. Fisher.—President of the Board of Education who said he had been asked to answer the question on the paper, replied—The answer is in the negative. If my hon. and gallant friend will repeat his question on the signature of peace, Secretary of State will be glad to consider the matter further. (Cries of "Why ?").

Colonel Wedgwood.—May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he would take advantage of the opportunity to contradict the allegation (cries of "Order") that this patriot was deported ? (Renewed cries of "Order.")

No answer was returned.

Famine Conditions in India.

Mr. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for India if he had any information as to the extent and intensity of famine conditions now prevailing in India ; how far the winter rains had fallen short of the average ; how many persons had availed themselves of the relief works opened by the State ; how far the present prices of staple food grains were in excess of the normal ; and whether such prices show any tendency to decline.

Mr. Fisher : "Famine", in the technical sense that relief works have been opened, had been declared in one district in Bombay and in parts of two other districts in the same Province. There is dis-

tréss of a less severe character in several other districts in Bombay and the Central Provinces, in two districts in the United Provinces. In November and December there was in India, as a whole, a serious deficiency in the rainfall, resulting in failure of the autumn crops over wide areas and restricted sowings of winter crops. The latter have benefited considerably by fairly general rain. There are about 43,000 persons on relief works. The number is kept down by the good demand for labour on private account. The increase in the price of food grains has varied in different parts of India. As far as can be judged from the figures that have been received, the average increase over normal prices would appear to be about 50 per cent. Prices have not as yet shown a tendency to decline.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether recent seasons in India had been bad, and, if so, how many in succession; whether the fact was that, owing to the Government system of famine relief, the population in India were saved from suffering and death resulting from successive bad seasons; and whether it was desirable that the use of the word "famine" should be abandoned, such famines as existed being of money and not of food, which, either by purchase or by gratuitous Government distribution, was always available.

Mr. Fisher : The Secretary of State does not think it is the case that recent seasons in India as a whole, have been bad. During the War, until the failure of the monsoon rains of 1918, the harvests have been generally good. The relief systems established in India is intended to, and does in fact, alleviate privation and its effect on the death rate. "Famine" in the Indian relief codes is now a technical word, denoting that the point has been reached at which the full machinery of relief is started. The term is well understood, and the Indian Government prefer to retain it.

Sir J. D. Rees : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that though the technical signification of the word "famine" is well understood in India it is totally misunderstood in England and is it not perhaps desirable that its use should be discontinued?

An Hon. Member : Will the right hon. Gentleman say what is the annual income of the ryots of India, who form the main bulk of the population?

Mr. Fisher : I must ask for notice of that.

Limitation of Rowlatt Bill.

Repling to Mr Wedgwood in the Commons Mr Fisher stated

that Mr Montagu has requested the Govt. of India to supply as soon as possible a return of the number of persons interned and imprisoned without a trial in India during the war and the number released since the armistice.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Fisher stated that Mr Montagu was unable to add anything to the Viceroy's reply to Goallior's address in the Dehli Conference. Mr. Yate affirmed that the Govt. of India in proposing to limit the Rowlatt legislation to three years would throw an unfair burden on their successors owing to violent agitation that certainly would arise against the renewal of legislation at the end of 3 years. Mr Yate suggested that Mr Montagu should suggest to the Govt. of India the advisability of reconsidering the proposal. Mr Fisher replied that Mr Montagu did not propose to adopt the suggestion.

Rowlatt Bill.

In the House of Commons replying to Mr. Swan, Mr. Fisher stated that the Secretary of State regretted that the existence of the anarchical revolutionary movement in India necessitated the passing of a new Crimes Act. He emphasised that this action had been taken after careful consideration on the avowed advice of an influential representative commission, and the Government of India was satisfied that it was essential to peace and security that Government should be armed with these exceptional powers to be applied only in areas where anarchical and revolutionary crime was proved to exist. The Secretary of State was not prepared to disregard the finding of this Commission and the views of the Government of India, by advising His Majesty to disallow the act. Mr. Fisher emphasised that this legislation did not reflect on, and its necessity was not affected by, the splendid loyalty of Indians generally and it would affect only a small portion of the population to which it applied.

Demobilisation of Indian Army.

In the House of Common replying to Mr. Ramsden Mr. Fisher stated that the Indian Army was demobilising as rapidly as circumstances permitted. About a quarter of a million combatants had already been discharged. It was proposed to retain with colours in India a force sufficient to provide for normal requirements of India and to keep up the strength of Indian troops employed in the occupied territories and Colonial stations. Demobilisation within practicable limits was favoured by the Govt. of India and public opinion in India.

Replying to Mr. Yate Mr. Fisher stated that any gratuity granted to British and Indian army officers at the termination of war would be payable to the estates of deceased officers.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN MATTERS.

On April 1, 1919 a meeting was held of Members of Parliament interested in Indian Affairs. It was decided to form a strong Parliamentary Committee (non-official) to assist in the passage of the Bill for Indian Constitutional Reforms, and to afford full facilities to delegations from India to state their views in public and in proper quarters. The committee appointed consist of Sir J. D. Rees (Chairman), Mr. Bennet (Secretary), Mr. A. M. O'Grady, Sir G. Collins, Sir S. Hoare, and Mr. O. Gore.

House of Commons—Interpellations—April, 1919.**Indian Army—April 3.**

Mr. Mallalieu urged the claims to demobilisation of men belonging to the Mesopotamian force who were detailed to Poona early in November to assist in clearing up field accounts of troops.

Mr. Fisher replied that prompt settlement of the accounts of a large number of officers and men on demobilisation depended on trained personnel. The Military Accounts Department was being kept up to full strength. The Secretary of State could not press the Government of India to a course that would destroy the efficiency of the Department, but he would bring the case to the Government of India's notice.

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, *Mr. Fisher* stated that the question of the postwar strength and composition of the army in India was under consideration.

Sir J. Rees enquired about the strength of the army after demobilisation in the East.

Mr. Churchill: Indian troops in the Middle East, Egypt and Palestine and in Mesopotamia were being reduced to 206,500, 42,750 and 63,000 respectively. These figures were the establishment of Indian troopers which were being maintained in armies of occupation.

Colonel Yate suggested that in view of the large number of British troops in these theatres who ought to get relief, demobilisation of Indians who had more recently enlisted ought to be less rapid.

Mr. Churchill replied that the composition of all our forces depended on a certain proportion being maintained of British and Indian troops, and this must be done irrespective of the relative claims of British and Indian troops to demobilisation.

Kut Officers—April 5.

Lord Wolmer asked what provision had been made for Kut officers taken prisoner who had incurred large expenses from private means in order to keep themselves alive.

Mr. Froster referred to the arrangements for issues from British relief fund by the Dutch Minister in order to cover extra expense. Where officers could show that the necessary expenses exceeded the amounts of such grants besides advances by the Turkish Government, any claim which might be submitted showing extra expense would be favourably considered.

Railway administration—April 2.

Mr. Fisher in reply to a question by Sir J. D. Rees stated that Mr. Montagu had proposed that as soon as convenient after the war there would be an enquiry in India regarding the desirability or otherwise on administrative and financial grounds of modifying the present management of Railways in India which were owned by the State, but worked by Companies domiciled in England, by incorporating the lines in existing State-worked systems, or converting them into separate State-worked lines or handing them over to Companies domiciled in India.

April 9

To a question by Mr. Bellairs *Mr. Fisher* in reply stated that the Secretary of State was not aware that the standard of efficiency in Indian Railway Administration was relatively low or that famine relief measures were impeded by the inability of Railways to carry supplies but with a view to ascertaining what improvements were possible he had already arranged with the Government of India for a comprehensive inquiry by the Committee into the whole question of management. The Committee would doubtless take into account any legislation dealing with transportation that Parliament might enact and would consider whether similar arrangements were applicable to India. The Secretary of State entirely agreed with the questioner regarding the necessity for avoiding Departmental competition.

Replying to Mr. Bennett, *Mr. Montagu* pointed out that the original scheme for the Indian Railway Board had been modified in the light of experience. It had been found desirable to introduce a non-railway element in view of the administration and financial problems with which it had to deal, and the Presidentship was open equally to Railway and non-Railway members, but he thought that the composition of the Board would necessarily be reviewed in the forthcoming enquiry into the management of Indian Railways.

Southborough Report—April 2

Mr. Fisher, replying to Sir J. D. Rees, stated that the Report of the Southborough Committees had not yet been received from the India Government. Mr. Montagu hoped to receive them in the course of the current month and would present them to Parliament without delay.

Delhi Riots—April 8

Mr. Fisher, in reply to Sir J. D. Rees about the Delhi Riots, read a telegram from the Viceroy, dated 31st March, detailing the Riots at Delhi on March 30 last. He added that the Viceroy reported a few days after that there had been no trouble elsewhere up to that date.

Protests against Rowlatt Act—April 10

Mr. Fisher, in reply to a question by Mr. Spoor, stated that Mr. Montagu had received numerous telegrams from individuals and associations praying that the Crown would disallow the Anarchical Crimes Bill, but no telegram purporting to be from the Moderate party as such had been received.

House of Commons—Interpellations—May, 1919.**Indians in Fizi—May 1**

Mr. Montagu in reply to Mr. Bennett stated that he was communicating with the Colonial Office regarding the urgent need for ameliorating the surroundings of indentured Indians in Fizi. He had also communicated to the Colonial office the resolution of the Indian Legislative Council of 11th September, but the cancellation of indentures was not in itself a remedy for the evils complained of. The dearth of shipping would at present prevent the return of released immigrants to India.

Silver Crisis in India.

Mr. Gwynne drew attention to Sir J. Meston's account of the silver crisis in India last year, and what steps Mr. Montagu was taking to avoid such a contingency this year.

Mr. Montagu replied that he had been consulting the Government of India and he proposed to appoint a strong committee to consider and advise him on the difficult currency and exchange problems which were the legacy of the war.

Indian Police

Colonel Yate asked :—As the safety and welfare of Indians largely depend on a loyal and contented Police, will Mr. Montagu suggest to the Government of India the advisability of immediately considering increase of pay to the lower ranks of the provincial Police,

Mr. Montagu :—The question is one for local Governments.

Indian Deputation—May 5

Colonel Yate drew attention to complaints in India regarding the grant of priority certificates to members of Indian deputations proceeding to England in connection with the Reform scheme.

Mr. Montagu replied that the Government of India, in giving facilities to the representatives of different political parties in India to visit England in connection with the Reform Scheme, were discharging a definite obligation which they undertook for good reasons last year when the war was still in progress. The number of Members in each delegation was being kept within very close limits. He felt sure that the Government of India in making good their promise did not neglect the claims of other classes of the community. As demobilisation was temporarily suspended in India some additional shipping accommodation for civilians would probably be available.

Leprosy in India—May 7

Mr. Montagu replying to *Sir John Rees* stated that he was advised that medical opinion was divided with regard to whether leprosy was contagious in all its stages. So far as he was aware no amendment to the Indian Leper Act was contemplated. *Mr. Montagu* also stated that he had not yet received the report of the Indian Cotton Committee, but advance copies were en route.

Public Service Commission.

Replying to *Colonel Yate* with regard to the proposals of the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the proposals to increase the pay of the police and the medical service had been carried out and proposals for the reorganisation of the Forest Service and the Financial Department and interim proposals with regard to certain officers in the Educational Services were under consideration. The Government of India's other proposals had not yet been received.

Change in Reforms Policy—May 12

Sir J. D. Rees asked :—Since the Armistice, has there been any change in the policy or attitude of the Government with regard to constitutional reform in India or any other important matter arising from or connected with the pronouncement of August 20th. 1917 :—

Mr. Montagu replied : none whatever.

Passage to Indian Deputation.

Mr. Montagu replying to a question by *Mr. Yate* about priority certificates granted to Indian Political Delegates in preference to Englishmen and Women, stated that the 347 first class passengers

on the Ormond included only six Indians. There were 607 second class and third class passengers, and no Indians. He was informed that third class accommodation was exceptionally good. The Company had made especial efforts to secure comfort for the third class passengers and undertook that they would have the same mess and use the same deck as second class passengers. Their cabins were fitted with electric fans. He regretted that two children had died on the voyage from pneumonia. He emphasised that every effort was being made to provide sufficient accommodation for passengers from India. He understood that the Government of India was satisfied with the amount of accommodation, and there was nothing wrong in granting passage to the Indian Delegates.

Mr. Yate pointed out that priority certificates were given to Indians while there were women and children in the third class (cheers).

Mr. Montagu replied.—*Mr. Yate* does not regard the passage of Indian Reforms through the Commons as urgent, I do.

The Indian Budget—May 15

Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Indian Budget would be taken on May 22nd.

In the Lords, replying to Lord Sydenham, Lord Peel stated that a despatch from the Viceroy containing opinions of Provincial Governments on the Montagu-Chelmsford report would be formally presented within a week and copies would be ready soon afterwards.

India's War Expenditure—May 19

Mr. Fisher stated in reply to *Mr. Griffiths* that including the hundred million war contribution the war expenditure of the Government of India up to 31st March was about £127,800,000 sterling. A further contribution was proposed by the Government of India and was at present under consideration. Indian princes and others had contributed £2,100,000 sterling in cash, besides placing at the disposal of the Government of India considerable further sums for the purchase of horses, motors, comforts for troops, etc.

Col Yate suggested that in view of its good work in war time the Central Publicity Board should be continued.

Mr. Fisher replied that the Board was formed to give the people of India correct information in regard to the war, and now that peace was in sight, its functions were ended.

Indian Educational Service.

Mr. Fisher replying to *Mr. Rawlinson* stated that no definite promise regarding revision of pay and terms of the service of the

Indian Educational Service had been made though the need for improvement was recognised. An inquiry in this connection had just been completed and the Government of India was still considering the results. Meanwhile the Government of India proposed certain provisional relief measures which had been sanctioned and which would shortly be announced in India.

Mr. Fisher, replying to *Mr. Wedgwood*, stated that *Mr. Montagu* had already taken steps to ensure that the Indian Army would be represented as adequately as possible in the Peace celebrations. The Indian troops in France were insufficient to enable a procession to be formed in London similar to the Dominion processions.

Allowance to I. C. S.—May 21

Sir J. D. Rees asked. Is it necessary for the Government of India to retain the maximum of a thousand sterling a year furlough allowance for Civil servants?

Mr. Fisher replied that the Government of India had made no proposal in this matter, but he would have an opportunity of considering it when he dealt with the leave recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

The Indian Budget Debate.

Mr. MONTAGU'S SPEECH.

House of Commons—May 22, 1919.

The Secretary of State for India (Cambridge CL.) moved that the Speaker do leave the Chair in order that the House might go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts. He said : This is the sixth time it has fallen to my lot to initiate the discussion on the Indian Budget, and I devoutly hope it may be the last. This is the first time in the history of Indian affairs in my memory that the House of Commons has agreed to the discussion of the Indian Budget so early as before the end of May, and I take that as a happy prelude to the day when we shall have substituted for this meaningless process of Budget debate a more proper procedure of debate on the India Office Estimates. As regards the financial situation in India, I will merely say that the currency position was a source of great anxiety to the Government throughout the War, and is now causing us renewed anxiety owing to the increase in the price of silver, which has necessitated a rupee of 1s. 8d. It is a difficult matter to decide how long we shall go on purchasing silver in a rising market, and I have decided to appoint a new Currency Commission to investigate the situation caused by the rise in the price of silver and the limited world supply. I propose to publish the names of that Commission in due course; they will be representative of British and Indian Commerce, and they will be presided over by Sir Henry Babington Smith, who has kindly consented to offer his unequalled knowledge to this very responsible body.

The Position in India.

I will try to sketch the position in India to-day. If we were considering only the position of India *vis à vis* the great nations of the world, the situation is a bright one. After having taken up the challenge which Germany and her Allies presented to the civilised world, after having devoted her invaluable troops and her resources to the Allied cause, India has won for herself a place in international discussion equal to that of the British Dominions and greater than the position occupied by any Power in the world, except,

of course, those who are colloquially known as the "Big Five." Not only has she separate access to the Peace Conference, not only have her representatives received from the King power to sign on his behalf peace with His Majesty's enemies, but as members of the British Empire Delegation they share in the task of concerting the policy of the British Empire. I can only say on behalf of my colleagues His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha, and of myself, that we have devoted ourselves in Paris with all the more concentration to the interests of the Indian Empire because we realise we are the representatives of a people not yet, unfortunately, self-governing.

It must have been a satisfaction to the House of Commons to learn that India was to be an original member of the League of Nations, and that Indian representatives are to sit in the far-reaching and important Indian National Labour Organisation which is to result from the Peace Treaty. These things, together with the place occupied by my friend and colleague, Lord Sinha, in the House of Lords, commit Parliament to the view that this position is only justified if you can raise India to the position of a sister Nation in the British Empire, and is wholly inconsistent with a position of subordination. I must go one step farther. I would say, our Colleagues who have sat with us round the Conference table representing the great Dominions of the Empire, that the position of equality which they have given to the representatives of India is wholly inconsistent, in my humble opinion, with the treatment of the citizens of India in British Dominions—

(*Colonel Wedgwood* :—South Africa.) In South Africa or anywhere else—in a position which puts them lower than the citizens of any other part of the British Empire.

The war with Afghanistan.

Now I turn to India herself. There the position is not so satisfactory. Having come through the War with a record which will compare well with the record of any other country in the world, we find now a country in mourning. Rebellion and revolution have appeared internally. War has broken out afresh on her frontiers. I would invite the attention of the House to an analysis of the causes, to a description of the state of affairs, and to a suggestion as to the remedies. I am not going to say very much about Afghanistan. It is now quite clear that the new Ameer, having achieved the Throne, has in a moment of almost suicidal folly authorised an unprovoked attack upon the territories for which we are responsible. His motives are doubtful. They must be partly attributed to the unrest which exists throughout the Muhammadan world, partly to a pathetic

effort by the worst possible means to consolidate his position on a shaky Throne, partly to the emissaries of that dark and murderous doctrine which battens upon unrest, feeds on discontent, spreads disorder wherever it shows its head—Bolshevism and the Bolshevik emissaries of Russia. (An Hon. Member—"And Germany, too") All these have played their part, and the result was inevitable. I shall publish daily as I receive them reports on the military situation. It is not necessary for me to say that we desire nothing in Afghanistan but the friendly relations with a neighbouring country which we had when Afghanistan was ruled by that wise statesman Habibulla, who was so recently and treacherously done to death. We desire peace and no interference, but we do intend to exact stern and just punishment for the raids and invasions perpetrated by unscrupulous forces on the peoples under our protection, and explanations and withdrawals of the strange messages we have received from the present Ameer.

The Internal Situation.

Now, as to the internal situation in India I propose to deal frankly with the trouble, but I do so with this word of preface—the danger is not past, it exists; it is not something that is finished; it threatens. I shall charge myself with the task of saying nothing that will fan the flames or increase the grievous responsibility of those whose first duty it is to restore order. Those who govern India, those who wish her well, those who desire for her peace and progress, speak at a critical time in her history. I feel sure I can appeal to all those hon. members who will take a part in this debate to recognise, as I think the whole of India has recognised, that the first duty of the Government to-day is to restore order. It is not necessary to exaggerate the situation. Let us look first at the reasons we have for rejoicing. Riots involving the destruction of life and of property have occurred in certain parts of the Presidency of Bombay, in the province of the Punjab (extending over one-tenth of the area, and involving one third of the population), on one occasion in the city of Delhi and to a minor extent in the streets of Calcutta. There has been no trouble in Madras, in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces, nor in Bihar, Orissa or Burma. In Calcutta the Bengali had little or no share in the trouble at all. Throughout India, generally speaking, the country districts remained quiet, and the trouble was confined to the towns.

I would ask this House to join with me in an expression of sincere sympathy to all those who have suffered in these disturbances. There has been the loss of much property and of many

innocent lives. There have been, as doubtless will be revealed when the whole story is told, many stirring deeds of heroism. These events have shown the unshakeable, undismayed, loyalty of India as a whole, and there have been striking incidents of the co-operation of the Indians in localising the trouble, and in using efforts to restore order. This does not detract from the fact that Englishmen in no way connected with the Government and in no way responsible for the deeds—misdeeds or good deeds—of the Government, have lost their lives and have been foully murdered. Official Indians and non-official Indians have been done to death. Even many of the rioters deserve our sympathy, for when these things occur the man who loses his life as a result of a soldier's bullet is as much the victim of those who promoted the riots as those who are killed by the rioters themselves.

Indian Army Organization Inquiry

In these circumstances the Indian Army to a man and the Indian police, despite attempts to promote insubordination and indiscipline, remain without a single stain upon their reputation or a single unpleasant incident. (Hear, hear.) This is a tribute to the men who have won renown on all the fields of War, who played so conspicuous, indeed the main and predominant part in the defeat of one of our enemies, Turkey, but it is also a tribute to the officer of the Indian Army who has shown his great capacity for leadership. I see opposite me my hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Yate), whom, I think, I can describe as the member for the Indian Army, who has done so much, both publicly and privately, to remove the troubles and to champion the cause of the officers of the Indian Army. May I digress for a moment to say to him, with special reference to the amendment he has upon the paper, that both the Government of India and the India Office are of opinion, that now that the War is over there must be an inquiry by the best military organisations that we can obtain, to improve the organisation of the Indian Army with a view to removing grievances as to promotion and opportunity, and with a view to modernising, bearing in mind the experiences of the War, its organisation. The Government of India are devoting their attention to an investigation of the grievances as to pay, pensions, and leave, upon which I hope to give further information to the House. (Hear, hear.)

(Colonel Yate.—Thank you.)

I turn now to the British Army. When the trouble occurred the elements of the British Army remaining in India, having done duty there throughout the war, some of them faced with another

hot season in India, going back in the expectancy of early demobilisation, agreed to stay to help in the restoration of order. I do not think there will be any doubt about the welcome which the British troops will receive at home wherever they have been doing duty through the War, but for these men, in these circumstances, I would ask that those who have a welcome to offer, or an opportunity to afford special treatment and special consideration, will avail themselves of that opportunity when these men come home last of all. (Hear, hear.)

The Causes of Unrest

What were the causes of these troubles which have resulted, so far as I can make out, in the loss of nine European and something like 400 Indian lives? I am not going to deal with the obvious, with the reaction from the strain of the War, or with the general unrest which is current throughout the world, but I want to deal with the direct causes, economic and political. The economic causes are very considerable. India has suffered this year, for the first time, I am glad to say, for some years past, from a failure of the rains. There has been in consequence great diminution in food supplies and prices have risen to a very great extent indeed. People have gone short of food despite the strenuous efforts made by the Government to ensure better distribution and to make available grain from Australia. Further than that, two other things have accentuated the distresses. Recruitment for the Army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe many a family was left without its breadwinner and consequently the area under cultivation has been diminished. Lastly, there was that scourge of Influenza, which removed many of the most vigorous people in the prime of life, because this disease seems to have attacked by preference people of the bread-winning age. Between five and six million people died of Influenza in India last winter. Between 50 per cent and 80 per cent—on an average two-thirds—of the total population suffered from Influenza during the visitation of this plague, with its consequent removal from industry or from agriculture, which is more important, and the enfeebling after-results. These, I think, are the main economic causes.

Now I will turn to the political causes. I put first among the political causes the perturbation and perplexity caused to the Muhammadan world by the discussions arising out of the defeat of Turkey. This subject was discussed in the House last week *a propos* of Egypt. Very much the same circumstances exist in India,

where Indian soldiers, including among them their best Muhammedan soldiers, claim that they have had a predominant part in the defeat of Turkey in full confidence that the War was a war of liberation and equality of treatment, of National settlement and of Self-Determination, and when they read rumours and acts, which led to a fear that our Musalman enemy will be partitioned up to satisfy conflicting claims, when they read that this part is to be allotted to this European nation and that to another—mere rumours, but alarming rumours—when they read that, as a signal of victory, there are those who advocate the reconsecration of an important Muhammadan mosque, is it to be wondered at that there are signs of unrest among the Muhammadan people of the world? (Cheers.)

The Rowlatt Act.

I now come to two other political causes—causes more indirect because they only affect the politically minded part of the population, but causes which must be reckoned with. One is a fear, based upon the ceaseless activities of the Indo-British Association, that the Reforms promised on August 20, 1917, will not be carried out in an acceptable form. There is an association formed with the most laudable motives, which has carried on a ceaseless campaign against those reforms ever since the announcement was made. It has slandered and libelled whole sections of the Indian population. It has very often hardly paid to the facts the respect to which facts are entitled, and it has provoked the suspicion that the British Parliament intends to go back upon that pronouncement, or at least not to carry it out in an adequate way. Lastly, there is the Rowlatt Act, which has caused widespread—I would almost say universal—opposition throughout India—Let the House make no mistake. The Rowlatt Act was throughout India a very unpopular Act. I have read from end to end all the debates which took place upon the Rowlatt Act, and I am not here to apologise for it. I am still convinced that in the circumstances, as passed, as it is now on the Statute Book, as it has been left to its operation, the Rowlatt Act was necessary, ought to have been passed, and could not have been avoided.

Evidence accumulates every day that there is in India a small body of men who are the enemies of Government; men whom any Government, bureaucratic or democratic, alien or indigenous, if it is worthy the name of Government, must deal with. I cannot do better, in describing this body of men, than quote the words of a very great and distinguished Indian, Mr. Gandhi. There is

no man who offers such perplexity to Government as Mr. Gandhi, a man of the highest motives and of the finest character, a man who his worst enemy, if he has any enemies, would agree is of the most disinterested ambitions that it is possible to conceive, a man who has deserved well of his country by the services he has rendered, both in India and outside it, and yet a man whom his friends—and I would count myself as one of them—would wish would exercise his great powers with a greater sense of responsibility, and would realise in time that there are forces beyond his control and outside his influence who use the opportunities afforded by his name and reputation. My hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Wedgwood) will realise that Mr. Gandhi is not the only man who, despite the most laudable motives, sometimes shows a lack of political wisdom.

Colonel Wedgwood.—I should be quite content if I had Mr. Gandhi's virtues and powers.

Mr. Montagu.—Mr. Gandhi has himself said about these things—he was deploring as, of course, he would do, the acts of violence which have occurred—that “He realised that there were clever men behind it all and some organisation beyond his ken.” That is the real revolutionary, the man who lurks in dark corners, whom nothing can locate or convert, who is subject to the influences of organisation ramifying throughout the world with its secret emissaries and influences, men who are a danger to any country, and against whom the Government of India are determined to do unceasing battle until they have been extirpated. (Cheers) The defence of India Act has helped us to do much with regard to these men. No one in this House will accuse Lord Carmichael of being a stern, unbending bureaucrat. These are his words :—“The Defence of India Act is what has helped us. I am only saying what I believe to be absolutely true when I say that the Defence of India Act has helped to defend the young educated men of Bengal as nothing else has defended them, not their own fathers, not their teachers, for they were ignorant, nor their associates, nor they themselves, for they were blind to the danger.” Under the Defence of India Act a certain number of these people have been dealt with. The greater number of the persons were mainly required to live in their own homes and not to move without permission. The Act is comparable to our own Defence of the Realm Act and was passed for the duration of the war only. Under it 1,600 people have been dealt with of whom nearly two thirds have subsequently been released, leaving at present 464 subject to restraint. All the cases have been investigated by a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Mr. Justice Beechcroft and Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, and in all the

cases which they have investigated they have found the Government was justified in the action they took except in six cases.

Problem of the Government.

The problem before the Government of India was this. Were we, when peace was restored, to rely on the ordinary law as it existed before the Defence of India Act was passed, or was it necessary to take any new steps? We did not decide that by correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, but we appointed a Committee of Inquiry into the facts. It was presided over by an English Judge Mr. Justice Rowlatt, whom I asked to go out there. His associates were two Indian Judges, one an Indian and one an Englishman, an Indian Civil Servant, and an Indian lawyer in a large way of practice. They presented, after full investigation, a unanimous report, and the facts which they brought to light have never been challenged. (Cheers) It is their recommendation which has been carried out in the Rowlatt Act. Does the House mean to suggest to me that, confronted with this evil, having considered the situation arising out of the end of the Defence of India Act, having appointed a Committee for this purpose thus constituted, having got from it a unanimous report of this authority, that we were to say we would disregard their advice and do nothing? It has been objected that this Commission was entirely legal, that they were all lawyers, and that a different result might have been obtained if some other element had been upon the tribunal. Our anxiety was to try to rely entirely upon legal processes rather than upon executive action. What better tribunal can you have to advocate the sweet advantages of the law than lawyers? The fact added, to my mind, to the importance of their findings.

The Purpose of the Act.

Let me shortly describe the Act which is based upon their recommendation. First of all it is not in force anywhere. Does the House realise that? It will never be in force unless the circumstances which justify it occur, and then it would be unflinchingly used. It is divided into four parts, and the application of each part depends upon declaration of the Government of India that in different degrees anarchical or revolutionary crime exists.

Sir D. Maclean—Do I understand that the India Defence of the Realm Act is considered to be sufficient to cover the Indian difficulties until the War ends, and then that the Rowlatt Act or acts would, if necessary, being on the Statute Book, be put into operation?

Mr. Montagu :—That is absolutely correct. It was stated several

times in the debate by members of the Government of India, that they had no intention of using the Rowlatt Act until the end of the War. Under the first part of the Bill, when the results of anarchical or revolutionary movement are comparatively mild, nothing is suggested but the speeding up of the ordinary legal processes. Under the other two parts of the Act, where anarchical or revolutionary movements are giving cause for grave anxiety or are prevailing to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, then the local government may deprive a man of his liberty not as punishment but as a preventive, and intern him for a prolonged period. But in that case the local government first of all has to submit the case to a judicial officer to advise them upon it. It is not until they have received his report that they take action, and within a month of having taken action, they must submit the whole case to what is called an investigating authority, consisting of three individuals, of whom one shall be anonymous, to go into the whole case afresh and see that the Act has not been misapplied. That is, roughly speaking, the machinery.

Colonel Wedgwood :—These people to whom appeals are made have to decide the question not on the grounds of justice or injustice, but on the grounds of expediency, I presume ; on the ground of whether the authority who ordered the man's internment believes that he was a danger to the State without any specific crime being alleged against him. It is a question of expediency, I understand, and not justice that has to be decided by the Appeal Court.

Mr. Montagu :—No, they have full authority to go into the whole matter. They would be able to advise the Government whether it is right and proper that this man should continue to be interned.

An Hon. Member :—Is it correct that in that case he is deprived of any legal assistance ?

Mr. Montagu :—Yes, sir ; under Part I of the Act he has legal assistance, but under Parts II and III there is no legal assistance. This is not a law court but a committee of inquiry. It is more like a schoolmaster investigating trouble in a school, a committee of a club using its friendly services for the purposes of inquiry, somebody to explore all matters, somebody to see that injustice is not done, somebody to be sure that all the facts are investigated.

The first objection to the Act is that we have in existence far more drastic powers than we take under the Act now and therefore what was the necessity for it ? That is so. Martial law, the power of ordinance, the Defence of India Act, Regulation 3 of the Act of 1918—all these are infinitely more drastic, infinitely more sum-

mary, and out of the mouths of our own critics I claim that we have made no new outrage upon the liberty of the subject in India. We have merely perfected and improved the long-established method of dealing with these abuses, something which gives some guarantees to the individual that the powers will not be misapplied.

Next it was said in the debates, "Why do you come here for legislation? Why do you not proceed by ordinance? Why do you not enact by a decree of your Government?" Is it seriously to be argued that, instead of proceeding by full discussion in legislative council, without an opportunity of discussion or amendment you should enunciate an ordinance? I do not think that can seriously be argued by anybody with a sense of civic responsibility. I presume that what is meant is that there is no difference between legislation by ordinance and this legislation, which was passed by an official majority in the teeth of non-official opposition. I claim that the Bill was vastly improved by the discussion which took place in the Legislative Council, and I should like to pay a tribute to my hon. friend Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, for the courtesy and parliamentary ability which he displayed in the uncongenial task of passing this legislation. The two most important alterations that were made were that the Bill was limited to three years, and that the name we altered to make it quite clear that it was only to be used for anarchical and the revolutionary movement. The Government of India have been criticised ever in this House for consenting to make the Bill temporary. Why did they make any concessions in the Bill? Is discussion not to be of any use? Are there not occasions, even in this House, where a private member is right and where the Government is wise enough to see it?

Not a Permanent Measure

This Bill was never intended by the Government of India to be a permanent measure. It was introduced in a permanent form, but I hope everybody will look forward to its being unnecessary and to its eventual repeal. The Legislative Council were right in saying that this sort of legislation can only be justified by the existing circumstances of the case, and no Government is entitled to put a statute of this kind as a permanent measure upon the Statute Book. If you can justify previous action by what has occurred subsequently, there are dangers that justify this emergent and exceptional power at the period of the close of the War, with all the difficulties of peace, and when Bolshevism, even though its attractions are waning, is still a force to be reckoned with.

I appreciate to the full one of the arguments which was used in the debate on this matter. It is objected by the non-official member : "Though you seek this instrument for dealing with anarchical and revolutionary crime, you will use it for all sorts of others. You will use it to stifle legitimate political discussion. You will misuse it." I profoundly sympathise with that, although I do not believe that there is any foundation whatever for this attitude. Drastic powers of this kind, safeguarded though they are in the hands of the Government, may make, if they are misused, administration, for it is not Government, too easy for the moment.

The Government of India again and again made all the pledges possible to eradicate this evil. I will repeat them. This Act will not be used except to cope with anarchical and revolutionary movement. There is no danger whatever of its being used for any other purpose, and if you think it is being used at any moment or at any time you will always have, I hope, the reformed Local Government and the large Legislative Assembly and the Select Committee of this House to safeguard the liberties or rather—because there I do not think there is any danger—to convince Indian public opinion that the powers we have taken have not been misused. Then comes the next objection : "Try the man openly in a Court of Law, and if he is guilty of these crimes produce him in the Law Court, let him stand his trial openly with lawyers to defend him, and then sentence him to the punishment he deserves." Is there any man in this House who does not sympathise with that plea in theory? Does not everybody hope, the Government of India as much as anybody, if not more, that the time will come to India when you can contemplate recourse to Judicial and not Executive remedies for dealing with evils which are in this country dealt with by Judicial Courts. The separation of Judicial and Executive functions in India has long been a much advocated and canvassed question. I do look for the day when we shall have a complete separation of Legal and Executive functions. I do hope the day will come when we can substitute for executive action the ordinary remedies of the law. But does anybody think that that day has come now any more than the achievement of Self-Government itself? What is the position at this moment? You cannot get witnesses. You cannot get a fair trial in cases of this kind in a court of Law. These revolutionary conspirators have proved over and over again their ability to intimidate those who give evidence against them, and those who have served the Government in exposing these conspiracies have been murdered, shot, have lost their lives for their action to such an extent that the only possible way of dealing with these cases, provided you once accept the

responsibility of Government and of the protection of life and property, is by eradicating these anarchical movements by private investigation.

The Beachcroft Report.

I would like to quote on this subject the report of Mr. Justice Beachcroft and his colleague. They say that the records before them proved conclusively that the revolutionary organisations were secret conspiracies which had spread to different parts of the provinces, had entered homes, schools, and had reduced the secrecy of operations almost to scientific methods. The conspirators had pledged their members to the closest secrecy of operations, had pledged their members to the closest secrecy under pain of instant death by murder in the event of disclosure. That was one of their methods, and every attempt to deal with the situation before the Defence of India Act was brought into force for the fair trial of persons accused of revolutionary crimes had been rendered practically impossible by the murder of witnesses, approvers, police officers, and law-abiding citizens suspected of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime. A situation of terrorism had been created. The current of truth and justice was disturbed so as to prevent a fair, open and impartial trial in an ordinary Criminal Court, with the result that approvers and witnesses would not come forward to give evidence openly lest they should be assassinated.

It is impossible to resort to open trial. I cannot agree that it is not the duty of the Government to use every method to cope with this danger. We intend to maintain order in India and to safeguard it because we believe that is the only atmosphere in which nationality can grow uninterruptedly, surely, and swiftly. I quote the opinion of one who cannot be described as a thick-and-thin supporter of the Government in India and all that is done by it—Mrs. Besant. She has stated in public that the Rowlatt Act as amended contains nothing that a good citizen should resist. But this Act need never be used if there is no occasion to use it.

Alternative Policies.—The Remedies

I have described the causes which have led to the existing conditions, and I come now to what I venture to suggest are the remedies. There seem to me to be two alternative policies. The first is to do nothing, to ride the storm, to stifle political aspiration by the Rowlatt Act and comparable legislation, and to prevent those who would stir up strong political ambitions from speaking in India or in

England, to give the advocates of reform no opportunities for laying their case before the Government at Home, to keep leaders from the platform, to govern by emergency legislation through the police. That is what I believe is called in clubs a firm and strong Government. Sir, we are not dealing with a cattleyard. (Hear, hear,) We are dealing with men and thinking men and business men, who desire opportunities for developing their aspirations. That policy is the sort of policy which is described in some eloquent words by the man under whose leadership I entered the field of Indian politics. Morley said this :—"Shortcomings of Government lead to outbreaks. Outbreaks have to be put down. Reformers have to bear the blame and reforms are stopped. Reaction triumphs and mischief goes on as before, only worse." That is not the policy of His Majesty's Government. It is not the policy that I am here to advocate. There are, I believe, in India some men, opponents of all Governments, who are incurably evilly disposed ; there are others whose grievances must be investigated with a view to removing their cause. Much has been done recently. The letters addressed to me and to other people show that among the young and misguided men whom it ought to be our constant effort to reform, new hope is arising. The steadily increased association of Indians with the affairs of Government, such small reforms as the grant of commission in His Majesty's Army to Indians, and the removal at last of the racial discrimination in the Army Act Schedule—all these will have their effect and are having their effect. More than this is required.

Inquiry Contemplated.

Questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an inquiry. The Viceroy has always contemplated an inquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this kind and of this magnitude without an inquiry into the causes of and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances but no announcement has been made of any inquiry up to this moment,—for this reason : let us talk of an inquiry when we have put the fire out. The only message which we can send from this House to-day to India is a message which I am sure will be one of confidence in and sympathy with those upon whom the great responsibility has fallen of restoring the situation. Afterwards will come the time to hold an inquiry, not only to help us to remove the causes of the troubles, but in order to dispose once for all of some of the libellous charges which have been made against British troops and those upon whom the unpleasant duties in connexion with these riots have fallen.

I was asked a question yesterday about Mr. Horniman. Governments in India have been very patient with Mr. Horniman. In no case has there been a better example of our reluctance to interfere with mere eccentricities of political belief. But when this gentleman began to use his paper in the middle of riots resulting in loss of life, to spread and to fan the flame, and opened his columns to an accusation that British troops had been using soft-nosed bullets in the streets of Delhi, and when his paper was being distributed free to British troops in Bombay in the hope of exciting disaffection and insubordination, why then I say that it was high time he left India. (Here, here,) (Colonel Wedgwood :—Why not prosecute him ? And another Member.—Why not shoot him ?) In normal times he would have been tried and there was a strong case to put before the law courts. Riots were occurring, and prompt and swift action for the restoration of order was necessary. He was an Englishman. This is one of those cases in which I should hope nobody would ever suggest any racial discrimination. An Indian would have been deported. An Englishman, upon whom far greater responsibility certainly rests, cannot be tolerated in India if he is responsible for the occurrences which we associate with Mr. Horniman.

Then with regard to the Muhammadans, I can only say, speaking for myself that I cordially sympathise with the cause of their perturbation. I and my colleagues in Paris persistently and consistently at every opportunity afforded to us, right down to Saturday last when we discussed the question assisted by three representative Indian Muhammadans with the Council of Four (Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, Mr. Clemenceau, and S. Orlando, the persons charged with the drafting of the Peace treaty), have advocated these views and explained these terms. If you want contented Muhammadan feeling in India you can achieve it only by a just peacebased on considerations of nationality and Self-Determination for Turks within the Turkish Empire. I would reassure my Muhammadan fellow-subjects by saying that throughout all the peace discussions in Paris there has never been one word, authorized or unauthorized, to indicate that anybody is foolish enough to want to interfere with the question, which is a purely Muhammadan question, of the Caliphate. I would go further and say that I do not believe that any holy place or any building which is consecrated to a particular religious faith at the present time is in any danger of being interfered with in consequence of the Peace. Further, we must give to the Muhammadans of India a fair share in the representation on public bodies in India, as we are enabled to do in consequence of Lord Southborough's report.

India Against Free Trade

Now as to the economic causes. Part of the economic causes can be dealt with only by searching medical and scientific investigations. It always seems to me that Influenza, despite its terrific deathroll, is never treated with the respect which its toll on humanity deserves ; but the history of India in the last winter makes it necessary to devote all that is best in science to combat the recurrence of so hideous a calamity. More than that, we want to increase the resisting power of the Indian people ; we want to improve the conditions under which they live ; and I have no doubt whatever that the only road to that is the development of India's industrial capacity and resources for the benefit of India. The Industrial Commission which reported will bear fruit. Sir Thomas Holland is on his way home to this country, and we shall take action upon the Industrial Commission's report as soon as the members of my Council have an opportunity of conferring.

But there are some questions outside the report to which I would venture to draw attention. India went short of many necessary commodities during the War when sea communications were interrupted. The educated people of India, almost unanimously, have been for years past discontented with their fiscal policy. I am a Free Trader, but I have always held that Free Trade should be achieved by a nation at its own risk, and not be imposed on it from outside by another country (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt that the educated people of India are not Free Traders. If they were given fiscal liberty I think they soon would be ; but let them find their own salvation. Let them find what in their opinion suits their destinies best ; and I say that if we in this country slide towards Protection, you may be quite sure that among India's mass of industries and occupations they will find their creed, and they will demand, as they have demanded for years past, the fiscal liberty which we enjoy in this country.

The promised Bill.

Lastly, I am more than ever convinced that we must now proceed without delay to the introduction of the promised Bill for the alteration of the Government of India. The pronouncement of August 20 must be made to live. I am authorised to say this afternoon that the Cabinet have consented to my introduction, on their behalf of a Bill which will be introduced, I hope, at the beginning of June. There is now no longer any reason for delay. Lord Southborough's Committee have reported and have shown that we can get an electorate in India 157 times as big as the present one, which is

good to begin with. Mr. Feetham's Committee have reported and shown that you can divide the functions of the Government of India from those of the local Governments, and thus admit of the long-desired decentralisation, and that of the functions of the local Governments. There are many and substantial functions that can be entrusted at once to the charge of representatives of the peoples of India. I have every reason to hope that when a start of that kind has been made the rest of the local functions of the local Governments will follow. The Bill which I shall introduce, therefore, is only awaiting two events—the recommendations of Lord Crewe's Committee as to those changes in the India Office which will require statutory enactment, and the publication—which I hope to have next week—of the despatches of the Government of India and of the local Governments upon the Report. When these documents are published it will be found—I do not want to anticipate discussion—that the majority of the local Governments do not like that portion of the Montagu-Chelmsford form of Government which is known as the Diarchy and they have said so very forcibly. After they had written their letters of dissent the heads of the local Governments went to Delhi and conferred with the Viceroy. As a result they produced an alternative scheme, which will be published next week, and it is endorsed by the Governments of the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam. The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa prefer the original scheme. The Governors of Madras and Bombay were not represented. The dispatch of the Government of India, it will be seen, seems to me to be a striking defence of the original scheme, and invites Parliament to reject the alternative scheme proposed by a majority of the local Governments. I do not want to anticipate the second reading debate upon the Bill, which after it has been introduced according to promise, is to be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, who will hear evidence and discuss the alternative, and upon whose recommendations I presume the House will ultimately form judgment.

The keystone, the whole basis, the vital point of Indian reform to-day is the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people, gradual if you like, but real at every stage. I cannot bring home better to this House what I mean by the essence of that than to ask them to consider the situation in this country. During the War Parliamentary Government has been diminished and executive control has been substituted. I read in the papers every day a demand that our lives, our occupations, our businesses should be free from executive control. The only difference between the complaints here

and in India is that in India nobody suggests that executive control is exercised by too many officials ; it is done by a singularly few ; whereas the complaint here is as to the number. But nobody questions the single mindedness, the ability, the devotion to duty of the officials to whose power we in this country, now that peace is restored, so much object. What we demand in this country is that officials should govern, not merely for our good but on our behalf ; should carry out the orders of Parliament, and be responsible to Parliament, Parliament alone deciding upon them.

That is where the grievance in India lies. There is, believe me, a passion for Self-Government. Nobody questions that it must come gradually, but I say that at every stage the transference of power must be real and substantial. It must be definite and concrete ; it must be beyond the reach of the personal generosity of character or the suspicious nature, of the autocratic temper or the easy-going disposition, of the particular incumbent of any particular Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship. You must transfer the power from officials to people. You must make a beginning, and you must go on doing it. That is what is meant by the progressive realisation of responsible Government. There is a great part to play for the Civil Servant, English and Indian, in India today, greater almost than the great part he has played in the past. But so far as responsibility for policy goes the pronouncement of August 20 meant nothing if it did not mean that the power of directing policy should, first in some things and then in others, until finally in all, be transferred to the elected representatives of the people of India.

Therefore I am going to oppose, and I shall ask the House to oppose, any colourable programme which leaves an irresponsible Executive confronted with a majority which they have to oppose or defer to at their will, on all or any subjects, as they choose. That is not responsible Government, and if that is the only alternative to diarchy, Diarchy holds the field. Therefore it will be seen that the Bill I shall introduce, I hope shortly, will in substance carry out the proposals which the Viceroy and I submitted to Parliament a year ago. It will be seen in the despatch of the Government of India that certain amendments have been suggested. Of those amendments some have been incorporated in the Bill ; others I shall invite the Joint Committee to decide against.

Do Not Do Less.

After reading all the criticisms to which I could gain access, after considering all the amendmends for improvement which have come

to my notice, I have this to observe. The scheme which the Viceroy and I submitted to the people was elaborated after discussion with all the local Governments, with many officials and non-officials, after prolonged discussion with the Government of India. I remain now of the opinion which I expressed last year in this House, that we require all the assistance that the Joint Committee of Parliament can give us to improve our suggestion, to find a better way even yet of carrying out the policy of His Majesty's Government, to making amendment of our proposals.

But I did not sign my name to that document in the belief that it was either a minimum or a maximum. I believe it embodied the extent to which Parliament ought to go. Do it differently if you like, find other methods if it please you, but I beg of you do not do less. You cannot put before the world a scheme which is elaborated over the signature of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and then do what is called in India whittling down the scheme. (Hear, hear.) Amend it, alter it, turn it inside out, start on a new route, but I beg of you to go as far, and so long as I hold the office with which I am now entrusted, so long as I remain a member of this House, I will ask the House not to pull bricks out of, but to build on, the foundation recommended to the extent of the scheme in the report which the Viceroy and I laid before Parliament.

The policy which I have attempted to advocate is the policy which many, I think all, of my predecessors have advocated. It can be summed up in a sentence. I would put first the maintenance of order; secondly, a searching and tireless effort to investigate the causes of disorder and discontent, to remove those which are removable, to eradicate the sources of disturbance and disorder, and go on with a determination, courageous, unhesitating, zealous, to make of India what may be very loosely described as a union of great self governing countries, entrusted with the custody of their own well-being, partners in the great freedom-loving British Commonwealth. That is a task in every way worthy of this Parliament, to my mind the only conceivable outcome of the unexampled and magnificent work that has been done by British effort and enterprise in India. (Cheers.)

The Budget Debate, 1919.

Sir D. Maclean said the House was indebted to the right hon. gentleman for his wise, statesmanlike, and sympathetic speech. Speaking on behalf of his friends on that side of the House, they would like to bear their tribute to the magnificent part which India had played in the great War. In men, in material and in money she had shown herself a worthy sister of the great community called the British Empire. (Cheers). He heard with very great pleasure that the Government proposed to introduce their Bill to carry out not in any niggardly spirit, but in a broad and generous spirit, the recommendations of the Montagu Chelmsford Report. He sincerely trusted that its relegation to a Joint Committee would not result in the long hanging up of the measure, for on it lay the real, the only hope of maintaining India as part of the Empire, and of bringing her fully into the sisterhood of nations which constituted the British Commonwealth. He did not deny that repressive measures were necessary in India to-day. His small information would make him very careful of anything like sweeping denunciation or accusation against the Executive in India. But the one thing that carried Lord Morley through a difficult time was that he accompanied the necessary assertion of public order by wide measures of reform. The Secretary for India's only chance of success was to ensure that before the Rowlatt Acts came into operation the 'beneficent influence of the reforms which had been indicated should be at work.

Sir J. D. Ress, (Nottingham, E. C. U.) said the Indian Civil Service had governed India for more than the ephemeral occupants of Vice-regal and provincial thrones, but that epoch was fast passing away, and it was futile and useless to stand against the new order of things. It was perfectly useless to weep over the passing of the old state of affairs, and he for one would not refuse to recognise that we live in a new world—a world created by the war. The voice of faction had been stilled in India during the War; she had loyally stood by her pledges to us, and we must fulfil the pledges given her by this country. India's example had been of the utmost benefit to the Empire. He hoped that when fresh arrangements were made with Afghanistan a subsidy would form no part of them, as Asiatic regarded a subsidy as a tribute. He entered a strong plea for main

taining the independence of Turkey. Dealing with the question of Constantinople, he deprecated a division of the great Muhammadan power of Turkey into petty little republics, and thought it was a gratuitous aggravation to talk about making the Mosque of St. Sophia into a Christian Church ; not much more reasonable than it would be to talk about restoring Druidical remains in this country. (Hear, hear). He would leave Palestine to France, to deal with. All that we want was Mesopotamia which we own and should keep for our safety in the Persian Gulf, and the approach to India, and for the safety of the great oil sources which the British owns—one of the most profitable, most patriotic and most satisfactory deals that was ever made by a British Government.

SPEECH OF Dr. E. HOPKINSON.

I hope the House will extend to me the indulgence it usually extends to a Member addressing it for the first time. Perhaps I have some excuse for taking part in the Debate, seeing that I am the only Member of the House who was also a member of the Indian Industrial Commission. There is one statement made by the Secretary of State this afternoon which will give the utmost satisfaction not only in this House but also in India. It was that the labours of that Commission are not to be set aside or lost sight of, but that the recommendations will be fully considered now that the chairman Sir Thomas Holland, is in this country.

If there was one thing more than another which became abundantly clear during the investigations of that Commission, it was the deep interest taken by the Indians themselves in the improvement of the Industrial position of India. The Commission had unusually good opportunities of ascertaining not only the physical possibility of increasing the industrial wealth and improving the industrial position of the country, but also the attitude of the Indians themselves towards those ends. We had as our President Sir Thomas Holland, a man of ability, who knew India perhaps better from the point of view of the natural resources of the country than anyone else. He had himself served in the Government of India, and had brought the Geological Department of the Government of India to a degree of efficiency second to none in the world. We had also on the Commission four Indian members, three of them great leaders of industry in India, and the fourth a politician pure and simple—I will not say with no interest, but with comparatively little intelligent or instructive interest in the industries of India. We had also on the Commission two or three members of the Civil Service of India,

and myself, of whom it cannot, at any rate, be said that I was tinged with any preconceived notions from the Indian point of view.

Vivid and Vital Impressions.

I do not desire to weary the House by referring in detail to the findings of the Commission and the recommendations contained in their report, but I would like to refer to some of the most vivid and vital impressions which resulted from our investigation. No more striking impression was made upon the minds of all of us, even those who knew India well, than the enormous potential wealth of the country. Though the wealth is there, buried in the soil or ready to be extracted from the soil by the natural processes of agriculture it is scarcely developed compared with what it might be.

The reason is not far to seek. Let me cite agriculture, first of all, as an example, because it perhaps more clearly than any other branch of industry shows what might be done compared with what has been done. The wealth of India is primarily due to its agriculture. The Government of India has a scientific agricultural staff in quality second to none in the world, but in quantity ludicrously insufficient compared with the problem which it has to tackle. It is the third country in the world in the extent of its production of wheat and barley, but where the production of wheat and barley is represented by twenty per acre in England, in India it is only represented by eight. It does not seem to me a very great thing to suppose that by the application of scientific methods and research that figure of eight might be changed into ten, and that would mean millions of sterling to India.

Take another illustration. India produces more sugar than any other country in the world, but the consumption is so great and the methods, so wasteful that it actually spends ten million sterling annually on importing sugar that other countries produce.

The Indigo and other Trade.

Let me take one other instance in connection with agriculture. I think it is the most striking of all. Before the invention of synthetic indigo by the Germans, the cultivation of indigo was one of the most flourishing industries in India. We are aware how by patient and scientific research, and the expenditure of money yearly upon research, the Germans displaced the natural indigo of India by the synthetic product. The trade was absolutely killed. During the War there was a revival of the industry, and that revival was brought about by a series of investigations in regard to the preparation of the natural product. It was given in evidence before the Commission by one of the most experienced planters in Behar that he would

undertake to grow indigo now on his plantation, taking advantage of all improvements and to sell it at pre-war prices at a profit. That means, and I wish the House to take cognisance of the fact, that the pre-war German trade in indigo could be killed outright on its merits. Is not that a striking fact? Does it not make it worth while that the recommendations of the Committee should receive serious consideration at the hands of the Government of India and of the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State?

Before I pass from agricultural questions I want to emphasise the need that the scientific department of the Agricultural Department in India should have more money spent upon it, and that it should be enlarged. What is required is that brains should go out from this country to help in the scientific work. Reference has been made by one of my hon. Friends to the supply of Tungsten. That is a trade which before the War had passed entirely into German hands. Under the pressure of war it has come back into British hands. India could produce all the tungsten the world requires, and all that is needed is practical development of the trade. There is another metal, Thorium, a most important metal, one essential for the production of gases. The trade in that, too, was allowed to pass into German hands.

This country, by availing itself of its opportunities in India, could now become self-supporting in that regard. India possesses copper. The mines in Burma produce lead and zinc, and if there were only a concentration camp, it would be possible to obtain sulphuric acid which is a basis of many very important industries.

A Brighter Side.

Even that feature of the situation has a brighter side. Thanks to the assistance and sympathy of a Liberal Government on the scientific side, and not much of that, although the intention was really good, a great Tata firm were induced to set up iron and steel works, which have become one of the most flourishing and most important work in the world. India now can supply all the rail she wants and before long she will be able to supply our own needs. That has been done entirely by native effort and with the sympathy and help and the scientific advice of the Government of India. That is one of the fundamental things which the Commission desire to see extended and developed throughout India.

The Government should provide scientific help for research work, which is necessary for the development of the country industrially, and should also by sympathy expressed in various ways—it may be in improved transit or by help in the acquisition of land—I

could suggest a dozen different ways—help the development of industrial India. Let me relate one instance to the House to show the attitude of India itself towards this aspect of the Commission. An Indian witness before the Commission made what appeared to me to be a curious statement. He said the Government of India should pass a law providing that half the directors of every company should be Indian. It appeared to me that that might be due to jealousy of British industrial methods in India, but on examination I found that it was not so.

The real idea was that the Indians should be taught how to work and manage the various undertaking. It was desired to convert every board of directors into a school. The idea of course is ludicrous, but the statement was significant as showing the trend of the Indian mind towards industrial measures.

Manufacturing Industries.

The manufacturing industries of India are obviously divisible into two classes—those already developed, such as the great jute industry of Bengal, the cotton industry of Bombay and to some extent the woollen industry of Cawnpore. There are a number of other industries, such as the manufacture of glass, cement and matches. There are also the chemical trade and the manufacture of paper, both of which are still undeveloped for want of technical knowledge and expert advice.

What the industries of India require is not British capital, but British brains. They need expert advice, and scientific knowledge applied to the latent resources of India will bring forth a harvest of a hundred fold. But that is not the whole story. Other factors must also be taken into account. Indian labour must be considered. In the course of our inquiry we made careful investigations, not only into the remuneration of Indian labour, but also into housing and sanitary conditions. If the problem of labour is acute in this country, it is ten times more acute in India. I say that advisedly.

Wages in India.

The rate of wages in India is far too low for tolerable subsistence. Industrial conditions in India in many cases, and I have particularly in mind the cotton mills of Bombay, are so monstrously bad that I could hardly relate to any decent assembly of people what I myself saw in the course of my investigations. Although a Lancashire man, I greatly admire the action which the predecessor of my right hon. friend the present Secretary of State took with regard to the cotton industry, but I do wish he had taken

that opportunity of throwing upon the Bombay millowners the onus of improving the housing conditions of their work-people. I believe, and I say it advisedly after conversing with a great number of the mill-owners, that the best are perfectly ready to shoulder the burden if they are assured it will be distributed over the whole. And there again is a brighter side to the picture.

The new steel works of the Tata firm to which I have already referred are in all matters of housing up to date in every possible respect. Each cottage has its garden, each coolie line has ample space around it, and the water supply is perfect, and yet that firm in spite of all its expenditure in that direction, is able to pay a dividend of 200 per cent.

That sort of thing cannot be done in India without cost, but the cost amply justifies itself. You may go to other places and find conditions equally good. I myself investigated the conditions in one of the largest mills in Bengal. That mill was able to make a selection of labour by drawing it from a very much larger area, simply, because that firm had the reputation of supplying pure water, indeed it was nicknamed "Mill Pure Water." Not only was the water good, but the housing conditions, the coolie lines, and the sanitary arrangements were all in first-rate condition and up to date. So much impressed was I by what I saw at the mill, that that evening, when I met the then Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, who retired a year ago, I suggested to him that it would be an encouragement to mill-owners if he at once made an inspection himself of that particular mill.

I made the further suggestion, which he at once adopted, that he should take with him the leader of the Home Rule movement in India. Next day the Governor and the Pandit (Malaviya) motored up to this mill to inspect the sanitary arrangements. That is an example of how the Government of India can show sympathy with, and give effective assistance, without any cost to itself, towards putting the industrial conditions on a higher level.

An eye-opener to Pundit Malaviya.

My friend the Pundit was not at all pleased with the result of the expedition. It always troubled him to find that the British of their own accord and with nothing to reap from it were usually ready to put all questions relating to the health and welfare of their people in the first place.

Another no less important matter is the question of education. The educational system in India is a most extraordinary structure ; it is fitted with a magnificent coping and balustrade, but it is built

on sand. India is an absolutely illiterate country. Over 90 per cent. of the people can neither read nor write.

Indian Universities.

India possesses magnificent universities, which turn out graduates by the thousands yearly. Take the University of Calcutta where abuse became so great that it was made the subject of a special inquiry. What does that University do for India? It does nothing but turn out by the thousands annually persons who have been drawn off from the real interests of India and turned adrift to find a living in other directions.

I asked an Indian who was giving evidence in Calcutta what became of the graduates of that University. His answer was a striking answer coming from such a source. He said, "A very few of them become pleaders, the great majority of them become clerks; and those who have not the ability or opportunity to become clerks become sedition mongers." That was the considered opinion of a practical industrial Indian of one of the universities of his own country. That problem is not insoluble. I can give an instance of another side of the picture, which I should like to put before the President of the Board of Education in this country.

If you go to certain mills in Madras, there you will see elaborate, comfortable, delightful, buildings put up for school purposes. Residing in these buildings are two English ladies. The buildings are used for housing classes formed of the children of the people who work in the mills. There is no compulsion. The schools are always full. The children are absolutely free to attend or not to attend. Around the schools are gardens. Every child—the scholars are numbered by hundreds—has his plot of land which he cultivates as he desires, and he takes the product of his cultivation home to his own people.

For brightness, alertness, respectableness and cleanliness these Indian children would compare with the children of similar age in any school you like to name in this country. Yet these very mills were chosen by the political dissentients to foment strike and trouble. That was not because there was any real grievance. The reason for it was that they could not stand such an object lesson of what British people have done for Indians to be always before the eyes of their people.

I am well aware that after the announcement of 10th August, 1917, there can be no question of turning back from the policy which was then declared. It must go forward on lines which the Government, after the fullest consideration, determined to be the best. But I beg the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take into

consideration that it is more important to feed the hungry than to give them political rights, that it is more important to clothe the naked than to invest them with political doctrines and dogmas, and that it is more important to educate the people to be able to vote than it is to give them the vote.

What will be the effect of the franchise? It is estimated that the number enfranchised will be anything from 1 or 2 up to 5 per cent. The greater part of that number will be illiterate people. I presume the voters will be taken blindfold to the ballot boxes or that, as an alternative, the ballot boxes must be embellished in some way to show what they contain or are intended to contain. I presume that one box will be embellished with the Union Jack, another with the Crescent, and another with the emblems which are familiar at every roadside shrine in India.

I rejoice in what the right hon. Gentleman says of the recommendations of this Industrial Commission, which have solely for their object the improvement of industrial conditions of India, and to make India more profitable and more fit for the Indians themselves to enjoy living there, which I trust that no political considerations will be allowed to cloud.

Colonel Wedgwood began by saying that he was "shocked to find that" Dr. Hopkinson "is such a gross materialist". Freedom and not the improvement of industrial conditions were "the ultimate object of British rule in India". How came it that the bulk of the Indian revenue was to be eaten up by the military, police, and railway programme in India, whereas education and irrigation were to be starved? Why was it that the Government of India were going to spend £23 million out of £24 million on "the purchase of railway material in Great Britain at a time when railway material is extremely expensive, at a time when it is possible to buy up our scrapped railways from France and other theatres of War at a price that would be extremely remunerative to the British Government". He contended that the "whole of the budget bears witness to the fact that it is one passed by Englishmen in India, and not one to which Indian people would agree," and that it "must give rise to the feeling that, in spite of all our brave words, the government of that country is directed rather towards the interests of this Island than to the interests of the country where the money is raised by people who have worked hard to find it".

The proposals for constitutional reform are defective because they conceded very little power over the purse to Indians, and did not transfer the police and other vital subjects to Indians. He considered that the Southborough Reports really whittled away the Montagu

Chelmsford Report. In recommending the enfranchisement of but 5 million men, on a property basis which was high for India, Lord Southborough left the lower middle classes in the cold, and whereas a considerable percentage of the electors would be illiterate, millions upon millions of literate Indians would be left voteless. He denounced the privileged position that had been assigned to the plutocrats, and to Europeans, Eurasians, and native Christians. The vote that was being given to "every pensioned officer and non-commissioned officer" would "establish a sort of permanent Varangian guard to see that the electorate shall never possibly be wrong". He particularly disliked the system of indirect representation recommended by Lord Southborough, and warned the Secretary of State against permitting the bureaucracy "to form a union with reactionary native elements in India that develop schemes which Indians may accept, but which in the long run will be bad for India".

Colonel Wedgwood's statement that the Rowlatt Act had been passed although the elected representatives of the Indian people "voted against it to a man," appealed to the House. The legislation was directed against men who were considered inconvenient—men like Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Outhwaite, he himself, who some persons regard as "dangerous to society," but who really are "the salt of the earth".

If the British Government did more justice in India and followed less the behests of expediency "it would do good to the British name in future, and in the long run it would lead to happier relations between this country and India". He protested not merely against the Rowlatt Bills, but declared that "the Government must understand that the repression of these riots by means of bombs from aeroplane and machine guns have produced an even worse effect than the original passage of the Rowlatt Act". Sir Michael O' Dwyer had found the Panjab calm when he went there six years ago, and was bequeathing "to his successor a revolutionary spirit which runs from one end to the other". He told the House "that there should be an enquiry into not only the murders of English people," but also into those administrative acts—the "use of aeroplane bombs" the "arrest of men like Gandhi," and the "employment of the *agent provocateur* by the police force". He asked the House not to forget that the Indian National Congress did not wish permanent officials to be installed as Governors. What one "particular bureaucrat" had done to embitter "the relations between two great peoples" showed how very necessary it was to concede the Indian demand.

Mr. Bennett (Sevenoaks, C. U.) remarked that good effects would be produced in India by the introduction of the Indian Budget at this early date and by the determination expressed by the Sec-

retary of State to go forward with his projected reforms. If in India we firmly asserted the law on the one hand and on the other met the legitimate aspirations of the people and showed them that we were in sympathy with their progressive ideas, then he believed the problem would be solved. He resented the doubt which had been cast, or was sought to be cast, on the loyalty of the moderates in India. He paid a tribute to the successful policy of Sir George Lloyd on the occasion of the Bombay demonstrations on April 11. The situation on the morning of that day was most critical, but the troops and the police were instructed that no finger was to be lifted against the demonstrators unless disorder took place. A native paper stated that the police were regarded by the public as their friends almost for the first time in the annals of Indian administration, and the name of Sir George Lloyd was on everybody's lips.

An Amendment

Mr. Neil Mc. Lein (Labour) moved an amendment "that in the opinion of this House the operation of the two Criminal Law (Amendment) Bills which issued from the Rowlatt Report and which have been recently before the Indian Legislature should be suspended until this House has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon them. He was afraid that the position of the Government in India to-day was very much the same as in the past. He reminded Mr. Montagu that the Government of India was still "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antidiluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view", and that the system of Government is still so "cumbrous, so designed as to prevent efficiency and change. If there were only 400 dangerous people in India out of 225 millions what was the necessity for that drastic legislation? He appealed to Mr. Montagu to disallow the Rowlatt Act, which, he asserted would be used to prevent Indians from demanding better conditions, and to appoint a Judicial Committee to consider the question and to let the Indian people know that the House of Commons at least would look on them as brothers and partners in the Empire. Mr. Spoor (Bishop Auckland, Lab.) seconded the motion.

Mr. Montagu in reply, regretted that he was still of opinion that as temporary measure the Rowlatt Act was necessary, and he could not accept the amendment. The Rowlatt Commission came to the conclusion that to deal with this particular form of revolutionary crime the ordinary procedure of law could not be relied on. He agreed that revolutionary movements could not be eradicated merely by legislation to deal with the guilty, but the Rowlatt Act was only to maintain order in the country while the great schemes of reforms were going through.